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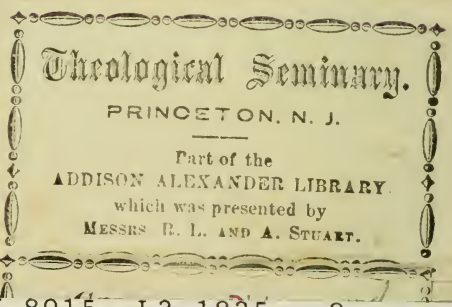

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OF

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WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL

TESTIMONIES

OF

ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. XLVII.

HIMERIUS.

'HIMERIUS,[a] the sophist,' says Suidas, 'was the son of 'the rhetorician Aminius, and was born at Prusias in 'Bithynia. He lived in the time of the emperor Julian, and 'was rival of Proæresius at Athens. In his old age he lost 'his sight. He made declamations.' That is the whole article.

His life was also written by Eunapius[b] among other sophists and philosophers: but it is short. He says, Himerius was born in Bithynia. He says, he did not know Himerius, though he lived at the same time with him. Julian sent for him, by whom he was well received. He seems to say, that Himerius accompanied Julian so long as he lived, and that he did not settle at Athens till after the death of Proæresius. He commends the style of Himerius, and says, he imitated the divine Aristides. He lived to a great age, and for some time was afflicted with the leprosy:[c] but perhaps he means the epilepsy, or falling sickness.

Cave,[d] in the life of St. Basil, observes, 'that for the 'direction of his studies he chiefly applied himself to 'Himerius and Proæresius, two of the most eminent sophists 'at that time at Athens, men renowned for learning and 'eloquence, and upon that account in favour with the em-'peror Julian.' For which Cave refers to Socrates[e] and Sozomen; who in the same place[f] say the same of Gregory

[a] V. Ἱμεριος. [b] Eunap. p. 129. [c] —— της ιερας νοσε. p. 129. [d] Lives of the Fathers, p. 219. [e] Socrat. l. iv. cap. 26. p. 242. Soz. l. vi. cap. 27. p. 659. [f] —— νεοι γαρ δη οντες ετοι εν ταις Αθηναις γενομενοι των τοτε ακμασαντων σοφιστων, Ἱμεριε και

Nazianzen, and that they afterwards studied under Libanius at Antioch.

Photius has two articles for Himerius: in the first[g] of which he has a catalogue of his declamations; in the other[h] he makes some extracts out of them. He seems to say, that Himerius[i] taught some while at Corinth. His declamations were in number[k] almost seventy: one,[l] Photius calls a dissertation at Philippi, when he was there in his way to Julian, who had invited him to come to him: the next is an oration at Constantinople, in praise of that city and Julian. One of these declamations, or orations, was in praise of Prætextatus,[m] proconsul of Greece; to which office he had been appointed by Julian[n] in the year 362, and he continued in it for some while under Valentinian.[o]

At the end of the first article, having highly commended the style of Himerius, Photius concludes in these words: 'But though he was so excellent a writer,[p] yet as to religion he was plainly impious: and for his reflections upon 'the christians he may be compared to a snarling dog. He 'flourished in the time of Constantius, and the most impious Julian; and presided in the school of rhetoric at 'Athens.'

They who desire to know more of Himerius may consult Tillemont,[q] and the writers[r] of The ancient Universal History; and especially Fabricius[s] in the places referred to by me at the bottom of the page. By Cave[t] he is placed at the year 361: I place him at 363.

Himerius must be reckoned an example of the moderation of the christian government at that time. The reign of Julian was short; Himerius lived to a great age: a good

Προαιρεσιϖ ακροαται γενομενοι, και μετα ταυτα εν τῃ Αντιοχειᾳ της Συριας Λιβανιῳ συμφοιτησαντες, ακρως την ῥητορικην εξεπονησαν. Socr. p. 242.

[g] Cod. 165. p. 351, &c. [h] Cod. 243. p. 1075, &c. [i] Ειτα προς τϖς εταιρϖς συντακτηριος, ὁτε εξεει εις Κορινθον. Cod. 165. p. 352, sub fin. Και δη και εις την απο Κορινθϖ επανοδον. p. 353, in. Et vid. ibid. ad fin.

[k] P. 353, fin. [l] Και διαλεξις εν Φιλιπποις, ὁτε απηει παρα Ιϖλιανϖ βασιλεως καλϖμενος· ειτα ῥηθεις εν τῃ πολει εις αυτην τε την Κωνϛαντινϖπολιν, και Ιϖλιανον τον βασιλεα. p. 353, m. [m] —— και εις τον ανθυπατον της Ελλαδος Πραιτεκϛατον. Phot. p. 353, m. [n] Aderat his omnibus Prætextatus, præclaræ indolis gravitatisque priscæ Senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Constantinopolim, quem arbitrio suo Achaiæ Proconsulari præfecerat potestate. Ammian. Marc. lib. xxii. cap. 7. p. 331.

[o] Vid. Zos. l. iv. p. 735, fin. [p] Αλλα τοιϖτος ων εν τοις λογοις, ασεβης (ὡς δηλον ϵϛι) την Θρησκειαν· ει και τϖς λαθραιϖς μιμειται των κυνων, καθ' ἡμων ὑλακτων. Ηκμασε δε επι Κωνϛαντιϖ και τϖ δυσσεβεϛατϖ Ιϖλιανϖ· και τϖ εν Αθηνησι κατα ῥητοριαν προυϛη διδασκαλειϖ. Cod. 165. p. 356.

[q] Tillem. L'Emp. Julien. art. 34. [r] Vol. xvi. p. 276.

[s] Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. 30. T. iv. p. 413, &c. et l. v. cap. 38. Tom. ix. p. 426, &c. [t] Hist. Lit. p. 346.

part of his time was spent under the christian emperors, Julian's predecessors and successors. He was a zealous Gentile, and in favour also with Julian: nevertheless he suffered not any ill usage. For a while he taught at Corinth: afterwards he presided in the school of rhetoric at Athens. He was a great author, and published many declamations written with elegance; a proof of his high spirit and easy circumstances; and in some of them he made free reflections upon the christians.

His father Aminius likewise was a rhetorician, or sophist, and undoubtedly of the Greek religion. He must have lived in the times of Constantine and Constantius; under whom he taught rhetoric at Prusias in Bithynia without molestation or disturbance. His son Himerius, more eminent, and more famous than himself, was one of his scholars, and did honour to his school: so, in like manner, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, and others, by their oratorical talents, did honour to Himerius.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THEMISTIUS.

I. *His time, and writings, and character.* II. *Extracts out of his Oration to the emperor Jovian.* III. *An account of another Oration addressed by him to Valens.* IV. *Farther remarks upon his character.*

I. THEMISTIUS,[a] surnamed Euphrades, or 'the fine 'speaker,' a philosopher greatly celebrated for his eloquence, was born in[b] Paphlagonia about the year 317, and reached to the year 385, or later. His father was Eugenius, likewise a professor of philosophy.

Beside thirty-six Orations (thirty-three of which are still remaining, including that to Valens, which we have in Latin only) he wrote Commentaries upon Plato and Aristotle. Having gained in other places a great deal of reputation for his philosophy and eloquence, he settled at Constantinople; which he made the place of his ordinary resi-

[a] Vide Phot. Cod. 73. p. 164. Suid. V. Θεμιστιος. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 18. T. viii. P. i. &c. Tillemont. H. E. Theodos. i. art. 93, et 94. Universal Ancient History, Vol. xvi. p. 346. [b] Vid. Themist. Or. 2. p. 28. D. ed. Harduin. Paris, 1684.

dence for the space of near forty years. He was in great esteem with all the emperors of this time, from Constantius to Theodosius. His first Oration was pronounced before Constantius in 347: by whom he was made senator of Constantinople in the year 355: by which senate[c] he was ten times deputed to several emperors. He[d] had the honour of two brass statues, one of which was erected by order of Constantius in 357. He was made præfect of Constantinople by Julian in the year 362, and again afterwards by Theodosius in 384.

Some, by mistake, have supposed him to have been a christian, confounding him with another of the same name. The style of all his Orations shows him to be a heathen; one proof of which may be sufficient. He concludes an Oration, in praise of Gratian, spoken in the Roman senate in the year[e] 377, 'with[f] an ardent prayer to Jupiter, father 'of gods and men, founder and protector of Rome, and to 'Minerva, and Quirinus, tutelary dæmon or genius of the 'Roman empire, that Rome may be loved by the emperor, 'and the emperor be again beloved by Rome.'[g]

He may be said to have twice quoted the Old Testament, but as a book with which he was not much acquainted. In the first place he says, 'he[h] had observed an elegant 'saying in the writings of the Assyrians, that "the mind of 'the king is held in the hand of God,"' Prov. xxi. 1. To the like purpose in another place: 'that[i] he had often admired some things in the Assyrian writings. And that 'particularly he could not but admire and commend that 'saying, which is somewhere to be found in them: "The

[c] Vid. Orat. 17. p. 214. Or. 31. p. 352, 353. [d] Or. 17. p. 214. Or. 31. p. 353. [e] Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 11. [f] Συ δε, ω πατερ μεν θεων, πατερ δε ανθρωπων, Ζευ, Ρωμης κτητορ και πολιουχε, και προμητερ Αθηνα, και Κυρινε, δαιμων επιτροπε Ρωμαιων ηγεμονιας, διδοιητε τοις εμοις παιδικοις εραν μεν Ρωμης, αντερασθαι δε υπο Ρωμης. Or. 13. p. 180.

[g] Mosheim had a fancy, that many learned men about that time made little difference between Gentilism and christianity, and were willing to join them in one. Among these he placeth Themistius; but I see no ground for it. They lived in the time of christian emperors, when christians were numerous in every part of the empire; they judged it proper to be civil to christians: nevertheless, they kept their Gentilism entire. The character of Themistius is manifest in the place above cited; and, perhaps, may be still more apparent before we finish this chapter. Mr. Mosheim's argument may be seen quoted above, Vol. vii. ch. 37.

[h] —— Αλλ' εγω ποτε υπησθομην και των Ασσυριων γραμματων ταυτο τουτο κομψευομενων, ως αρα ο νους του βασιλεως εν τη του Θεου παλαμη δορυφορειται. Or. 7. p. 89. D. [i] Αλλα τε ηγασθην πολλακις των Ασσυριων γραμματων· αταρ ουν και τουτο θαυμαστως αγαμαι, και επαινω· λεγει γαρ που εκεινα τα γραμματα, την του βασιλεως καρδιαν εν του Θεου παλαμη δορυφορεισθαι. Or. 11. p. 147. C.

'heart of the king is held in the hand of God."' There can be no doubt, that[k] by 'the writings of the Assyrians' he intends the scriptures of the Old Testament.

This may suffice for a general history of Themistius: some more particulars will be added hereafter.

And indeed, before I proceed any farther, I would take notice of his article in Suidas: who[l] says, he was a philosopher who lived in the time of Julian the apostate, by whom he was made præfect of Constantinople. And having mentioned divers philosophical works written by him, he adds, 'and[m] dissertations.' If by these he does not intend his Orations, he has not mentioned them at all.

On the other hand, Photius begins his article of Themistius, saying, 'he[n] had read his thirty-six political dis-'courses, spoken to the emperors Constantius, Valens, the 'younger Valentinian, and Theodosius. After which he 'mentions his philosophical writings. He says his father 'was Eugenius, who[o] also was a philosopher.'

He appears to have been greatly esteemed for his learning and eloquence, and other abilities. Among the letters of Gregory Nazianzen, there are two[p] to Themistius, which are very polite and complaisant. He calls him the[q] king of eloquence: and says, it[r] was that in which he most excelled, though he excelled in every thing. There is also still[s] extant a very long letter of Julian written to him. Fabricius[t] has made a collection of fourteen letters of Libanius to him; and there are still more among the epistles of Libanius published by Wolfius. How he was esteemed by the emperors Constantius, Julian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius, he has himself observed in one of his Orations, in a beautiful paragraph[u] to which I refer.

II. There are two Orations of which we must take particular notice; one of which is to Jovian, or Jovinian, upon his accession after the death of Julian, when also the emperor was consul: for which reason it is called a Consular

[k] Unde, ut cætera huc faventia mittam, Themistius γραμματα των Ασσυριων, Assyriorum literas, substituit pro eo quod est sacra Hebræorum volumina; ubi scilicet Salomonis laudat dictum, de corde seu mente regis in manu Dei. Selden. de Jure naturali et Gentium, l. i. c. 2. p. 85. Vol. I. Londini, 1726.

[l] Θεμιστιος φιλοσοφος, γεγονως επι των χρονων Ιωλιανε τε Παραβατε, ὑφ' ε και ὑπαρχος προεβληθη Κωνσταντινοπολεως. Suid. [m] ——και διαλεξεις. [n] Ανεγνωσθησαν Θεμιστιε λογοι πολιτικοι λς. Cod. 74. p. 164. [o] ——και αυτος φιλοσοφησας. Ibid. [p] Gr. Naz. Ep. 139, 140. Tom. i. p. 865, 866. [q] Ειπερ συ βασιλευς των λογων. p. 866. A. [r] P. 865. C. [s] Julian. Opp. Tom. i. p. 253. edit. Spanheim. [t] Bib. Gr. Tom. viii. p. 37, &c. [u] Or. 31. p. 354. D.

Oration. And I place Themistius as flourishing at this time. Of this Socrates speaks in this manner: 'The[v] affairs of the christians were then in great agitation: for the 'presidents of the several sects made addresses to the emperor, entreating his support and assistance against those 'who differed from them. To whom he made such answers as were suitable. For[w] the emperor had formed 'this determination, with kind words, and civil usage, to 'compose the dissensions of all parties. And he declared, 'that he would give no disturbance to any upon account of 'their opinions; but that he would love and highly esteem 'those who promoted the peace and unity of the churches. 'That this was his conduct is attested by Themistius the 'philosopher; for in his Consular Oration, he commends 'the emperor for allowing to all full liberty to worship the 'Deity according to their own sentiments, thus checking the 'designs of flatterers; whom also he ridicules very freely, 'saying, that they worship the purple, not the Deity; and 'they mightily resemble the Euripus, which sometimes 'flows one way, and at other times quite the contrary.'

Socrates goes on to say: 'That[x] the emperor leaving 'Antioch, went on to Tarsus of Cilicia, where he interred 'the body of Julian. Having finished the funeral solemnities, he intended to go to Constantinople, and was got as 'far as Dadastana, upon the borders of Galatia and Bithynia: there Themistius, and others of the senatorian order, 'met him; and[y] he then pronounced his Consular Oration, 'which he afterwards recited at Constantinople in the presence of all the people.'

Thus I have transcribed from Socrates this authentic account of the Oration to Jovian, which must have been pronounced before the emperor in the beginning of the year 364.

I shall now recite a part of the Oration itself: it can by no means be omitted; it has a double claim to our regard, for the relation it has to christian affairs, and for the excellence of the sentiments. 'The[z] beginning of your care of

[v] Socr. l. iii. c. 25. in p. 203.

[w] *Ο μεντοι βασιλευς προθεσιν ειχε, κολακειᾳ και πειθοι, των διεξωτων την φιλονεικιαν εκκοψαι, φησας, μηδενι οχληρος των ὁπωσδν πιστευοντων εσεσθαι.* κ. λ. ib. p. 204, 205.

[x] Cap. 26. p. 205.

[y] *Ενθα και Θεμιστιος ὁ φιλοσοφος μετα των αλλων συγκλητικων απαντησας, τον ὑπατικον επ' αυτᾳ διεξηλθε λογον, ὁν ὑστερον και εν Κωνσταντινᾳ πολει επι τᾳ πληθει επεδειξατο.* p. 205. C.

[z] *Ειτα σοι προοιμιον γεγονε της ανθρωπων επιμελειας ἡ περι τᾳ θειᾳ νομοθεσια——Μονος γαρ, ὡς εοικεν, ἀκ αγνοεις, ὁτι μη παντα ενεστι τῳ βασιλει βιαζεσθαι τοις ὑπηκοοις· αλλ' εστιν ἁ την αναγκην εκπεφευγε, και απειλης εστι κρειττω, και επιταγματος.* Themist. Or. 5. p. 67

'mankind,' says this senator, 'is a law concerning religion——For you alone, as it seems, are not ignorant, that 'it is impossible for an emperor to compel his subjects in 'all things: and that there are some things above compulsion, and beyond the reach of threatenings and commands; 'as indeed is every virtue, and especially piety toward 'God: and that in order to be sincere in it, there must be 'an unforced disposition of mind, which is in its own 'power, and willing of itself. This you have wisely considered: for it is not possible for you, O emperor, by an 'edict to make him love you who is not disposed to it; 'how much less can you make men pious and religious by 'the terror of human ordinances; a short necessity, and 'weak fear, which time has often introduced, and often 'removed? If[a] this fear prevailed, we should only become 'ridiculous, worshipping the purple rather than the Deity, 'and shifting our religion as often as Euripus——

'——This,[b] O most divine emperor, is not your case: 'but, as in other things you are supreme, and ever will be 'so, you ordain, that the affair of religion should be in every 'man's power: herein resembling God, who has made the 'disposition to be religious common to the human nature, 'but has left the particular way of worship to every man's 'own choice. And he who introduces force here, takes 'away that freedom which God has granted. For this 'reason the laws of Cheops and Cambyses scarcely lasted 'so long as the lives of those who made them. But[c] the 'law of God, and your law, remains for ever—that the 'mind of man be left free to that way of worship which it 'thinks best. Nor have fines, or gibbets, or fires, prevailed to 'abrogate this law. The body indeed you may gain or 'kill, if you please; but the soul will escape, carrying 'with it the free sentiments of the law, though you may 'force the tongue.' He proceeds to argue, that different sentiments and studies produce emulation, which is of great advantage. 'And, perhaps,' says he, 'it is not pleasing to 'God that there should be this agreement among men: for 'nature, according to Heraclitus, loves to be hid; and, 'above all, the author of nature: whom for this reason we

[a] Ειτα ελεγχομεθα πανυ γελοιως ἁλȣργιδας, ȣ Θεον ϑεραπευοντες, και ῥαον Ευριπȣ μεταβαλλομενοι τας ἁγιϛειας. p. 67. D.

This, I suppose, is the passage to which Socrates referred in the place above cited.

[b] Αλλ' ȣ συ γε, ω ϑεοειδεϛατε βασιλευ· αλλα τα τε αλλα αυτοκρατωρ ων τε, και εις τελος εσομενος, το της ἁγιϛειας μερος απαντος ειναι νομοθετεις. κ. λ. p. 68. A.

[c] Ο δε τȣ Θεȣ και σος νομος ακινητος μενει τον παντα αιωνα, απολελυσθαι την εκαϛȣ ψυχην προς ἡν οιεται ὁδον ευσεβειας. p. 68. B.

'the more reverence and admire, because the knowledge of 'him is not easy, nor to be attained without a great deal of 'study and labour. This law I esteem no less than I do 'the friendship that has been made with the Persians: by 'that we are freed from a war with barbarians; by means 'of this law we live together without contention. We were 'before worse to one another than the Persians: accusa- 'tions brought against each other from each sect in every 'city, in the midst of the commonwealth, were more grievous 'than their incursions. The time past, O emperor, dear to 'God, affords you evident examples of this. Let the 'balance remain suspended on itself—depress it not on either 'side by your weight—let prayers be offered up to heaven 'for the prosperity of your government from all quarters.' He then reminds the emperor, that his army consists of men of different nations, of different ranks and offices, and different kinds of armour. 'Yet,' says he, 'all are subject 'to you, and depend upon your pleasure: and not only the 'military men, but likewise all other who bear no arms, 'husbandmen, rhetoricians, they who speak, and they who 'hear, and they who philosophize. Believe, and be per- 'suaded, that the governor of the universe is even pleased 'with this variety: it is his will and pleasure, that the Sy- 'rians should have their particular institutions, the Greeks 'theirs, and the Ægyptians theirs; and that the Syrians 'should not all have entirely the same. For even among 'them are differences: for no man agrees exactly with his 'neighbour, but one thinks in this way, another in that. 'Why then should we attempt by violence to obtain what 'is impossible?'

Here is no express mention of the christians. This learned philosopher, and honourable senator, though speaking to a christian emperor upon so joyful an occasion, when also he had so good reason of gratitude for so just and excellent a law, and was disposed to commend and praise him for it, has not vouchsafed to make particular mention of the religious sect which this emperor professed, and for which he was very zealous. However, none can make any doubt, that he applauds a general toleration allowed by a christian emperor. And I suppose, that[d] by Syrians in the last cited paragraph, we are to understand christians: for they had their original in Palestine, a branch of Syria. Then he names them first: the reason of which seems to be respect for the emperor. The next mentioned are the

[d] The word is so understood by Petavius. See his notes upon the place, p. 403.

Greeks, the speaker's own sect or people, and lastly, the Ægyptians. Besides, he particularly observes, that there were differences even among the Syrians: if by these are intended christians, the consideration must be of weight to confirm the emperor in his present moderation toward all men. Finally, this interpretation is supported by the quotation from the Old Testament, which he calls 'the writings of the Assyrians,' as seen above.

III. We are now to make inquiries after another Oration, addressed by Themistius to Valens in the year 375.

Socrates, having related the death of Valentinian, goes on: 'Valens[e] however, still residing at Antioch, was free 'from foreign wars——But he persecuted those who held 'the Homoüsian doctrine in a most grievous manner; and 'was every day inventing greater punishments for them: 'till[f] the philosopher Themistius, by a monitory Oration, 'reduced his great severity to some degree of moderation. 'In which Oration he observed, that the emperor ought 'not to wonder at the diversity of opinions which there was 'among the christians; for the diversity among them was 'small, if compared with the multitude and confusion of 'opinions among the Greeks, which were not less than 'three hundred; and it was necessary that there should be 'great variety. And moreover, that God was well pleased 'with the difference of opinions, that all men might the 'more revere his majesty, because the knowledge of him 'was not obvious, and easy to be attained. These and 'other things having been observed by the philosopher, the 'emperor became milder for the future.'

To the like purpose Sozomen: 'Valens[g] still residing at 'Antioch in Syria, grew more and more bitter toward those 'who had different sentiments from himself. At which time 'the philosopher Themistius, addressing an Oration to him, 'reminded him, that[h] he ought not to wonder at the diver-'sity of ecclesiastical opinions, it being less in degree and 'number than that which was among the Greeks. For 'among them there was a very great variety of opinions.' And more to the like purpose, so agreeable to what we have already seen in Socrates, that it needs not to be rehearsed.

[e] Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 32. p. 250. [f] Εως αυτε την πολλην απηνειαν ὁ φιλοσοφος Θεμιστιος μετριωτεραν τῳ προσφωνητικῳ λογῳ ειργασατο· εν ὡ μη δειν ξενιζεσθαι επι τῃ διαφωνιᾳ των Χριστιανικων δογματων παραινει τῳ βασιλει. Ibid. [g] Sozom. lib. vi. cap. 36. p. 696.

[h] ——παρῃει, μη χρηναι θαυμαζειν την διαφωνιαν των εκκλησιαστικων δογματων. κ. λ. Ibid.

But it is greatly to be suspected, that neither of these historians has confined himself to the very words of Themistius. 'Christian,' and 'ecclesiastical opinions,' or 'opinions in the church,' are phrases that appear no where in any of this philosopher's Orations now extant, though we have a large part of them.

However, the main question is, whether the Oration to which these historians refer be now extant. There is an Oration[i] to Valens in Latin, in which is to be found what those writers say of the necessity and usefulness of different opinions. Valesius, in his notes upon the forecited passage of Socrates, declares himself[k] in favour of the genuineness of it; as[l] does Basnage likewise. Petavius,[m] who published an edition of this philosopher's Orations, does not allow it to be the same that was spoken to Valens, and assigns many reasons for his judgment; though[n] he was at the pains to translate it into Greek. Fabricius is of opinion, that[o] the Oration of which Socrates and Sozomen speak is lost; and he refers to Baronius, as having been before of the same sentiment. Tillemont[p] says: 'We have still in 'Latin an Oration addressed to Valens, in which is what 'these writers mention: but it is so like to that which we 'have in Greek, and was certainly addressed to Jovian, 'that it is not easy to believe that Themistius composed 'both. It[q] is more probable, that the true Oration to Va-'lens being lost, some person left out that which was pecu-'liar to Jovian, the better to accommodate the whole to 'Valens.'

There can therefore be no good reason, why I should be at the pains to make extracts out of this Latin Oration;

[i] Orat. xii. p. 154, &c. [k] Hæc oratio Themistii ad Valentem hodie extat Latine, edita a Duditio. Nam, quod Socrates ait, Themistium in eâ oratione locutum esse de discrepantiâ dogmatum philosophicorum, habetur in versione Duditii. Vales. in Socrat. p. 58. [l] Cum porro Valens majore in dies odio adversus Homoüsianos æstuaret, quos acerrime vexabat, Themistius furentem oratione placare tentat. Quam Latine olim ab Andrea Duditio publicatam, Græce Petavius vertit. Basn. ann. 375, num. viii.

[m] Hanc ipsam esse orationem, quâ in Catholicos exacerbatus Valens a Themistio compellatus, ac mitigatus dicitur, miror cuiquam in animum induxisse. Petav. annot. ad Themist. p. 459. [n] Nos, ut jacturam hanc aliquâ ex parte sublevemus, Græcam nostram interpretationem pro germanâ Themistii oratione substituimus. Petav. ibid. p. 460. [o] Alter vero Themistii λογος προσφωνητικος, quo ab illâ etiam, persecutione Socrates, iv. 32, et Sozomenus, vi. 36, Valentem scribunt revocatum esse, intercidit, ut recte Baronius ad A. C. 374, num. ix. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 10.

[p] L'Emp. Théodos. art. 94. H. Des Emp. Tom. v.

[q] Il y a plus d'apparence, que, le veritable discours à Valens éstant perdu, on a retranché de l'autre ce qui éstoit particulier à Jovien, pour l'accommoder à Valens——Le P. Harduin n'en a pas voulu dire un mot. Tillem. ibid.

though the truth of what is written by Socrates and Sozomen ought not to be contested. Themistius did address an Oration to Valens recommending moderation; and the emperor was mitigated: he was milder in the punishments inflicted upon those who differed from him: some were only banished, who otherwise might have been put to death.

IV. We may now, I think, see what judgment ought to be made of this philosopher and senator: he was eminent for learning and eloquence, esteemed by all learned men in general, both christians and others; in favour with all the emperors in whose time he lived; excepting Julian, they were all christians; and[r] they were all flattered by him. But it does not appear, that he was at all inclined to embrace the christian sentiments. Nevertheless, he may have been a very useful man: for during his abode at Constantinople, he educated many young persons in the knowledge of the polite arts and sciences. Moderation was for the interest of Gentilism at that time; such principles were approved and embraced by this philosopher, and recommended by him upon proper occasions. Jovian was handsomely commended by him for his law of general toleration for all opinions, including Gentilism, and the several sects among christians. The same sentiments were recommended by him afterwards to Valens, from the same just, and equitable, and forcible reasons and considerations; and not altogether without effect. The severity of that bigoted prince toward Homoüsians was mitigated, and they had a benefit by it.

[r] Il y a peu de faits dans ses éloges. Mais on y trouve des maximes assez belles; et il prend presque toujours un caractère d'un homme d' honneur. Cependant, quoiqu' il se declare grand ennemi des flateurs, je ne vois pas, qu'on le puisse excuser de l'avoir êsté luimesme. Car les discours, qu'il faits aux Empereurs sont tous éloges, souvent mal fondés; et Valens y paroîst aussi bon, et aussi grand que Théodose. Id. ib.

CHAP. XLIX.

LIBANIUS.

I. *His time, works, and character.* II. *Extracts out of his epistles.* III. *Extracts out of his other works.* IV. *His Oration for the temples, to the emperor Theodosius, in the year* 390, *translated from the original with notes.* V. *General, and concluding observations upon that Oration.*

LIBANIUS[a] a celebrated sophist of the fourth century, flourished under Constantius, and the following emperors, till the time of Theodosius the Great. He was born at Antioch, in Syria, in the year of Christ 314, or 315. He taught rhetoric for some while at Constantinople, and afterwards at Nicomedia. About the year 354, he came to his native place Antioch; where he resided, for the most part, the remainder of his life.

He is placed by Cave at the year 360; I place him at the year 370, at which time he was considerably above fifty years of age. When he wrote his life, he was in the sixtieth year of his[b] age. He speaks of his being fifty years old in the time of[c] Jovian, who succeeded Julian, and in the time of Valens[d] fifty-seven. In a letter to Priscus, he says, he[e] was seventy-six years; which he could not be before the year of our Lord 390, or 391, and near the end of the reign of Theodosius, before mentioned, who died in 395.

He was the author of many works, still extant. His letters, which were very numerous, are particularly recommended by[f] Eunapius, and[g] Photius. And the late Mr. Wolfius, in our time, has made a large collection of them, amounting to the number of more than sixteen hundred: the greatest part of which are unquestionably genuine, and very entertaining.

Libanius was a great admirer of Julian, fond of Gentilism, and averse to christianity, but not an enemy to all christians. He did not embrace christianity, having been

[a] Liban. De Vitâ sua. Eunap. de Vitis Philosoph. et Sophist. Phot. Cod. xc. p. 209. Suid. V. Λιβανιος. Fabr. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. p. 378, &c. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. Tom. iv. Julien. art. 36, 37. Le Clerc. Bib. Anc. et Mod. T. iii. p. 353, &c. Bib. Raisonné, T. 24. p. 177, &c. Bib. Germanique. T. 47. p. 1. &c. [b] De Vitâ suâ, p. 19. [c] Ibid. p. 46. [d] Ibid. p. 48. [e] Το δε ἡμετερον, εξ μεν και εβδομηκοντα ετη γεγονα. Ep. 866. p. 405. [f] In Libanii Vit. p. 133. [g] Ubi supr. p. 212.

educated in great prejudices against it, and having never examined its evidences. Nevertheless I cannot but esteem him an useful man; for as Socrates[h] acknowledgeth, he was an excellent sophist: and he was continually employed in teaching polite literature, and had many scholars; some of whom were afterwards men of great eminence. Among them Socrates[i] and Sozomen[k] reckon John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Maximus, bishop of Seleucia in Isauria.

And Sozomen says, that when Libanius was dying, and his friends asked him whom he would have to succeed him in his school, he said, 'he[l] should have chosen John [Chrysostom,] but the christians had got him——' He says, in one of his epistles, that[m] philosophers are to be respected next after the gods; for they are next to them in dignity. Recommending Letoïus to Eutocius, he says: 'Letoïus[n] is my friend, because he is a good man, and exceeds what might be expected from one in his station. By profession he is a soldier, but in his mind he is well affected to literature, and to those who make that their study.' These, and many other like things in his writings, show how desirous Libanius was to promote learning and knowledge.

Eunapius says, that[o] Libanius was well qualified for public offices in the state, and that one of the emperors, in whose time he lived, meaning Theodosius the great, bestowed upon him the honorary title of præfect of the prætorium, the highest office in the empire; but Libanius declined it, saying, that the title of sophist was more honourable. We may observe him in his epistles expressing the same[p] sentiment. And by the force of his eloquence he appeased two emperors, Julian and Theodosius, when they were much offended with the people of Antioch. His pathetic Orations upon both these occasions are still[q] extant. However, undoubtedly, there were others beside him, who

[h] Εγω δε σοφιστην μεν αυτον αριστον γενεσθαι φημι. Socr. lib. iii. cap. 23. in.

[i] Vid. Socrat. l. vi. c. 3. [k] Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. B.

[l] ——λεγεται Ιωαννην ειπειν, ει μη Χριστιανοι τουτον εσυλησαν. Id. ib. p. 756. B. [m] Φιλοσοφους, ω μακαριε, μετα τους Θεους θεραπευειν, εγγυς οντας των Θεων. Ep. 1524. p. 649. [n] Λητοϊος ημιν φιλος εστιν, απο του χρηστος ειναι, και κρειττων του σχηματος, εν ω ζη. Ζη μεν γαρ εν στρατιωτου μοιρᾳ, τη γνωμη δε μετα των περι λογους εστιν. Ep. 433. p. 221.

[o] Ικανος δε ην και πολιτικοις ομιλησαι πραγμασι——Eunap. ib. p. 135.

[p] Εμοι σχημα μεν αρκειν δι λογοι, δι ους ηδεπωποτε ταπεινωτερον ηγησαμην εμαυτον υμων, ων η λαμπροτης ορκος τοις κολαξι. Ep. 18. p. 7.

[q] Legatio ad Julianum. T. 2. p. 151. Ad Theodos. Imp. de Seditione Antiochenâ, p. 389, &c. Vid. et ad Theodos. Antiochenis reconciliatum, p. 406, &c.

joined together in mitigating the displeasure of those emperors.

Divers letters of our sophist are written to christians, and christian bishops. Indeed, the correspondence between him and Basil, consisting[r] of more than twenty letters, is[s] suspected, (and I think justly,) not to be genuine. There is also a letter[t] to John, by whom many learned men suppose to be meant Chrysostom; but Valesius[u] hesitates, and I think with good reason. There is also one letter[v] to Athanasius, by whom may be intended the celebrated bishop of Alexandria: another[w] to Amphilochius, bishop. Wolfius makes no doubt, that hereby is intended Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. The[x] letter next following, is inscribed to Optimus, appointed bishop. Hereby may be meant Optimus, who for some while was bishop of Antioch in Pisidia; who likewise, as appears from this letter, was disciple of Libanius, and had been chosen bishop without his own consent. In[y] a letter to Olympius, Libanius recommends Heliodorus; whom Wolfius supposeth to be the author of the Ethiopics, and a christian. There is also[z] a letter of our author to Heliodorus, supposed to be the same. Concerning him may be consulted[a] Fabricius. Photius[b] gives an agreeable account of the Ethiopics. When Heliodorus wrote that work, he was a christian; and it is supposed, that afterwards he was a bishop.

II. I cannot forbear to take particular notice of some of our sophist's letters. Good sentiments may be observed in several of them.

1. He expresseth himself very agreeably concerning forgiveness of injuries, and readiness to be reconciled, in a letter to[c] Ulpian, a part of which I shall transcribe here. 'I am glad that you have the emperor's good-will, [meaning Jovian as is supposed:] I conclude it from your being still in the magistracy; for without that you could not have this. If the difference between you and Seleucus is made up, so much the better; if not, by Jupiter, let it be brought to an end without delay. If you was the first author in the injury, it is fit you should be the first author of peace. If the fault is on his side, the greater honour will you have from a reconciliation. It is not he who avengeth an injury, whom we admire, but he who has

[r] Ap. Wolf. ep. 1580—1605. [s] Vid. Garnor. de Vitâ S. Basilii. cap. 39. [t] Ep. 1576. [u] In notis ad Socrat. l. vi. cap. 3. p. 75. [v] Ep. 691. p. 331. [w] Ep. 1226. p. 581. [x] Ep. 1227. p. 582. Οπτιμῳ επισκοπῳ γενομενῳ. [y] Ep. 437. p. 222. [z] Ep. 595. p. 286. [a] Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. 6. T. 6. p. 784. [b] Cod. 73. p. 157. [c] Ep. 1138. p. 542.

'power to avenge it and does not. The former belongs to 'barbarians and wild beasts; the latter to Greeks and 'Athenians, and such as resemble the gods. Call to mind 'him, whose death has cost you so many tears; and, perhaps, 'you will find, that he forgave many men offences, which 'were not small, and greater than those which have caused 'a difference between you.'

2. There is another letter[d] equally pleasing, written upon the same sentiments, and in the time of Julian, and in favour of a christian. 'Orion,' says he, 'was my friend, 'when he was in prosperity; and now he is in affliction, I 'have the same disposition toward him. If he thinks 'differently from us concerning the Deity, he hurts him-'self, being deceived: but it is not fit that his friends 'should look upon him as an enemy.'

He goes on to dissuade against treating Orion with severity. It is, indeed, a curious letter; upon which Wolfius[e] has made remarks, and Le Clerc[f] yet more. Orion was plainly a christian, as appears not only from this, but also from another letter[g] of Libanius. In the time of his prosperity, it is likely, he had done some things to the detriment of Hellenism, which were liable to resentment in the reign of Julian. But Libanius extenuates his fault, and endeavours to mitigate his sufferings.

3. Wolfius[h] justly considers these letters as proofs of the equity of Libanius toward christians.

4. It must be owned, I think, that Libanius was of a friendly disposition, good-natured, tender-hearted, and compassionate. And I would farther observe here, that though he sometimes speaks with great dislike, and even with indignation against the christians, calling them profane, and impure, and the like; he never adopts the language of Julian, or calls them Galileans, though Julian never spoke of them under any other denomination.

5. I would here mention another observation upon our author. I do not perceive that he had read the books of the New Testament: I may add, nor the Old, that I can discern. Wolfius thinks, that[i] in one of his letters published by him, Libanius alludes to St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 26. "Let not the sun go down upon your

[d] Ep. 730. p. 349. [e] Vide Notas, p. 349. [f] Bib. A. et M. Tom. 3. p. 366, &c. [g] Ep. 673. p. 322. [h] Notanda est hæc epistola, tamquam index æquitatis, quâ Libanius in christianos usus est. Not. (19.) ad ep. 673. p. 323. [i] —— *πως αλλοις κηρυττων μη χρηναι μεχρι δυσμων ηλιε λυπην φυλαττειν, αυτος εν πολλοις ηλιοις εφυλαξας.* Ep. 1586. p. 721.

wrath." And thence he concludes, that[k] Libanius had read the books of the New Testament. But it should be considered, that that letter is one of the letters to Basil, which are not known to be genuine, and probably are not.

6. Libanius, formerly quoted by us,[l] passed a judgment upon the writings of Julian and Porphyry against the christians; preferring the work of Julian to that of Porphyry. Whence some may argue, that he must have been well acquainted with the books of the New Testament, and the principles contained in them; but I do not think there is any proof of this. The judgment of Libanius upon that controversy is of no value; and might be founded, such as it was, upon only a very general knowledge of christianity, of which he could not be destitute. In short, our sophist, with all his discernment in many other things, being prejudiced and conceited, shut his eyes against the evidences of the christian religion, and would not examine them; nor vouchsafe to read, with any attention, the writings of the apostles and evangelists of Jesus Christ, who had not the reputation of being skilled in Greek learning.

III. I shall now make some extracts out of his other works.

1. In a panegyric upon Julian, at the beginning of the year 363, when Julian was for the fourth time consul, he says of him: 'By[m] the guidance of philosophy he soon wiped off the reproach of impiety, and learned the truth, and acknowledged those for gods, who were such indeed, instead of him who was only thought to be so. That day I call the beginning of liberty to the world.'

2. In a funeral Oration upon Julian, he gives this account of his conduct in religious matters, when he came to be sole emperor, after the death of Constantius. 'Having,'[n] as he says, 'paid all honours due to Constantius, he began with remedying matters relating to the gods, sacrificing in the view of all, and expressing his satisfaction in those who followed him, and deriding those who

[k] Vult omnino illa S. Pauli Eph. iv. 26. Ex his, itemque aliis locis, patet, Libanium sacros Novi Testamenti libros evolvisse. Wolf. Ib. in not. p. 721.

[l] See before, Vol. vii. ch. 46. [m] *Φιλοσοφιας δε ηγεμενον, και επι τον εκεινης παρακυψαντα λειμωνα, δοξαν περι τα θεια παρασημον ουκ ενην περιφερειν· αλλ' ευθυς την κηλιδα διερρψε, και τους οντας, αντι τα δοκουντος, επεγνω· προς την αληθειαν ηγεμονι φιλοσοφια χρησαμενος. Εκεινην εγω την ημεραν αρχην ελευθεριας τω γω καλω, κ. λ.* Panegr. Imp. Juliano, Cos. dictus. Or. 8. T. 2. p. 234. C. Conf. Or. 10. p. 265. A. [n] Concio Funebr. super Juliani Imp. nece, Or. x. Tom. 2. p. 289. D. 290, 291, et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. Parentalis in Julian. Imp. cap. 58, 59. p. 283, &c.

did not, and endeavouring to persuade them to imitate him, but without compulsion. Indeed, they who were in wrong sentiments, were filled with fear, and expected pulling out of eyes, beheadings, and rivers of blood, flowing from innumerable slaughters; and that this new lord would find out new ways of torture; and that fire and sword, and drowning, and burying alive, and amputation of limbs, would be trifling things. Such[o] things had been practised by those who went before; but now more grievous things were expected. But Julian dissented from those who had practised such things, as not obtaining the end aimed at; and he was sensible, that no benefit was to be expected from such violence. For men labouring under diseases of the body, may be relieved by bandages; but a false opinion about the gods is not to be expelled by cutting and burning; and if the hand sacrificeth, the mind reproves the hand, and condemns the infirmity of the body, and still approves what it approved before. There is only an appearance of a change, but no real alteration of sentiment. Moreover, they who comply, are pardoned afterwards, and they who die [under torture] are honoured as gods.

'Considering,[p] therefore, these things, and observing likewise, that their affairs had been increased by slaughters, he declined what he could not approve of. Thus he brought over all to the truth, who were to be persuaded; but did not compel those who were in love with falsehood. However, he did not cease to call to them, and say, Whither do you run? Are you not ashamed to think darkness brighter than light?——They who were of the same sentiments, were dearer to him than his kindred: esteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter, and him his enemy, who was an enemy to Jupiter: or rather esteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter; but not every one his enemy, who was an enemy to Jupiter: for such as he thought might be changed in time, he did not reject, but by good usage gained upon them; and though they refused at first, he brought them at length to dance about the altars.'

Upon this passage I may be allowed to make some remarks. (1.) Here is an acknowledgment, that in times past, under heathen emperors, christians had undergone very ill usage. (2.) And that under those sufferings their

[o] *Ταυτα μεν γαρ τοις προσθεν επεπρακτο· πολυ δε τωτων ηλπιζετο χαλεπωτερα.* κ. λ. p. 290. B.

[p] *Ταυτα ων αιτιωμενος, και ταις σφαγαις ὁρων ηυξημενα τα εκεινων, εφυγεν ἁ κατεμεμφετο.* p. 290. C.

numbers had increased, and their religion had prospered. This could never be said of Hellenism. (3.) Here is a reference to some customs of the christians. They who were overcome by tortures, and other sufferings, in time of persecution, afterwards acknowledged their weakness, and upon due humiliation, were pardoned. They who persevered and died for their religion, were honoured as martyrs, or as gods, as he represents it. (4.) Libanius has here produced good reasons against persecuting men upon account of religious sentiments. (5.) It is intimated, that Julian, by his management, prevailed upon many, and made more than a few converts to Gentilism. (6.) This account of Julian's conduct, as I apprehend, may be considered, as intended, partly at least, to be an apology for him to heathen people. Upon Julian's accession, the christians feared a heavy persecution; and there were also, as it seems, a good number of heathens, who wished, and expected to see the christians treated with the utmost rigour and severity; and some there were, who gave such counsel, and advised him to act in that manner. The better to satisfy such persons, Libanius argues against the severities of persecution, and shows, that milder methods were not without effect.

IV. I must now give a particular account of an Oration of Libanius, entitled, 'For the Temples.'[q] It is addressed to Theodosius the first, or the great, who then had for his colleague in the empire Valentinian the second, or the younger. James Gothofred,[r] the publisher of this Oration, has endeavoured to determine the time of it. He argues from divers notes of time in the Oration itself, that[s] it must have been written after the year 388, and before 391, and very probably in the year 390. Nevertheless, Mr. Tillemont has since argued, that[t] it might be written in the year 384. And Gothofred himself has also since said, that[u] this Oration was written in the year 387, if that be not a fault of the impression, as I think it must be. I do not think it needful for me to enter here into a debate upon this point; Gothofred's argument in his notes has an appearance of probability; and I may observe some characters of time in my own notes upon the Oration, as we pass along.

[q] Λιβανιε λογος ὑπερ των ιερων. [r] Libanii Antiocheni pro Templis Gentilium non exscindendis, ad Theodosium M. Imp. Oratio, nunc primum edita a Jacobo Gothofredo J. C. notisque illustrata, Genevæ. 1634.

[s] Vide Gothofred. notas in Oration. Libanii. p. 37—40.

[t] See H. E. L'Emp. Théodose. i. art. xviii. et note xvi. [u] Quæ [sacrificia] paulo ante hanc legem Romæ stetisse Libanius diserte testatur oratione, quam edidi, *ὑπερ των ιερων*, quæ scripta est anno D. 387. Goth. in Cod. Theod. T. 6. p. 272.

Whether this Oration was spoken to Theodosius, may be questioned: for though Libanius seems to speak to the emperor, as present, it cannot be thence certainly concluded that he was so, because Libanius expresseth himself in a like manner in some other Orations, when it is plain the emperor was absent, as Gothofred has observed.

The occasion of the Oration was this. In the reign of Theodosius several heathen temples, some of them very magnificent, were pulled down and destroyed in the cities, and especially in country-places, by the monks, with the consent and connivance, as Libanius intimates, of the bishops, and without express order of the emperor to that purpose. Of this Libanius complains, and implores the emperor's protection, that the temples may be preserved.

Throughout the whole Oration, Libanius professeth himself a heathen, and worshipper of the gods, and takes great liberty with a christian emperor; nevertheless it will be of use to us upon many accounts. We shall see, particularly, the state of christianity and Gentilism at that time; how the heathens argued against the christians, and how the christians defended themselves.

As almost every part of this Oration is of some moment to us, and the original is uncommon, I intend to make a literal translation of the whole.[y]

At the bottom of the pages, under the translation, I shall place some notes, by way of explication, chiefly taken from Gothofred, the editor of it. I shall likewise put the pages of his edition in the text, that the translation may be the more easily compared with the original, by such of the curious who are possessed of it. And at the end I shall add such remarks as are especially suited to our design.

'Having already, O emperor, often offered advice which has been approved by you, even when others have advised contrary things; I come to you now upon the same design, and with the same hopes, that now especially you will be persuaded by me.' p. 6. 'But if not, do not judge the speaker an enemy to your interests, considering,

[y] At first I intended to translate the greatest part of the oration, and give an abstract of the rest. But, upon consulting my good friend, Dr. Ward, the late learned professor of rhetoric at Gresham College, London; he recommended a translation of the whole, and the publication of the original Greek with it, as the Oration is very scarce. Accordingly, I have followed his advice, so far as to translate the whole. Which translation was made by me, and then kindly revised and corrected by Dr. Ward, several years before his decease, which happened in the year 1758. For this work has been long in hand; I may say almost half a century.

beside other things, the great honour[w] which you have conferred upon me, and that it is not likely, that he who is under so great obligations, should not love his benefactor.' p. 7. 'And for that very reason, I think it my duty to advise, where I apprehend I have somewhat to offer, which may be of advantage; for I have no other way of showing my gratitude to the emperor, but by Orations, and the counsel delivered in them.

'I shall, indeed, appear to many to undertake a matter full of danger, in pleading with you for the temples, that they may suffer no injury, as they now do. But they who have such apprehensions, seem to me to be very ignorant of your true character,' p. 8. 'For I esteem it the part of an angry and severe disposition, for any one to resent the proposal of counsel, which he does not approve of: but the part of a mild, and gentle, and equitable disposition, such as yours is, barely to reject counsel not approved of. For when it is in the power of him, to whom the address is made, to embrace any counsel, or not, it is not reasonable to refuse a hearing which can do no harm; nor yet to resent and punish the proposal of counsel, if it appear contrary to his own judgment: when the only thing that induced the adviser to mention it, was a persuasion of its usefulness.

'I entreat you, therefore, O emperor, to turn your countenance to me while I am speaking, and not to cast your eyes upon those, who in many things aim to molest both you and me; forasmuch as oftentimes a look is of greater effect than all the force of truth. I would farther insist, that they ought to permit me to deliver my discourse quietly, and without interruption; and then, afterwards, they may do their best to confute us by what they have to say.' [Here is a small breach in the Oration. But he seems to have begun his argument with an account of the origin of temples, that they were first of all erected in country places.] 'Men then having,' as he goes on, 'at first secured themselves in dens and cottages, and having there experienced the protection of the gods, they soon

[w] The honour here referred to, as Gothofred observes, was that of Præfectus Prætorio, which Libanius had received by a commission or patent from Theodosius. It was the highest office at that time under the emperor. After the division of the empire, there were four of these præfects, two in the eastern, and two in the western empire, who commanded as vicegerents of the emperor; but, I suppose, that the honour conferred upon Libanius was only the title of an office, without the administration. This must be what Eunapius means. Vita Libanii, sub. fin. *Τον γαρ της αυλης επαρχον μεχρι προσηγοριας εχειν εκελευον· ᾳκ εδεξατο, φησας, τον σοφιστην ειναι μειζονα.* p. 135.

perceived how beneficial to mankind their favour must be: they, therefore, as may be supposed, erected to them statues and temples, such as they could in those early times. And when they began to build cities, upon the increase of arts and sciences, there were many temples on the sides of mountains, and in plains: and in every city,' [as they built it,] 'next to the walls were temples and sacred edifices raised, as the beginning of the rest of the body, p. 9. For from such governors they expected the greatest security; and if you survey the whole Roman empire, you will find this to be the case every where. For in the city[x] next to the greatest,[y] there are still some temples,[z] though they are deprived of their honours; a few indeed out of many, but yet it is not quite destitute. And with the aid of these gods the Romans fought, and conquered their enemies; and having conquered them, they improved their condition, and made them happier than they were before their defeat; lessening their fears, and making them partners in the privileges of the commonwealth. And when I was a child,[a] he[b] who led the Gallic army overthrew him that had affronted him; they having first prayed to the gods for success before they engaged. But having prevailed over him,[c] who at that time gave prosperity to the cities, judging it for his advantage to have another deity, ηγησαμενος αυτῳ λυσιτελειν ετερον τινα νομιζειν Θεον, for the building of the city, which he then designed,[d] he made use

[x] —— επει καν τῃ μετα την μεγιστην πρωτῃ. [y] He means Constantinople, called by Libanius, in other orations also, 'the second city after the greatest of all;' the 'greatest city after Rome,' and the like. Hence it appears, that this oration was not written or spoken at Constantinople, but at some other place. [z] He means the ancient temples of Byzantium, before Constantine the Great enlarged it, and called it, after his own name, Constantinople. [a] Libanius seems there to speak of the Licinian war. And, being born in the year 314, or 315, he must have been a child at that time, in 323. [b] He means Constantine, who came from Gaul, with Gallic forces, when he conquered Maxentius in 312. The soldiers of the same country are here supposed by Libanius to have been the strength of Constantine's army when he fought with Licinius.

[c] Libanius supposes Constantine not to have been converted to christianity till after the defeat of Licinius in 323, though he really was a christian many years before. 'But,' says Gothofred in his notes at p. 43, 'I know not how 'it comes to pass, the Gentile writers pretend, that Constantine was not a 'christian till after the Licinian war. So Zosimus, lib. ii. p. 685. The rea- 'son of which I suspect to be, that if Constantine did not so long approve of 'soothsaying, which yet Zosimus says he did, he bore with it, as several of his 'edicts show, l. i. Cod. Th. de Paganis. l. i. ii. iii. C. Th. de Maleficis et 'Mathematicis: as also because from that time he began more earnestly to op- 'pose the heathen worship, and also left Rome, not without some offence and 'disgust.' See more of this in our notes upon Zosimus.

[d] Meaning Constantinople.

of the sacred money,[e] but made no alteration in the legal worship, p. 10. The temples indeed were impoverished, but the rites were still performed there. But when the empire came to his son,[f] or rather the form of empire, for the government was really in the hands of others, who from the beginning had been his masters, and to whom he vouchsafed equal power with himself: he therefore being governed by them, even when he was emperor, was led into many wrong actions, and among others to forbid sacrifices. These his cousin,[g] possessed of every virtue, restored: what he did otherwise, or intended to do, I omit at present. After his death in Persia, the liberty of sacrificing remained for some time; but at the instigation of some innovators, sacrifices were forbidden by the two brothers,[h] but not incense. Which state of things your law[i] has ratified. So that we have not more reason to be uneasy for what is denied us, than to be thankful for what is allowed. You, therefore, have not ordered the temples to be shut up, nor forbidden any to frequent them; nor have you driven from the temples, or the altars, fire or frankincense, or other honours of incense. But those black-garbed people,[k] who eat more than elephants, and demand a large quantity of liquor[l] from the people[m] who send them drink for their chantings; but who hide their luxury by their pale artificial countenances;[n] p. 11: these men, O emperor, even whilst your law is in force, run to the temples, bringing with them wood,

[e] That is true, as Gothofred says in his notes, p. 43. Cæterum verum est, quod Libanius scribit, Constantinum M. in condendâ urbe Constantinopolitanâ, sacris pecuniis usum, id est, reditibus et donariis templorum Gentilitiorum: adde et simulacris, quæ templis ab eo detracta, atque in urbis ornatum translata.

[f] Constantius, who, as Gothofred observes, p. 44, often forbade sacrifices, as his edicts show, l. iv. v. vi. C. Th. de Paganis. sacrif. and other writers say.

[g] Julian. [h] Valentinian and Valens. [i] That law of Theodosius is often mentioned and insisted upon in this Oration by Libanius: a law, in which sacrifices were expressly forbidden, but not incense. Gothofred, p. 45. thinks, that Libanius may refer to several laws of Theodosius to that purpose: as l. vii. and ix. and perhaps xi. C. Th. de Paganis. sacrif. And, as he says, in the year 392, after the composing of this Oration, incense also was forbidden by the same emperor. l. xii. C. Th. de Paganis. [k] *Οι δε μελανειμονεντες ουτοι, και πλειω μεν των ελεφαντων εσθιοντες, πονον δε παρεχοντες τω πληθει των εκπωματων τοις δι' ασματων αυτοις παραπεμπουσι το ποτον, συγκρυπτοντες δε ταυτα ωχροτητι τη δια τεχνης αυτοις πεπορισμενη, κ. λ.* p. 10, 11. [l] By 'black-garbed people,' undoubtedly Libanius means the monks, who wore dark-coloured garments.

[m] Thereby, possibly, Libanius ridicules the liberality of well-disposed christians, who made contributions for the support of the monks. And the ground of charging the monks with demanding liquor for their hymns, might be the practice of some heathen priests. [n] It seems unreasonable in Libanius to charge those men with a luxurious life. The paleness of their countenances was a good argument of abstemiousness. I do not believe, that he had as good proof of the contrary, or that they made use of art to procure paleness.

and stones, and iron, and when they have not them, hands and feet. Then follows a Mysian prey,[o] the roofs are uncovered, walls are pulled down, images are carried off, and altars are overturned: the priests all the while must be silent upon pain of death. When they have destroyed one temple, they run to another, and a third, and trophies are erected upon trophies: which are all contrary to ("your") law. This is the practice in cities, but especially in the countries. And there are many enemies every where. After innumerable mischiefs have been perpetrated, the scattered multitude unites and comes together, and they require of each other an account of what they have done; and he is ashamed, who cannot tell of some great injury which he has been guilty of. They therefore spread themselves over the country like torrents, wasting the countries together with the temples; for wherever they demolish the temple of a country, at the same time the country itself is blinded, declines, and dies. For, O emperor, the temples are the soul of the country; they have been the first original of the buildings in the country, and they have subsisted for many ages to this time; and in them are all the husbandman's hopes, concerning men, and women, and children, and oxen, and the seeds and plants of the ground, p. 12. Wherever any country has lost its temples, that country is lost, and the hopes of the husbandmen, and with them all their alacrity: for they suppose they shall labour in vain, when they are deprived of the gods who should bless their labours; and the country not being cultivated as usual, the tribute is diminished. This being the state of things, the husbandman is impoverished, and the revenue suffers. For be the will ever so good, impossibilities are not to be surmounted. Of such mischievous consequence are the arbitrary proceedings of those persons in the country, who say, "they fight with the temples." But that war is the gain of those who oppress the inhabitants, and robbing these miserable people of their goods, and what they had laid up of the fruits of the earth for their sustenance, they go off as with the spoils of those whom they have conquered. Nor

[o] 'Demosthenes, in his Oration for Ctesiphon, cap. 22. uses this as a proverbial expression. And Harpocration says, it took its 'rise from the Mysians, who 'in the absence of their king Telephus, being plundered by their neighbours, 'made no resistance.' Hence it came to be applied to any persons who were passive under injuries. See likewise Suidas in voce. Μυσων λεια.' That is a note received from Dr. Ward before mentioned. I shall add the note of Gothofred from p. 47. Mysorum præda. Frequens illud proverbium in ore scriptisque Libanii, hic, et in Orat. in Julianum Cos. p. 236, et in Antiochico, p. 335, et in Juliani necem. p. 269.

are they satisfied with this, p. 13, for they also seize the lands of some, saying, it is sacred; and many are deprived of their paternal inheritance upon a false pretence. Thus[p] these men riot upon other people's misfortunes, who say, "they worship God with fasting." And if they who are abused come to the pastor in the city, (for so they call a man who is not one of the meekest,) complaining of the injustice that has been done them, this pastor commends these, but rejects the others; as if they ought to think themselves happy that they have suffered no more: although, O emperor, these also are your subjects, and so much more profitable than those who injure them, as laborious men are than the idle: for they are like bees; these like drones. Moreover, if they hear of any land which has any thing that can be plundered, they cry presently: "Such an one sacrificeth, and does abominable things, and an army ought to be sent against him." And presently the reformers are there:[q] for by this name they call their depredations, if I have not used too soft a word. Some of these strive to conceal themselves, and deny their proceedings; and if you call them robbers you affront them. Others glory and boast, and tell their exploits to those who are ignorant of them, and say, they are more deserving than the husbandmen, p. 14. Nevertheless, what is this, but in time of peace to wage war with the husbandmen? For it by no means lessens these evils that they suffer from their countrymen. But it is really more grievous to suffer the things which I have mentioned, in a time of quiet, from those who ought to assist them in a time of trouble. For you, O emperor, in case of a war, collect an army, give out orders, and do every thing suitable to the emergency. And the new works, which you now carry on, are designed as a farther security against our enemies, that all may be safe in their habitations, both in the cities and in the country: and then if any enemies should attempt inroads, they may be sensible they must suffer loss rather than gain any advantage. How is it then, that some under your government, disturb others equally under your government, and permit them not to enjoy the common benefits of it? p. 15. How do they not defeat your own care and providence and labours, O emperor? How do they not fight against your law by what they do?

'But they say, "We have only punished those who

[p] Οι δ' εκ των ετερων τρυφωσι κακων, οι τω πεινην, ως φασι, θεραπευοντες Θεον. Ην δ' οι πεπορθημενοι παρα τον εν ασει ποιμενα (καλωσι γαρ ωτως ανδρα ε πανυ χρηστον.) κ. λ. p. 13. [q] Και παρεισιν οι σωφρονισται. p. 13.

sacrifice, and thereby transgress the law, which forbids sacrifices." O emperor, when they say this they lie. For no one is so audacious, and so ignorant of the proceedings of the courts, as to think himself more powerful than the law. When I say the law, I mean the law against sacrificers. Can it be thought, that they who are not able to bear the sight of a collector's cloak, should despise the power of your government? This is what they say for themselves. And they have been often alleged to Flavian himself,[r] and never have been confuted, no, not yet. For I appeal to the guardians of this law:[s] Who has known any of those whom you have plundered to have sacrificed upon the altars, so as the law does not permit? What young or old person, what man, what woman? Who of those inhabiting the same country, and not agreeing with the sacrificers in the worship of the gods? p. 16. Who of their neighbours? For envy and jealousy are common in neighbourhoods. Whence some would gladly come as an evidence, if any such thing had been done: and yet no one has appeared, neither from the one, nor from the other [that is, neither from the country, nor from the neighbourhood]. Nor will there ever appear, for fear of perjury, not to say the punishment of it. Where then is the truth of this charge, when they accuse those men of sacrificing contrary to law?

'But this shall not suffice for an excuse to the emperor: some one therefore may say: "They have not sacrificed. Let it be granted. But oxen have been killed at feasts and entertainments, and merry meetings." Still there is no altar to receive the blood, nor a part burned, nor do salt-cakes precede, nor any libation follow. But if some persons meeting together in some pleasant field, kill a calf, or a sheep, or both, and roasting part, and broiling the rest, have eat it under a shade, upon the ground, I do not know that they have acted contrary to any laws.[t] For neither have you, O emperor, forbid these things by your law; but mentioning one thing, which ought not to be done, you have permitted every thing else. So that though they should have feasted together with all sorts of incense, they have not transgressed the law, even though in that feast

[r] Bishop of Antioch at that time.

[s] Ἰδὲ γαρ δη προκαλεμαι τες κηδεμονας τεδε τε νομε. p. 15. Libanius here evidently appeals to christians, whom he calls 'guardians of this law.'

[t] These things were allowed by some edicts of christian emperors about this time, and somewhat later, l. xvii. C. Th. de paganis. But were totally forbidden afterwards, l. xix. eod. tit. as Gothofred observes, p. 51.

they should all have sung, and invoked the gods, p. 17. Unless you think fit to accuse even their private method of eating, by which it has been customary for the inhabitants of several places in the country, to assemble together in those [places] which are the more considerable on holidays, and having sacrificed to feast together. This they did whilst the law permitted them to do it. Since that, the liberty has continued for all the rest except sacrificing. When therefore a festival day invited them, they accepted the invitation, and with those things which might be done without offence or danger, they have honoured both the day and the place. But that they ventured to sacrifice no one has said, nor heard, nor proved, nor been credited: nor have any of their enemies pretended to affirm it upon the ground of his own sight, or any credible account he has received of it.

'They will farther say: "By this means some have been converted, and brought to embrace the same religious sentiments with themselves." Be not deceived by what they say: they only pretend it, but are not convinced; for they are averse to nothing more than this, though they say the contrary. For the truth is, they have not changed the objects of their worship, but only appear to have done so. They join themselves with them in appearance, and outwardly perform the same things that they do: but when they are in a praying posture, they address to no one, or else they invoke the gods; not rightly indeed in such a place, but yet they invoke them, p. 18. Wherefore, as in a tragedy, he who acts the part of a king, is not a king, but the same person he was before he assumed that character; so every one of these keeps himself the same he was, though he seems to them to be changed. And what advantage have they by this, when the profession only is the same with theirs, but a real agreement with them is wanting? for these are things to which men ought to be persuaded, not compelled. And when a man cannot accomplish that, and yet will practise this, nothing is effected, and he may perceive the weakness of the attempt. It is said,[u] that this is not permitted by their own laws, which commend persuasion, and condemn compulsion. Why then do you run mad against the temples? When you cannot persuade, you use force. In this you evidently transgress your own laws.

[u] *Λογος δε μη εν τοις τουτων αυτων τουτο ενειναι νομοις, αλλ' ευδοκιμειν μεν το πειθειν, κακως δε ακουειν την αναγκην. Τι αν μαινεσθε κατα των ιερων; Ει το πειθειν μεν ουκ εστιν, βιαζεσθε δε, σαφως μεν ουτως, και τους υμετερους αν αυτων παραβαινετε νομους.* p. 18.

'But they say, "It is for the good of the world, and the men in it, that there should be no temples," p. 19. Here, O emperor, I need freedom of speech; for I fear lest I should offend. Let then any of them tell me,[v] who have left the tongs, and the hammer, and the anvil, and pretend to talk of the heavens, and of them that dwell there, what rites the Romans followed, who arose from small and mean beginnings, and went on prevailing, and grew great: theirs, or these, whose are the temples and the altars, from whom they knew by the soothsayers, what they ought to do, or not to do?' [Here Libanius instanceth in the successes of Agamemnon against Troy, and of Hercules before, against the same place; and some other things.] 'And many other wars might be mentioned, which have been successfully conducted, and after that peace obtained, by the favour, and under the direction, of the gods, p. 20. But what is the most considerable of all, they who seemed to despise this way of worship, have honoured it against their will. Who are they? They[w] who have not ventured to forbid sacrifices[x] at Rome. But if all this affair of sacrifices be a vain thing, why has not this vain thing been prohibited? and if it be hurtful likewise, why not much more? But if in the sacrifices there performed consists the stability of the empire, it ought to be reckoned beneficial to sacrifice every where;[y]

[v] The note of Gothofred upon this place, at p. 53, is this: Commune hoc argumentum et delirium Gentilium hoc ævo fuit, quasi religionibus Romanis. imperium in eam magnitudinem excrevisset. Quod refutant passim Christiani. Vide vel Tertullianum, Arnobium, Symmachum, Prudentium.

[w] Libanius must needs mistake, or misrepresent the case; and, consequently, he argues upon a wrong foundation. The christians had no respect for the heathen deities, nor were they apprehensive of any evil from a neglect of them. Vid. Euseb. de Vitâ Constantin. l. iv. cap. 25. Theodor. H. E. l. v. cap. 22. p. 229. A. Libanius owned just now, that they said, 'it was for the good of the world, that there should be no temples:' that is, in other words, that heathen superstition and idolatry should cease, and the true Deity only be worshipped. If therefore they approved, or consented to, the permission of sacrifices, or other heathen rites, in some places, it could not be for the reason assigned by Libanius; but either because they were unwilling to do any thing that had the appearance of persecution, or of force and compulsion; or because they were apprehensive of tumults of the heathen people, and perhaps more in some places than in others. Cum, uti dixi, hæc indulgentiæ singularis fuerint, et quidem in duabus maximis et populosissimis urbibus, [Româ et Alexandriâ,] morisque veteris retinentissimis; ubi non tam facile, certe non simul et semel mores vertuntur, vertive poterant. Quod mox tamen effectum. Gothofred, p. 53.

[x] That is reckoned to be one mark of time in this Oration. Sacrifices were still permitted at Rome: but they were prohibited there by Valentinian the younger, with the advice of Theodosius the Great. A. D. 391. l. x. C. Th. de Paganis sacrificiis. So says Gothofred, p. 53.

[y] —— *ἁπανταχȣ δει νομιζειν τελειν το θȣειν, και διδοναι τȣς μεν εν Ῥωμη δαιμονας τα μειζω, τȣς δ' εν τοις αγροις, η και τοις*

and to be allowed, that the dæmons at Rome confer greater benefits, these in the country and other cities less. This is what may be reasonably granted: for in an army all are not equal, yet in a battle the help of each one is of use; the like may be said of rowers in a vessel. So one [dæmon] defends the sceptre of Rome, another protects a city subject to it, another preserves the country, and gives it felicity. Let there then be temples every where, p. 21. Or let those men confess, that you are not well affected to Rome in permitting it to do things by which she suffers damage. But neither is it at Rome only, that the liberty of sacrificing remains, but also in[z] the city of Serapis, that great and populous city, which has a multitude of temples, by which it renders the plenty of Egypt common to all men. This [plenty] is the work of the Nile. It therefore celebrates the Nile, and persuades him to rise and overflow the fields. If those rites were not performed, when and by whom they ought, he would not do so. Which they themselves seem to be sensible of, who willingly enough abolish such things, but do not abolish these; but permit the river to enjoy his ancient rites, for the sake of the benefit he affords.

'What then, some will say: "Since there is not in every country a river to do what the Nile does for the earth, there is no reason for temples in those places. Let them therefore suffer what these good people think fit." Whom I would willingly ask this question: Whether changing their mind, they will dare to say, Let there be an end of these things done by [or for] the Nile. Let not the earth partake of his waters, let nothing be sown nor reaped, p. 22. Let him afford no corn, nor any other product, nor let the mud overflow the whole land, as at present. If they dare not own this, by what they forbear to say, they confute what they do say: for they who do not affirm that the Nile ought to be deprived of his honours, confess, that the honours paid to the temples are useful.[a]

'And since they mention him[b] who spoiled the temples, [of their revenues and gifts,] we shall omit observing, that he did not proceed to the taking away the sacrifices. But

αλλοις αξεσιν, ελαττω. κ. λ. p. 20.

[z] By the city of Serapis is meant Alexandria. This is another note of the time of this Oration: for the temple of Serapis was destroyed in 391. l. xi. C. Th. de Paganis, sacrif. et templis. Vid. et Socrat. H. E. l. v. cap. 16. 17. Sozom. l. xvii. cap. 5. Theod. l. v. cap. 22.

[a] All this argument is vain and trifling. If the heathen priests at Alexandria were still permitted to perform the ancient rites, it was not for the sake of any benefit they were of; for every christian supposed them useless and insignificant. They were permitted, therefore, for some such reasons as those hinted above.

[b] Constantine the Great.

who ever suffered a greater punishment for taking away the sacred money, [out of the temples,] partly in what he brought[c] upon himself; partly in what he suffered after his death, insomuch that his family[d] destroyed one another, till[e] there were none left. And it had been much better for him that some of his posterity should reign, than to enlarge with buildings a city of his own name: for the sake of which city itself all men still curse his memory, except those who live there in wicked luxury, because by their poverty these have their abundance. And since next to him they mention[f] his son, and how he destroyed the temples, when they who pulled them down[g] took no less pains in destroying them, than the builders had done in raising them: so laborious a work was it to separate the stones cemented by the strongest bands, p. 23. Since, I say, they mention these things, I will mention somewhat yet more considerable. That he indeed made[h] presents of the temples to those who were about him, just as he might give a horse, or a slave, or a dog, or a golden cup: but they were unhappy presents to both the giver and the receivers of them, for he spent all his life in fear of the Persians, dreading all their motions, as children do bug-bears. Of these some were childless, and died miserably intestate, and others had better never have had children; with such infamy and mutual discord do they live together, who descend from them, whilst they dwell among sacred pillars taken from the temples. To whom I think these things are owing, who, knowing how to enrich themselves, have taught their children this way to happiness! And at this time their distempers carry some of them to[i] Cilicia,

[c] Libanius refers to Constantine's son Crispus, and his wife Fausta, who were put to death by him. [d] Libanius intends the brothers, nephews, and sons of Constantine the Great. For after his death his son Constantius put to death two of his father Constantine's brothers, and six of their children. [Vid. Julian. Orat. ad S. P. 2. Atheniens. 497. Vid. et Victorem. Julian. Orat. 7. p. 424. Eutropium, Zosimum. l. ii. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1: imo et Libanium nostrum Orat. 7. in Julian. Imp. Cos. p. 236. et Orat. in Juliani necem. p. 262.] Of his sons, Constantine the younger was killed in the war with his brother Constans; and Constans himself in the tyranny of Magnentius. Gothofred, p. 54. [e] Constantine's issue was at an end in Constantius: Constantini M. stirps in Constantio defecit. Gothofred, p. 55.

[f] Constantius. [g] Theodoret, H. E. l. v. cap. 21. takes particular notice of the difficulty of pulling down the temple of Jupiter at Apamea, which was destroyed about this time. [h] For this Gothofred, p. 55, 56, refers to Orat. in Juliani necem, p. 253, 266. et l. viii. C. Theod. de Jure fisci. [i] He seems to mean the temple of Æsculapius at Ægis in Cilicia. This temple, according to Eusebius. Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 56. and Sozomen. l. ii. c. 5. was destroyed by Constantine. Libanius is here supposed to ascribe it to Constantius. But I do not think it necessary so to

needing the help of Æsculapius. But instead of obtaining relief, they meet with affronts only for the injury done to the place, p. 24. How can such return without cursing the author of these evils? But let the conduct of this emperor be such as to deserve praises living and dead; such as we know that he[k] was who succeeded him; who had overturned the Persian empire if treachery had not prevented it. Nevertheless he was great in his death: for he was killed by[l] treachery, as Achilles also was; and is applauded for that, as well as for what he did before his death. This has he obtained from the gods, to whom he restored their rites, and honours, and temples, and altars, and blood: from whom, having heard, "that he should humble the pride of Persia, and then die," he purchased the glory of his life, taking many cities, subduing a large tract of land, teaching his pursuers to fly; and was about to receive, as[m] all know, an embassy which would have brought the submission of the enemy. Wherefore he was pleased with his wound, and looking upon it rejoiced, and without any tears rebuked those who wept, for not thinking that a wound was better to him than any old age. So that the embassies sent after his death were all his right, p. 25. And the reason why the[n] Achemenidæ for the future made use of entreaties instead of arms, was, that the fear of him still possessed their minds. Such an one was he who restored to us the temples of the gods, who did things too good to be forgotten, himself above all oblivion. But I thought, that[o] he who reigned lately would pull down and burn the temples of those who were of the opposite sentiment, as he knew how to despise the gods. But he was better than expectation, sparing the temples of the enemies, and not disdaining to run some hazards for preserving those of his own dominions, which had been long since erected with much labour, and at vast expense. For if cities are to be preserved every where, and some cities outshine others, by

understand him. It is sufficient for his argument, if some of those to whom Constantius had made presents of sacred things, or some of their descendants, went in vain to this place, by whomsoever the temple there was destroyed.

[k] Julian. [l] Libanius intimates, that Julian was killed by some christian, one of his own soldiers. [m] Gothofred observes, (p. 57.) that here, and in some other places, Libanius affirms, or intimates, that Julian had actually overcome the Persians: Persas jam devictos a Juliano Imp. cum is percussus fuit, asserit hic Libanius, ut et Oratione in Juliani necem. p. 303. et 308. Legatosque a Persis pacem oratum jam decretos; idque omnibus notum esse: quod et ipsum duobus aliis locis prodit: puta, Orat. in Juliani necem. p. 303. et de vitâ suâ. p. 45. [n] Another name for the Persians, so called again by Libanius, Orat. in Julian.. necem. p. 268. Gothofred, p. 57. [o] Valens.

means of their temples, and these are their chief ornaments, next to the emperor's palaces: how is it that no care must be taken of these, nor any endeavours used to preserve them in the body of the cities?

'But it is said: "There will be other edifices, though there should be no temples." But[p] I think tribute to be of importance to the treasury. Let these stand then, and be taxed, p. 26. Do we think it a cruel thing to cut off a man's hand, and a small matter to pluck out the eyes of cities? And do we not lament the ruins made by earthquakes? and when there are no earthquakes, nor other accidents, shall we ourselves do what they are wont to effect? Are[q] not the temples the possession of the emperors, as well as other things? Is it the part of wise men to sink their own goods? Does not every one suppose him to be distracted, who throws his purse into the sea? or, if the master of a ship should cut those ropes which are of use to the ship: or, if any one should order a mariner to throw away his oar, would you think it an absurdity? And yet think it proper for a magistrate to deprive a city of such a part of it? What reason is there for destroying that, the use of which may be changed? Would it not be shameful for an army to fight against its own walls? and for a general to excite them against what they have raised with great labour; the finishing of which was a festival for them who then reigned? Let no man think, emperor, that this is a charge brought against you. For there lies in ruins, in the Persian borders, a[r] temple, to which there is none like, as may be learned from them who saw it, so magnificent the stone-work, and in compass equal to the city, p. 27. Therefore in time of war the citizens thought their enemies would gain nothing by taking the town, since they could not take that likewise, as the strength of its fortifications bid defiance to all their attacks——At length, however, it was attacked, and with a fury equal to that of the greatest enemies, animated by the hopes of the richest plunder. I have heard it disputed by some, in which state it was the

[p] Secundum hoc paganorum argumentum, quo sub Christianis Imperatoribus persuadere conabantur, ne templa exscinderentur, ab utilitate desumptum est; nempe quod vectigalia ex locatione templorum colligi possent, eaque in alios usus transferri, &c. Gothofred, p. 58. [q] That is, as Gothofred supposes, the temples, when diverted from their sacred use, and brought into the public treasury, come under the same laws with other things belonging to the emperor's revenue. Templa, semel religioni, vel superstitioni detracta, fiscoque delata, pari jure, quo cæteras res fiscales haberi definit Libanius. Goth. p. 58. [r] It is uncertain what temple our author means. Gothofred is inclined to think, it was the temple at Edessa. Goth. p. 59.

greatest wonder; whether now that it is no more, or when it had suffered nothing of this kind, like the temple of Serapis. But that temple, so magnificent and so large, not to mention the wonderful structure of the roof, and the many brass statues, now hid in darkness out of the light of the sun, is quite perished; a lamentation to them who have seen it, a pleasure to them who never saw it. For the eyes and ears are not alike affected with these things. Or rather to those who have not seen it, it is both sorrow and pleasure: the one, because of its fall, the other because their eyes never saw it, p. 28. Nevertheless, if it be rightly considered, this work is not yours, but the work of a man[s] who has deceived you: a profane wretch, an enemy of the gods, base, covetous, ungrateful to the earth that received him when born, advanced without merit, and abusing his greatness, when advanced; a slave to his wife, gratifying her in any thing, and esteeming her all things; in perfect subjection to them[t] who direct these things; whose only virtue lies in wearing the habit of mourners; but especially to those of them who also weave coarse garments. This[u] workhouse deluded, imposed upon him, and misled him. [And it is said, that[v] many gods have been deceived by gods;] for they gave out, "that the priests sacrificed, and so near them, that the smoke reached their noses:" and after the manner of some simple people, they enlarge and heighten matters, and vaunt themselves, as if they thought nothing was above their power. By such fiction,[w] and contrivance, and artful stories, proper to excite displeasure, they persuaded the mildest[x] father [of his people]

[s] Gothofred, p. 59, supposeth the person, against whom Libanius here rails so heartily, to be Cynegius, præfect of the prætorium in the east, or the emperor's lieutenant, from 384, to 388. [t] Monks who wove garments for themselves, and for the use of poor people. For which reason he also presently afterwards calls their monastery a workhouse.

[u] Τοιστον εργαστηριον ηπατησεν, εφενακισεν, επηγαγετο, παρεκρουσατο. p. 28. M. [v] Upon this place Dr. Ward observed as follows. 'Here seems to be a compliment designed upon the emperor, to soften the 'charge of his being imposed upon; since it was not an unusual thing for the 'gods to impose upon one another. So Juno in Homer calls Jupiter, δολομη-'της. Il. a. ver. 540. And Horace, speaking of Mercury,

"Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ,
"Risit Apollo. Car. i. ode 10.

And Virgil, referring to Juno,

"Adnuit, atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis."
Æn. iv. ver. 128.

[w] He insinuates, that the monks scrupled not to say any thing against the Gentiles, to incense the emperors; charging them with conspiracies, and treasonable designs. [x] Gothofred supposeth our author to intend Valens. Got. p. 61.

among the emperors, p. 29. For these were really his virtues, humanity, tenderness, compassion, mildness, equity, who[y] had rather save than destroy. But there were those who gave juster counsel; that if any such thing had been done, the[z] attempt should be punished, and care taken to prevent the like for time to come. Yet he who thought he ought to have a[a] Cadmean victory, carried on his conquest. But after he had taken his own pleasures, he should have provided for his people, and not have desired to appear great to those who shun the labours of the country, and converse in the[b] mountains, as they say, with the Former of all things. But let your actions appear excellent and praise-worthy to all men. There are at this time many, so far friends, as to receive and empty your treasures, and to whom your empire is dearer than their own souls; but when the time comes, that good counsel and real services are wanted, they have no concern upon them, but to take care of themselves; and if any one comes to them, and inquires what this means, they excuse themselves as free from all fault. They disown what they have done, or pretend "that they have obeyed the emperor's order; and if there is any blame, he must see to it," p. 30. Such things they say, when it is they who are guilty, who can give no account of their actions. For what account can be given of such mischiefs? These men before others deny this to be their own work. But when they address you alone, without witnesses, they say, "they have been in this war serving your family." They would deliver your house from those who by land and sea endeavour to defend your person: than which there is nothing greater you can receive from them. For these men, under the name of friends and protectors, telling stories of those, by whom they say they have been injured, improve your credulity into an occasion of doing more mischief.

'But I return to them, to demonstrate their injustice by what they have said: Say then, for what reason you destroyed that great temple? Not because the emperor approved the doing it. They who pull down a temple, have done no wrong, if the emperor has ordered it to be done.

[y] Το σωζειν μαλλον η απολλυναι. [z] Gothofred, p. 61. supposes Libanius to refer to the consultations of the heathen magicians and soothsayers about a successor to Valens; of which there are accounts in divers authors. Ammianus M. l. xxix. Zosimus, l. iv. Sozom. l. vi. c. 35. lex. 8. C. Th. de Maleficis. Tom. iii. p. 127. And see this volume, The State of Gentilism, &c. Sect. ii. [a] By a Cadmean victory is to be understood a victory prejudicial to the conqueror. [b] The monasteries were generally at some distance from cities, in solitary places. He particularly refers to the monks, not far from Antioch.

Therefore they who pulled it down did not do wrong by doing what the emperor approved of. But he who does that which is not approved by the emperor, does wrong; does he not? You, then, are the men who have nothing of this to say for what you have done, p. 31. Tell me why[c] this temple of Fortune is safe, and the temple of Jupiter, and of Minerva, and of[d] Bacchus? Is it because you would have them remain? No; but because no one has given you power over them; which, nevertheless, you have assumed against those which you have destroyed. How, then, are you not liable to punishment? or how can you pretend that what you have done is right, when the sufferers have done no harm? Of which charge there would have been some appearance, if you, O emperor, had published an edict to this purpose: "Let no man within my empire believe in the gods, nor worship them, nor ask any good thing of them, neither for himself, nor for his children, unless it be done in silence and privately: but let all present themselves at the places where I worship, and join in the rites there performed. And let them offer the same prayers which they do, and bow the head at[e] the hand of him who directs the multitude. Whoever transgresses this law, shall be put to death." It was easy for you to publish such a law as this; but[f] you have not done it; nor have you in this matter laid a yoke upon the souls of men. But though you think one way better than the other, yet you do not judge that other to be an impiety, for which a man may be justly punished, p. 32. Nor have you excluded those of that sentiment from honours, but[g] have conferred upon them the highest offices, and have given them access to your table, to eat and drink with you. This you have done formerly, and at this time; beside others, you have associated to yourself (thinking it advantageous to your government) a man, who[h] swears by the gods,

[c] Ειπε μοι, δια τι το της Τυχης τουτο σων εστιν ιερον, και το του Διος, και το της Αθηνας, και το του Διονυσου· αρ' ὁτι βουλοισθ' αν αυτα μενειν; Ου, αλλ' ὁτι μηδεις την επ' αυτα δεδωκεν ὑμιν εξουσιαν. κ. λ. p. 31. in.

[d] These were heathen temples at Antioch; therefore this passage affords a good argument, that this Oration was composed in that city.

[e] The deacons directed and regulated the behaviour of the people in Christian assemblies. See Bingham's Antiquities, &c. B. 15. ch. i. Vol. vi. p. 574. octavo edition, and elsewhere. At heathen sacrifices there was a person, who had a like office. To this Libanius here alludes. Gothofred's note, p. 63, is different; but I think not so right.

[f] Ου μην ηξιωσας γε, ουδ' επεστησας ζυγον εντανθα ταις των ανθρωπων ψυχαις. p. 31.

[g] ——αλλα και αρχας δεδωκας, και συνουσιους εποιησας.

[h] A man who swears by the gods, before others, and before yourself. What Libanius says here is very true. This passage itself may be reckoned

both before others, and before yourself; and you are not offended at it; nor do you think yourself injured by those oaths: nor do you account him a wicked man who placeth his best hopes in the gods. When, therefore, you do not reject us, as neither did he who subdued the Persians by arms, reject those of his subjects who differed from him in this matter, what pretence have these to reject us? How can these men reject their fellow-subjects, differing from them in this matter? By what right do they make these incursions? How do they seize other men's goods with the indignation of the countries? How do they destroy some things, and carry off others? adding to the injury of their actions the insolence of glorying in them. We, O emperor, if you approve and permit these things, will bear them; not without grief indeed; but yet we will show, that we have learned to obey. But if you give them no power, and yet they come, and invade our small remaining substance, or our walls, know, that the owners of the countries will defend themselves.'

That is the whole Oration of this learned sophist, for the Temples, that they may be preserved; and it may be considered as a laboured apology for Gentilism.

The translation has been made with the utmost care; and it has been a difficult task; and though I have the assistance of a learned friend, I hardly dare be positive that it is right every where. There are some ambiguous expressions, about which learned critics may hesitate which is the true meaning; however, I hope, the translation is generally exact and right.

V. It is very fit that some remarks should now be made upon this Oration. But it is not necessary to observe particularly what confirmation Libanius affords to the accounts given by christian ecclesiastical historians, in his agreement with them about the succession of the Roman emperors, from Constantine to that time, whom, though Libanius has not expressly named them, he has sufficiently distinguished by some characters. The great aversion for Constantine, the first christian emperor, and the affection for Julian upon account of his Gentilism, are apparent. The credulity and superstition of our learned author, even to old age and the last period of life, are also obvious. Nor will any omit to

one instance of that freedom. I shall here allege another from another oration to the same Theodosius, where he swears by Jupiter, and all the gods. *Δακρυεις, ω βασιλευ. Πολλα αγαθα σοι γενοιτο δια την αγαν χρηστοτητα· και εγωγε, νη τον Δια, και παντας τους θεους, τυτ' οψεσθαι προσεδοκων.* De Vinctis. p. 57. Genevæ, 1631.

observe the great freedom of speech used with a christian emperor throughout the Oration. There are, however, several things, of which I remind the reader, and put them together briefly, in the following order:

1. In this Oration we see the state of christianity and Gentilism. Christianity was the prevailing religion; heathenism was declining, and under many disadvantages and discouragements. Sacrifices were generally forbidden, and allowed of in but few places; though incense and other rites were not totally prohibited.

2. Libanius mentions a general title and character of christian bishops, who, by his account, had the highest office among them. They were called pastors; and he particularly mentions Flavianus, at that time bishop of Antioch.

3. Here is much discourse of a sort of people who were called monks by the christians. According to our author's account, they were numerous in the eastern part of the empire, which we also know very well otherwise. They were distinguished from other christians by a black or sad-coloured garment, by their fastings and abstemiousness, by singing hymns or prayers in their worship. They dwelt in distinct societies in the mountains, or other places at some distance from cities. They sometimes laboured with their hands, particularly, in weaving garments, probably for themselves and other poor people. Here is a hint that they had their support, partly at least, from the charitable contributions of others, as an encouragement and recompence for their extraordinary devotions; and that upon account of their reputation for piety, they had a good deal of power and influence; but nevertheless were subject to the bishop or pastor of the neighbouring city, which was next to their dwellings; to whom application was made by those who had any complaints against them.

4. About this time there were some heathen temples demolished, and some other offences offered to the heathens by these people, whom Libanius particularly describes by their 'black garments,' or the 'habit of mourners.' Undoubtedly, this conduct is not to be justified; they ought not to have demolished temples without the emperor's order: such a thing could hardly be done by virtue of an imperial edict, but it would occasion some tumults and disturbances, much more, if they acted in this matter without authority. And if they plundered the heathen people of any of their goods upon false pretences, that is another thing for which they were justly blamable. It may be

reasonably supposed, that Libanius aggravates things: but, at the same time, it is to be feared, that they, whose zeal outruns the laws in demolishing temples, did not rigorously observe the rules of justice and equity in other matters.

5. Libanius considers several arguments of the christians for destroying the temples, and offers divers things by way of answer: 'That the heathen people sacrificed in them contrary to law.' Which he denies. 'That they killed oxen in the countries, at the festivals:' in which he denies that they did any thing contrary to law. 'That by destroying the temples many had 'been converted to christianity, and more would be so, if all the temples were destroyed.' In answer to which, he denies, that any sincere converts were made by that method. 'That it was for the benefit of mankind, that the temples should be destroyed, and that if there were an end put to heathen sacrifices, and all their rites, it would conduce to the prosperity of the empire.' Which he not only denies, but affirms that the grandeur and prosperity of the Roman empire were owing to the worship of the gods: and that all late calamities which had befallen the empire, were owing to the neglect of them.

6. In his answer to those arguments of the christians, and in the course of his Oration, he offers a variety of arguments for the preservation of the temples: That in them, and the rites belonging to them, consisted the prosperity and safety of the people, the countries, the cities, and the stability of the empire; that they who had destroyed any temples, or deprived them of their ornaments, and applied them to other uses, had been punished in themselves or their posterity; that the temples at least might be saved, and applied to other uses; that they were some of the greatest ornaments of the cities; that to destroy them, and forbid the rites belonging to them, was persecution; which is unreasonable in itself, and contrary to the christian doctrine: finally, that the christians themselves were sensible of the benefit of temples, and the sacrifices performed in them: particularly that they were beneficial at Rome, and at Alexandria in Egypt; insomuch that they dared not to destroy the temples in those cities; consequently, they ought to allow them to be beneficial every where, and therefore they ought to be preserved.

It is not necessary for me to inquire into the validity of these arguments; but in the notes, at the bottom of the pages, some observations have been made, especially upon the argument last mentioned.

7. And I would here further observe concerning one of these arguments, that it seems to be weakly and imprudently insisted upon at this time: 'That the christians were sensible the temples were beneficial in some places, and that they dared not to destroy them, fearing the bad consequences of it, as to the prosperity of the empire, and the fruitfulness of the earth.' For, as this was certainly a mistake, so the open pleading of this argument would, in all probability, hasten the ruin of the temples; and the zealous christians would hereupon endeavour to persuade the emperor to grant effectual orders for destroying them, as necessary to show they despised their deities; and as the only means of removing a pretence, by which the heathen people were supported and encouraged in their erroneous and absurd superstition.

8. Libanius condemns force and compulsion in matters of religion. It had been well if heathen people had been always of this opinion; but time was, when the best arguments for moderation and toleration were rejected by them. And they not only denied christians the use of their temples, but compelled them to worship the gods, though contrary to their consciences, by the terror of the greatest evils, and inflicting upon them pains and punishments disgraceful to the Roman government, and contrary to all the principles of reason, and the sentiments of humanity.

9. Libanius owns, that the christians also condemned persecution: he says, 'it was not permitted by their own laws, which commend persuasion, and condemn[i] compulsion.' That is a proof it was their avowed sentiment. Libanius seems not much to have studied the books of the New Testament; he took his notion of the christian laws and the christian religion from the professors and teachers of them.

And it might be easily shown, that the christians of old had alleged the same reasons and arguments against persecution, with those now made use of by this learned sophist. They argued, that compulsion did not make real converts, but hypocrites only. So said Lactantius,[k] whom I shall transcribe briefly below.

[i] See above, p. 28.

[k] 'Res est enim præter cæteras voluntaria; nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat, quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsitan simulare; non potest velle. Denique, cum metu tormentorum aliqui aut cruciatibus victi ad execranda sacrificia consenserint, nunquam ultro faciunt, quod necessitate fecerunt: sed, datâ rursus facultate, ac redditâ libertate, referunt se ad Deum, eumque et precibus et lachrymis placant——Quid ergo promovet, qui corpus inquinat, quando immutare non potest voluntatem?' Lactant. Epit. cap. 54.

10. The moderation of the christian emperors, of Theodosius in particular, ought to be observed. That emperor advanced several, yea, many heathens to governments and magistracies; and showed favour to our Libanius, though he was so open in his zeal for Gentilism.

11. We may observe what we have seen upon many occasions in many others, that our orator displays that popular argument, taken from the successes and victories of Rome, whilst a worshipper of the gods. This was an argument, very proper to work upon the passions. The greatness of the Roman empire had been attained, before the rise of the christian religion; it was easy to insinuate the danger of innovation, and to terrify men with the apprehension of the consequences of it. Doubtless this argument had a great influence upon many; but there were those, who were so far influenced by reason, as to believe, that the world had been in all times governed by the providence of the one God, Creator of the heavens and the earth, not by inanimate images, or dæmons; these were the christians: and upon the ground of this most just and reasonable persuasion, they stood the charge of their heathen neighbours, and bore all the hatred which they loaded them with, as enemies to the welfare of the empire, and of the world in general, by forsaking the ancient worship of the gods.

12. Nor has Libanius omitted the old and common reflection upon the christians, as if they had been all mean and ignorant mechanics. This reflection had been always false and unjust, because there were in all times among the professors of christianity some men of learning and good condition. But this argument should have been dropt before this time. It might be turned against the heathens. The emperors themselves were now christians, and had been so for some while, except Julian. Governors and magistrates were now generally christians; and there were many eminent wits, philosophers, and orators, among the bishops and christian people. To this greatness and splendour had the christian church attained, from mean and small beginnings indeed, by the force of truth, and a rational evidence, without and against worldly terrors and allurements. A greater wonder this, and a work of greater power, as well as of more virtue, than the magnificence of Rome, and the grandeur of her empire!

CHAP. L.

EUTROPIUS.

I. *His work and time.* II. *His character of Constantine, with remarks.* III. *His character of Julian.*

I. EUTROPIUS[a] is called by Suidas[b] an Italian sophist. He says, 'he wrote an Abridgment or Summary of the 'Roman History, in the Latin tongue, and other things.' That[c] Summary of the Roman History, from the foundation of Rome to the death of Jovian is still extant. He served under Julian in the Persian expedition, as he says[d] himself.

His Summary was written in the time of Valentinian and Valens. But it is inscribed to Valens only, and must have been written about the year 370.

Our writers of Universal ancient History say, after Tillemont: 'He[e] seems to have been of the senatorial order; 'for at the head of his work he is distinguished with the 'title of Clarissimus, which was peculiar to Senators.' Nevertheless, I do not see that title in any of the editions of his work, which I have; nor in the Greek paraphrase of Pæanius, though I have two editions of it.

He is generally reckoned a heathen: I think he must be so esteemed. If he had been a christian, there would have appeared some intimations of it in the history of Dioclesian and Constantine; especially when it is considered, that he wrote in the time of christian emperors.

II. Eutropius enlargeth in the history and character of Constantine; but without taking any notice of his christianity. He says, 'that[f] Constantine had a great and

[a] Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. ii. cap. 8. Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib. iii. cap. 9. Tom. 2. p. 576, &c. Tillem. Valens. art. 24.

[b] *Ευτροπιος Ιταλος, σοφιστης· Την 'Ρωμαϊκην ἱστοριαν επιτομικως τῃ Ιταλων φωνῃ εγραψε· και αλλα.* Suid.

[c] Historiæ Romanæ Breviarium.

[d] Hinc Julianus rerum potitus est, ingentique apparatu Parthis intulit bellum: cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. Brev. l. x. cap. 16.

[e] Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 352.

[f] Constantinus tamen, vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quæ animo præparâsset, simul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit; quamvis necessitudo illi et affinitas cum eo esset; nam soror ejus Constantia nupta Licinio erat. Varia deinceps inter eos bella, et pax reconciliata ruptaque est. Postremo Licinius navali et terrestri prœlio victus apud Nicomediam se dedidit, et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus——Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum ex illâ favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum, et sororis filium, commodæ indolis

aspiring mind. He aimed at no less than to be sole governor of the whole world. He blames him for his wars with Licinius though he was related to him by marriage: and then censures him for putting Licinius to death, after he had overcome him, though he had promised him his life with the solemnity of an oath. He adds, that for a while Constantine's reign was mild, and generally acceptable: but the long continuance of prosperity in some measure perverted him; and he then put to death several of his own relations, one an excellent man, [meaning his son Crispus,] and his sister's son, a hopeful youth, [meaning Licinianus, or young Licinius,] then his wife, and after that many of his friends.'

With regard to all which it will be readily allowed, that we do not aim to justify any bad actions of Constantine. When I formerly wrote the history of this[g] emperor, all these things were particularly considered. And I also alleged the judgments of divers learned men, some favourable, others less favourable to him.

The case of Licinius is there[h] particularly considered, and the judgments of divers learned men produced. I now add here the judgment of Mr. Mosheim; who[i] first gives an account of the wars between Constantine and Licinius, and the event of them; and then, in a note, refers to Julian's Cæsars. And he observes, 'that[k] Julian himself, than whom no man was less favourable to Constantine, has represented Licinius as a great tyrant, and a very vicious man.' Mr. Mosheim is also of opinion, that[l] Aurelius Victor has referred to Licinius's persecution of the christians, and severely condemned the cruelty of it: I

juvenem, interfecit, post numerosos amicos. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. cap. 5, 6.

[g] See Vol. iv. ch. ix. x.

[h] Ubi supr.

[i] Vid. Inst. S. 4. P. 1. cap. 1. sect. 10. p. 145, 146.

[k] Ipse Julianus, quo nemo iniquior fuit in Constantinum, non potuit, quin Licinium infamem tyrannum, vitiisque et sceleribus obrutum, diceret. Moshem. ibid.

I think it best for me to transcribe here the passages of Julian, in his own original language. *Λικινιον δε μεχρι των προθυρων ελθοντα, πολλα και ατοπα πλημμελεντα, ταχεως ὁ Μινως εξηλασεν.* Julian. Cæs. p. 315. ed. Spanhem.

Δυο γαρ τυραννες [Maxentium et Licinium] *(ειγε χρη τ' αληθη φαναι) καθηρηχει, τον μεν απολεμοντα και μαλακον· τον δε αθλιον τε και δια το γηρας. αμφωτερω δε θεοις τε και ανθρωποις εχθιστω.* Id. ib. p. 329.

[l] Liceat mihi hic observare, quod neglectum esse adhuc video, Aurelium Victorem, libro de Cæsaribus, cap. 41. Licinianæ hujus vexationis mentionem his fecisse verbis. 'Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum 'servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere.' Philosophi, quos hic excruciâsse Licinius dicitur, Christiani sine dubio sunt; quos multi, disciplinæ nostræ parum gnari, Philosophorum sectam esse opinati sunt. Intactum dimiserunt hunc locum Aurelii interpretes. Moshem. ibid.

place his words below, that the curious and learned reader may the better consider the justness of his observation.

And I shall now refer to a place in Pagi, which also was omitted formerly. He is very particular in his answers to the several complaints before mentioned. 'We[m] know 'not,' he says, 'the reason, why young Licinius was put to 'death; but possibly he was an accomplice with his father. 'In the death of Crispus, Constantine may have been rather 'unhappy than criminal. Fausta may have been condemn-'ed by a just sentence. As for "his many friends," Eu-'tropius has named none. But some of them may at length 'have been brought to condign punishment, for having 'abused the emperor's credulity by their malicious accusa-'tions of others. Nor has any one been named, who 'suffered from him for not being a christian, or that had 'one hair of his head touched upon that account.'

So Pagi, whom I have transcribed below in his own words, that they who please may attend to these observations. Undoubtedly, heathen people in general were much prejudiced against Constantine, the first Roman emperor, who made an open profession of christianity. And we may be allowed to apologize for him, so far as can be done upon good foundations.

I may not omit to observe, that after all that has been already transcribed from him, Eutropius adds, still speaking of Constantine: 'For[n] the former part of his reign he deserves to be reckoned among the best princes, and for the latter part he must be ranked with those of a middle sort. He was distinguished by many good qualities of body and mind. He was especially desirous of military

[m] Et hæc quidem Eusebius [lib. iv. cap. 54. de Vitâ Constantini.] universim de cunctis, in quibus Constantinus utcumque culpabilis videbatur aliquibus. De cædibus autem, si rationem in particulari reddere voluisset, dixisset forsitan cum ipso Baronio, Licinium juniorem ex sorore Constantiâ natum, etsi causa vulgo ignoraretur, vero similiter tamen complicem patri suo fuisse: in Crispo filio infelicem magis quam reum: in Faustâ conjuge etiam justum judicem appellandum. Numerosos amicos, quos successive interfectos scribit Eutropius, lib. x.——credendum, plerosque id commeritos, quod nimiâ principis credulitate tandem deprehenderentur fuisse abusi ob suam exuberantem malitiam, ut loquitur Eusebius, et insatiabilem cupiditatem, qualis proculdubio fuit Sopater ille philosophus, tandem Ablabio agente interfectus: idque justâ Dei dispensatione, quia Constantinum conatus a verâ religione abalienare——Et si plures quam alias tunc fuissent, quid hoc ad fidem christianam spectat, impingendumque Constantino nomen persecutoris, quamdiu nec unus quidem nominatur, cui eâ de causâ vel pilus capitis tactus fuerit? Pagi ann. 324. n. 12.

[n] Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis, comparandus. Innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt: militaris gloriæ appetentissimus: fortuna in bellis prospera fuit, verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Id. ib. l. x. cap. 7.

honour; and indeed was prosperous in his wars. Nor was his success therein beyond the merit of his abilities.'

That is the judgment of Eutropius, whom I take to be rather a military man, than a sophist. In his opinion Constantine was a great man, and no bad prince.

III. In his character of Julian, beside other things, he says, 'he[o] was very ambitious of glory and honour: an 'enemy to the christian religion; however, so as to abstain 'from blood.'

In some editions there is a word denoting that Julian was 'too great' an enemy to the christians. But some learned editors are of opinion, that that word is an interpolation; and, probably, it is so. Without it, is here implied, that Julian in his enmity to the christian religion, bore hard upon the christians, and incommoded them in divers respects, though he did not put them to death, as some other emperors had done.

This is all I think needful to take from Eutropius. I should have been well pleased to find more in a work, which is so filled with a variety of events in many reigns, some since the rise of christianity, and others before it.

CHAP. LI.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

I. *His time, and work, and character.* II. *Extracts from him.*

I. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS[a] was a Greek, of a good family at Antioch, who lived under Constantius, and the following emperors, to the reign of Theodosius, and near the end of the fourth century. He had early a military post, called domestic protector; which is reckoned to be an argument, that he was of a good family. From the year 350 to 359, he served in divers places under Ursicinus,

[o] Gloriæ avidus, ac per eam animi plerumque immodici: nimius religionis christianæ insectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstineret. Lib. x. cap. 16.

[a] Vide Auctorem ipsum. Voss. de Hist. Latin. lib. ii. cap. 9. Vales. Præf. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 612. et T. 3. p. 113. Pope Blount Censura Auctorum. p. 181. Tillemont H. E. Valens. art. 23. Bayle Diction. Hist. Crit. Marcellin. The writers of Universal Ancient History, Vol. xvi. p. 351, 352.

master of the horse to Constantius. He was with Julian in his Persian expedition in 363. After which he seems to have continued in the east, and to have lived pretty much at Antioch, in which he was born; which place he did not leave before the year 374, when he went to Rome, where he wrote his history, as appears from several parts of his work: which is the history of the Roman affairs from Nerva to the death of Valens, in 378.

This history consisted of one and thirty books, the first thirteen of which are lost, and the last eighteen only remaining; which begin at the 17th year of Constantius, of our Lord 353.

His style is remarkably rough; but it is not strange, that the style of a soldier, and a Greek, writing in Latin, should have some faults; which, however, are fully compensated by his faithfulness and impartiality.

Some have thought him a christian; but that is evidently a mistake, and they have had very few followers. They who have any doubts about this matter, may do well to consult the preface of[b] Adrian Valesius to his edition of this author, and[c] Mr. Bayle's Dictionary. As he wrote under christian emperors, he might not judge it proper to profess his religion unseasonably, and might think fit to be somewhat cautious in his reflections upon christianity.

Says Tillemont, 'It[d] is manifest, that he is zealous for 'idols, and for such as worshipped them; and particularly 'for Julian the apostate, whom he makes his hero; and, on 'the contrary, he appears to be a great enemy to Constan-'tius. Nevertheless, he often speaks with some equity both 'of one and the other.'[e]

He is plainly an admirer of Julian. Nevertheless he de-

[b] Sed qui attente legerit, quæ præter cætera in fine libri xiv. de Adrastiâ et Nemesi, quæ in libro xvi. de Mercurio, quæ in libro xxi. de numine Themidis, de Haruspicinâ, de Auguriis, variisque artibus futura prænoscendi, veteres Theologos suos et Physicos ac Mysticos secutus scripsit: profecto fateri cogetur, eum cultui Deorum addictum ac devotum fuisse. A. Vales. Præf.

[c] See Ammian. Marcellin. note (B.) [d] L'Emp. Valens. art. 23.

[e] The late learned and excellent Mr. Mosheim was of opinion, that Marcellinus, and some other learned men about this time, were a sort of neuters: they neither rejected the christian religion, nor forsook the religion of their ancestors. His argument may be seen quoted above, Vol. vii. ch. xxxvii. which appears to me a particularity in that great man. To me it seems, that Ammianus was as much a heathen, as he would have been, if christianity had never appeared in the world. I refer to a quotation of Valesius, supra, note [b], and particularly to Ammianus's defence and recommendation of heathen augury, and other like methods of investigating futurities, which are at the beginning of the 21st book of his History. And there are many other places proper to support the same judgment concerning him.

serves, in my opinion, the character which he gives of himself at the conclusion of his work[f] of a faithful historian. If I should have occasion to complain of some instances of partiality, I shall take the liberty to mention them.

Says Seur: 'Ammianus Marcellinus[g] is a celebrated 'historian, who was in divers honourable military offices 'in the reigns of several emperors. He speaks as an eye-'witness of many things of which he writes, and oftentimes 'of having a part in them. Though he was a pagan, he 'shows no animosity against the christian religion, but 'expresseth himself with a great deal of modesty, and re-'presents things faithfully and equitably, with great care, 'and in good order.'

As it appears from some things said in the work itself, that it was not finished before the year of Christ 390, I have placed him no earlier than 380, though he had then flourished a great while, as is evident from what has been just said of him.

II. Having given this account of the author himself and his work, I now proceed to make extracts from him.

1. Ammianus informs us, 'that[h] Constantine, desirous to know exactly the opinions of several sects, the Manichees in particular, and the like, and not finding any one fit for that purpose, he accepted and employed Strategius, who had been recommended to him. And he discharged that office so much to satisfaction, that the emperor ordered, that for the future he should be called Musonianus.'

That must be reckoned a curious passage, though we are not acquainted with the report made after inquiry: nor do I know, that this is mentioned any where else by any other ancient writer now extant.

Strategius, who now approved himself to Constantine, was afterwards in several high offices. In the reign of Constantius he was for a while proconsul of Achaia, and

[f] Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Nervæ exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensurâ: opus veritatis professum nunquam (ut arbitror,) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. Ammian. l. xxxi. cap, 16. sub fin.

[g] Hist. de l' Eglise et de l' Empire. A. 384. p. 446.

[h] Domitiano crudeli morte consumpto, Musonius ejus successor Orientem Prætoriani regebat potestate Præfecti, facundiâ sermonis utriusque clarus: unde sublimius quam sperabatur eluxit. Constantinus enim, cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum, et similium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc ipsum commendatum ut sufficientem, elegit: quem officio functum perite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum. Et ex eo percursis honorum gradibus multis adscendit ad præfecturam; prudens alia, tolerabilisque provinciis, et mitis, et blandus, &c. Ammian. l. xv. cap. 13.

in the year 354 was made by the same emperor præfect of the prætorium in the east.

I transcribe in the margin more of this paragraph of Ammianus than I have translated. He says, that Strategius was noted for his skill in both languages, meaning Greek and Latin: and he commends him for the moderation and mildness with which he governed the people of the provinces, who had been committed to his care. As does also[i] Libanius. I must likewise refer to[k] Gothofred.

2. In the history of affairs in the year 355, he says: 'That[l] Leontius, who was then præfect of Rome, having performed an act of justice becoming his office, he received an order from Constantius, to send to him at Milan, Liberius a priest of the christian law, [bishop of Rome,] as having been disobedient to the commands of the emperor, and the decrees of many of his brethren. And I shall give a short account of this affair. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria at that time, taking more upon him than became his character, as was confidently reported, was deposed by a numerous assembly, which they called a synod. For by his great skill in the augury of birds, and other arts of prognostication, he was said to have often foretold future things. He was also charged with other things contrary to the christian law. When Liberius was desired by the emperor to assent to the rest, and to subscribe to the sentence for removing him [Athanasius] from the sacerdotal see, he obstinately refused to comply; again and again declaring, that it was the height of wickedness to condemn a man unseen and unheard; thus openly withstanding the emperor's will and pleasure. For he being ever averse to Athanasius,

[i] Liban. de Vitâ suâ. p. 29. C. D.

[k] Vid. Musonianus, in Prosopogr. Cod. Theodos.

[l] Hoc administrante Leontio, Liberius, christianæ legis antistes, a Constantio ad Comitatum mitti præceptus est, tamquam Imperatoris jussis, et plurimorum sui consortium decretis obsistens, in re, quam brevi textu percurram. Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra professionem altius se efferentem, sciscitarique conatum externa, ut prodidêre rumores assidui, cœtus in unum quæsitus ejusdem loci multorum (synodus ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod obtinebat. Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites, scientissime callens, aliquoties prædixisse futura. Super his intendebantur ei alia quoque a proposito legis abhorrentia, cui præsidebat. Hunc per subscriptionem abjicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens cæteris, jubente Principe, Liberius monitus perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare, nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans, aperte scilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille, Athanasio semper infestus, licet sciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque, quâ potiores æternæ Urbis Episcopi, firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti. Quo non impetrato, Liberius ægre populi metu, qui ejus amore flagrabat, cum magnâ difficultate noctis medio potuit absportari. Lib. xv. cap. 7.

though he knew the thing was already done effectually, yet he was very desirous to have it confirmed by the authority also of that superior power, which belongs to the bishops of the eternal city. Liberius not complying, he was sent for to come to the court; and was at length carried away [to Milan] under a strong guard in the night time, for fear of the people, by whom he was dearly beloved.'

So writes Ammianus, representing this part of the conduct of Liberius, not disagreeably to the accounts of our ecclesiastical[m] writers. Liberius, however, was not always steady: but there is no necessity that I should now concern myself any farther in his history.

3. We must take another passage concerning Constantius. In his character of this emperor, at the end of his reign, Ammianus says: 'The[n] christian religion, which in itself is plain and simple, he adulterated with a childish superstition: for studying it with a vain curiosity instead of sober modesty he raised many dissensions, which, when caused, he cherished and increased by a strife about words. And the public carriages were even worn out by the troops of priests galloping from all quarters to their synods, as they call them, to bring the whole sect to their particular opinion.'

Most persons will allow this to be a judicious passage. First, he calls the christian religion 'a plain and simple religion.' They who best understand the New Testament, will most admire the justness of this observation. Secondly, the 'strife about words,' very probably has a reference to those two words, 'homoüsius,' and 'homoioüsius, of the 'same,' and 'the like substance,' which caused so much disturbance among christians of the fourth century. Thirdly, we plainly see, that the Arians rendered themselves ridiculous, and exposed the christian religion, by the multitude of their synods in this[o] reign. Nor were the heathen people only, but the catholics likewise, concerned for the poor post-horses: as appears from a passage

[m] Vid. Theodoret. l. ii. cap. 16. Sozom. l iv. cap. 9. Athanas. Histor. Arian. ad. Monachos. p. 364—368. edit. Bened. Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 20. Sulp. Sever. Hist. l. ii. cap. 39. al. cap. 55, et 56.

[n] Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens: in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius, excitavit discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum; ut catervis Antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehicularis succideret nervos. Amm. M. l. xxi. cap. 16. seu ult.

[o] Some notice was taken of their numerous creeds and synods formerly. Vol. iv. ch. iv. Where also this same passage of Ammianus is quoted.

of Hilary[p] observed by Valesius in his notes upon this place of Ammianus. I shall also transcribe below a part of the conference at Milan, between Liberius and the emperor Constantius, and Eusebius his great chamberlain, as it stands in[q] Theodoret. Fourthly, the design of these councils was impertinent, namely, to bring all christians to an agreement in some words and phrases, which were the invention of a vain and eager curiosity; when it was sufficient for christians to agree in the main things of religion. Lastly, take away the additions of human invention, and christians might agree, and be of one mind; which is a very desirable thing, and is the command and earnest request of Christ and his apostles: but till that is done, unity is in vain expected, and christianity will be reproached.

4. In the year 355 Constantius made Julian Cæsar, and sent him into Gaul. When[r] he came to Vienne, he was received with great rejoicings. 'And,' says Ammianus, 'at that time an old woman, who had lost her sight, asked, who it was that was then making his entrance into the city; and being informed that it was Julian the Cæsar, she cried out: "This man will repair the temples of the "gods."'

5. Ammianus gives this account of Julian's dissimulation of his real sentiments, even after he was declared emperor and Augustus by the soldiers at Paris, and after he had accepted of those titles. It is in the history of affairs at the beginning of the year 361. Julian was then marching toward Constantinople, and was got as far as Vienne in Gaul.

'In[s] the mean time,' says Ammianus, 'making no alteration

[p] Cursusque ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum reducitur. Hilar. Fragmentum iii. p. 1320. C. Paris, 1693. [q] Επικτητος επισκοπος ειπεν. Αλλ' ὁ δρομος των δημοσιων ȣχ ὑποϛησεται την χρειαν της των επισκοπων παροδȣ. Λιβεριος· Ου χρειαν εχει τα εκκλησιαϛικα δημοσιȣ δρομȣ. κ. λ. Theod. l. ii. cap. 16. p. 94. B. [r] Cumque Viennam venisset, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetrabilem [al. Imperatorem] honorifice susceptura omnis ætas concurrebat et dignitas——Tunc anus quædam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam esset ingressus, Julianum Cæsarem comperîsset, exclamavit, Hunc Deorum templa reparaturum. Id. l. xv. cap. 8. fin.

[s] Agebat itaque nihil interim de statu rerum præsentium mutans, sed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens, paulatimque se corroborans, ut dignitatis augmento virium quoque congruerent incrementa. Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinæ, auguriisque intentus, et cæteris, quæ Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphaniam dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. L. xxi. cap. 2. fin.

in the present state of things, but with a sedate and composed mind disposing matters according as incidents led him, and by degrees confirming his authority, that the increase of his power might be proportionable to the increase of his dignity. And that he might secure the affections of all, he pretended to be still a christian, though he had for some good while before secretly forsaken that religion, and practised soothsaying, and augury, and other things, which are always performed by the worshippers of the gods. But those things were done privately, and were known to a very few only, who were acquainted with all his secrets. And that this change might be still concealed for a while, on a holiday, which the christians keep in the month of January, and call the Epiphany, he went to their church, and publicly worshipped the Deity according to their custom.'

By Zonaras the same story is told in this manner: 'Though[t] Julian had long since renounced christianity, 'fearing the soldiers, whom he knew to be almost all chris-'tians, the better to cover his wickedness, he gave leave to 'all to follow their own religious rites. And on the day of 'our Saviour's nativity he went to church and worshipped, 'that he might seem to agree with the soldiers.' Zonaras calls that 'our Saviour's nativity,' which Ammianus calls 'the Epiphany.' They mean the same day, the sixth of January, on which many christians in the East celebrated both our Saviour's nativity and baptism.

6. He gives this account of Julian's conduct in matters of religion, after the death of Constantius, and after his entrance into Constantinople.

'And[u] though from his early youth he had been inclined

[t] Ἤδη δε την εις Χριστον εξομοσαμενος πιστιν, ευλαβειτο δια τουτο τους στρατιωτας, ειδως σχεδον συμπαντας Χριστιανους οντας· Διο συσκιαζων την ἑαυτου κακιαν, εκαστον εκελευε θρησκευειν ὡς βουλοιτο. Αυτος δε της γενεθλιου του Σωτηρος ἡμερας εφεστηκυιας εισηλθεν εις τον ναον, και προσκυνησας, ἱν' ὁμοδοξος τοις στρατιωταις δοκῃ, απηλθεν. Zonar.

[u] Et quanquam a rudimentis pueritiæ primis inclinatior erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adolescens desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quædam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat occultissime. Ubi vero, abolitis quæ verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciendi quæ vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana; et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cultum. Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes christianorum Antistites cum plebe discissâ in Palatium intromissos monebat, ut, civilibus discordiis consopitis, quisque nullo vetante religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut, dissensiones augente licentiâ, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique christianorum, expertus. L. xxi. cap. 5.

to the worship of the gods, as he grew up, his affection for it was greatly increased. But being full of fears, he performed only some of the rites belonging to it, and with the utmost secrecy. But when the causes of his fears were removed, and he found the time was come that he could freely do what he pleased, he discovered the secrets of his mind; and by plain and express edicts he ordered the temples to be opened, and sacrifices to be offered in the worship of the gods. And that he might the better secure the success of his designs, having sent for the disagreeing bishops of the christians, together with the divided people, and they being introduced into his palace; he told them, that all civil discord being laid aside, every one might practise his own religious rites without fear or molestation. Which he did with this view, that liberty increasing their dissensions, he might have nothing to fear from their unanimity among themselves: for he had observed that no beasts were so cruel to men, as the generality of christians are to one another.'

7. Having[v] commended Julian for some alterations for the better in proceedings at law, he adds: 'But that was an unmerciful law, and to be for ever buried in silence, which forbade the christians to teach grammar or rhetoric.'

He speaks again of this law in his general character of Julian after his death. 'His[w] laws,' he says, 'were generally right, and commendable for their plainness and perspicuity, whether they commanded or forbade the doing any thing, except a few only. Among which must be reckoned that unmerciful law, which forbade the christian professors of rhetoric and grammar to teach, unless they came over to the worship of the gods.'

Of this we said something formerly in the chapter of Julian, to which place, therefore, the reader is now[x] referred.

8. Soon after the first of those two passages, he relates the murder of George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, by the heathen people of that place; which must have happened near the end of the year 362. In this account I may

[v] Post multa enim etiam jura quædam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquide, quid juberent fieri, vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritûs christiani cultores. Lib. xxii. cap. 10. fin.

[w] Namque et jura condidit non molesta, absolute quædam jubentia fieri, vel arcentia, præter pauca. Inter quæ erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros grammaticos christianos, ni transîssent ad numinum cultum. Lib. xxv. cap. 5.

[x] See before, Vol. vii. ch. xlvi.

omit some particulars for the sake of brevity. By[y] Julian's order, Artemius, duke, or governor of Egypt, had been put to death: this seems to have been very acceptable to the heathen people of that city. 'When[z] they heard of that, as Ammianus says, they turned their rage against George the bishop, who had often abused them, and, as I may say, with a viperous malice: a man born, as it is said, in a fulling-mill at Epiphania, a town in Cilicia, and who had grown great to the ruin of many: and at length, neither for his own, nor for the public good, was ordained bishop of Alexandria, a place, as is well known, very apt to go into sedition. To those turbulent and exasperated spirits George himself added fuel, often accusing people to Constantius, whose ears were too open to such things, as disaffected to his government. Thus forgetting the office of his profession, which recommends nothing but justice and lenity, he went into the vile methods of informers.——To all

[y] Of Artemius may be seen Theodoret. H. E. l. iii. cap. 18. And compare Basnag. Ann. 362. num. xi.

[z] Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur, ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est) multos læderet ut offensus, iram in Georgium verterunt Episcopum, vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morsibus ab eo sæpius appetiti. In fullonio natus, ut ferebatur, apud Epiphaniam Ciliciæ oppidum, auctusque in damnâ complurium, contra utilitatem suam, reique communis, Episcopus Alexandriæ est ordinatus, in civitate, quæ suopte motu, et ubi causæ non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitatur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. His efferatis hominum mentibus Georgius quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum, apud patulas aures Constantii multos exinde incusans, ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis: professionisque suæ oblitus, quæ nihil nisi justum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebat——Ad hæc mala id quoque addiderat, unde paullo post trusus est in exitium præceps. Reversus ex comitatu Principis, cum transiret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudine stipatus ex more, flexibus ad ædem ipsam luminibus, 'Quamdiu,' inquit, 'sepulcrum hoc stabit?' Quo audito, velut fulmine multi perculsi, metuentesque ne illud quoque tentaret evertere, quidquid poterant, in ejus perniciem clandestinis insidiis concitabant. Ecce autem repente perlato lætabili nuntio, indicante exstinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato vocibus horrendis infrendens Georgium petit: raptimque diversis mulctandi generibus proterens et conculcans: divaricatis pedibus——Quo non contenta multitudo immanis dilaniata cadavera peremtorum camelis imposita vexit ad litus: iisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulêre cruciabiles pœnas, ad usque gloriosam mortem intemeratâ fide progressi, et nunc Martyres appellantur. Poterantque miserandi homines ad crudele supplicium ducti, christianorum adjumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant. Hoc comperto, Imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, jamque expetiturus pœnas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus est lenientibus proximis. Missoque edicto, acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum, minatus extrema, si deinde tentatum fuerit aliquid, quod justitia vetet et leges. lib. xxii. cap. 11.

these provocations he added this also, which soon hastened his ruin. Being returned home from the imperial court, as he was passing by the beautiful temple of Genius, accompanied with a numerous attendance, as usual, turning his eyes to the temple itself, "How long," says he, "shall this sepulchre stand?" Being greatly enraged, they fell upon George, and some others, and killed them. The mad multitude, not content with that, took the mangled bodies of those whom they had killed, and placing them upon the backs of camels, they carried them to the sea-side; and having burnt them, threw the ashes into the sea, lest, as they said, if their relics were gathered up, they should have temples built to their honour, as had been done for others; who, when required to renounce their religion, had suffered the most cruel torments, and even a most glorious death, with unshaken constancy, and are now called martyrs. Those unhappy men, who were thus destroyed, might have been saved with the assistance of the christians, [meaning, I suppose, the catholics, friends of Athanasius;] but that all in general, without exception, were filled with hatred of George. The emperor, when he heard of this transaction, was much provoked, and intended to inflict an exemplary punishment: but his displeasure was moderated by those who were about him. Whereupon he sent an edict to the Alexandrians, severely reproving them for this outrage, and threatening the heaviest penalties, if they should again do any thing contrary to justice and the laws.

Of this transaction we took some notice before, in the life[a] of Julian, and observed, that the letter, or edict, here mentioned, as sent upon this occasion, is still extant: however, I have thought it best to bring up this story again as related by Ammianus.

And upon this account of our heathen author, we may observe, that Ammianus knew very well, 'that the office of a christian bishop taught him nothing but justice and lenity.' Farther, he was acquainted with the sufferings of christians in former times: and though they are here mentioned by the by only, if I do not misunderstand him, he appears to have had a high opinion of their fidelity and fortitude, in patiently enduring the most exquisite tortures, rather than do any thing contrary to the conviction of their own minds: and he esteemed their death 'glorious,' and honourable to themselves.

It seems to me very probable, that if we still had remaining the first books of this work of Ammianus, which are now

[a] See Vol. vii. ch. xlvi.

irrecoverably lost, we should have seen many things relating to christian affairs, that would have been instructive and entertaining.

Whilst Julian was at Antioch, in his way to the Persian war, the temple of Apollo at Daphne, near that city, was suddenly burnt down on the 22d day of October, 362. 'By[b] which sudden and terrible accident,' says Ammianus, 'the emperor's displeasure was greatly raised; so that he commanded a more than ordinary strict inquiry to be made by tortures into the cause of it, and ordered the great church at Antioch to be shut up. For he suspected, that the christians out of envy had set fire to the temple, because it was surrounded by a magnificent colonnade.'

10. The passage to be next taken would be this author's account of Julian's design to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem: but that has been already quoted in the chapter of Julian,[c] and nothing farther needs to be now said about it.

11. Of Jovian, who succeeded Julian, Ammianus says, he[d] was a zealous christian.

12. Liberius, bishop of Rome, before mentioned, having died in September, 366, the third year of Valentinian and Valens, there was a warm contention for his place between Damasus and Ursinus, who was deacon in that church. Ammianus speaks of this matter at the year 367.

'Damasus[e] and Ursinus,' says he, 'heated with an extra-

[b] Eodem tempore die xi. Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum Daphnæi Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et sævus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem, subitâ vi flammarum exustum est. Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque Imperatorem ira provexit, ut quæstiones agitari juberet solito acriores, et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi. Suspicabatur enim id christianos egisse stimulatos invidiâ, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioso circumdari peristylio. L. xxii. cap. 13.

[c] See Vol. vii. ch. xlvi.

[d] Christianæ legis idem studiosus—— L. xxv. cap. 10. sub. fin.

[e] Damasus et Ursinus, supra humanum modum ad rapiendam Episcopatûs sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis: quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius nec mollire, coactus vi magnâ secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilicâ Sicinnini, ubi ritûs christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum; efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum jurgari debere: cum, id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut earum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant beati revera, si, magnitudine Urbis despectâ, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorumdam provincialium viverent; quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et super-

vagant ambition for the episcopal seat, were so fierce in their contention, that on each side the quarrel proceeded to wounds, and even to death. Juventius [præfect of Rome] not being able to stop, nor to compose the difference, was compelled to retire into the suburbs. Damasus overcame in the contest, the party that was with him prevailing. It is certain, that in the basilick of Sicinninus, where was an assembly of the christians, an hundred and seven and thirty were killed in one day: and it was a good while before the exasperated multitude were brought to good temper. Nor do I deny, considering the pomp and wealth of the city, that they who are desirous of such things, are in the right to contend with all their might for what they are fond of: since having obtained it, they are sure of being enriched with the offerings of matrons, and will ride in chariots, and be delicately clad, and may make profuse entertainments, surpassing the tables of princes. But they might be happy indeed, if despising the grandeur of the city, which they allege as an excuse for their luxury, they would imitate the life of some country bishops, who by their temperance in eating and drinking, by the plainness of their habit, and the modesty of their whole behaviour, approve themselves to the eternal Deity, and his true worshippers, as men of virtue and piety.'

Under the year 368 he greatly commends Prætextatus, who had succeeded Juventius as præfect of Rome, and says, that by his[f] wisdom and good conduct the disturbance was composed which the quarrels of the christians had occasioned, and Ursinus having been banished, tranquillity was restored.

What Ammianus here writes is very true: Damasus was bishop of Rome after Liberius; and Socrates says, that in the contention[g] between Damasus and Ursinus many were killed. And he observes, 'that the ground of the con-'tention was not any heresy, or difference of opinion, but 'only which of them should be bishop;' and Sozomen, in the very words of Ammianus, says, this contention[h] proceeded to wounds and death.

cilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. L. xxvii. cap. 3. fin.

[f] Cujus auctoritate justisque veritatis suffragiis tumultu lenito, quem christianorum jurgia concitârunt, pulsoque Ursino, alta quies parta proposito civium Romanorum aptissima. Lib. xxvii. cap. 9.

[g] Εστασιαζον ου προς ἑαυτους, ου δια τινα πιστιν η αιρεσιν, αλλα περι του μονου τις οφειλει του επισκοπικου θρονου εγκρατης γενεσθαι. Socrat. H. E. l. iv. cap. 29.

[h] Ὡς μεχρι και τραυματων και φονων το κακον προελθειν. Soz. l. vi. cap. 23. ap. 666. D.

It is plain from Ammianus, that at that time the bishops of Rome lived in great splendour, and that this contention about the bishopric was a scandalous thing. There were, however, some country bishops, who, not having the temptation of riches, were humble and modest, as became their profession. In short, it was the opinion of Ammianus, that a man may be a good bishop without being rich; and that piety and modesty do more recommend religion, than a great deal of state and splendour. Once more, in the opinion of this heathen author, a christian bishop who despises grandeur, may be a more happy man, than he who enjoys the grandeur even of the city of Rome, is enriched with the presents of ladies, rides in a coach, is delicately clad, and is able to give more than princely entertainments.

13. As we have seen in Ammianus some notice taken of the splendour of the bishops of Rome at that time, I may add a short story from Jerom concerning Prætextatus, just mentioned, who was a very eminent man, and was well acquainted with Damasus, and, as may be supposed, saw how he lived. Jerom then tell us, 'that Prætextatus,[i] in 'conversation with Damasus, would sometimes pleasantly 'say to him: "Make me bishop of Rome, and I will pre-'sently be a christian."'

14. Ammianus relates several cruelties of Valentinian: as christianity is mentioned in some of them, I am likewise obliged to observe these passages. 'Among his cruelties,'[k] says he, 'that were much observed, this was one. Diodorus, who had been his steward, and three serjeants of the vicar of the præfect of Italy, were cruelly put to death by him upon the complaint of a certain count, whom Diodorus had judicially summoned to appear before the vicar, and to

[i] Miserabilis Prætextatus, qui designatus Consul est mortuus. Homo sacrilegus, et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato Papæ Damaso dicere: 'Facite me Romanæ Urbis Episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus.' Hieron. Ep. 38. al. 61. Tom. iv. p. 310. fin.

[k] Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis, ex Comite Largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta levia flammis jussit exuri: et Diodori ex Agente in rebus, triumque Apparitorum potestatis Vicariæ per Italiam, ob id necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum questus est Comes, Diodorum quidem adversus se civiliter implorâsse juris auxilium, officiales vero jussu judicis ausos monere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex lege. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque christiani, locum ubi sepulti sunt, 'Ad Innocentes' appellant. Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cujusdam Pannonii ob executionem recte maturari præceptam trium oppidorum ordines mactari jussisset, interpellavit Eupraxius tunc Quæstor: et, 'Parcius,' inquit, 'agito, piissime principum. Hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios jubes, 'ut Martyras, id est, Divinitati acceptos, colit religio christiana.' Lib. xxvii. cap. 7.

whom the serjeants, by orders of the vicar, had delivered the summons. Whose memory,' says Ammianus, 'is still honoured by the christians at Milan, who call the place where they were buried, The Innocents. Then also in the case of one Maxentius, when, on account of a sentence legally pronounced, he ordered the officers of three towns to be put to death. Whereupon Eupraxius, the quæstor, interceded in this manner: "Be more moderate, O most pious of princes: for they whom you command to be put to death as guilty, the christian religion reverenceth as martyrs, that is, men acceptable to the Deity."'

15. Ammianus[l] speaks afterwards of another cruelty of Valentinian, in putting to death a presbyter of the christian religion upon account of Octavianus, formerly proconsul: but the passage is defective, some words being wanting. It is supposed by Valesius, in his notes upon Ammianus, to be the same thing which is inserted by Jerom in his Chronicle at the year of Christ 372, who says: 'In this 'year[m] a presbyter of Sirmium was most unjustly beheaded, 'because he did not discover Octavianus, formerly procon-'sul, who lay concealed at his house.'

16. In his character of Valentinian, at the end of his reign, Ammianus says: 'Lastly[n] he was remarkable for the moderation of his government, that he stood neuter between all the diversities of religion, and was troublesome to none, nor did he require any to follow either this or that. Nor did he strive by severe edicts to bend the necks of his subjects to his own way of worship, but left matters untouched in the condition he found them.'

Socrates says, 'that[o] Valentinian was favourable to the 'men of his own opinion, [meaning the Homoüsians,] without 'being troublesome to the Arians.' Which is very true. But the observation of Ammianus is more extensive, including moderation toward Hellenists, as well as christians. An instance of this may be hereafter taken notice of by us from Zosimus,[p] and perhaps from some other writers also.

[l] Episoten aliquem ritûs christiani Presbyterum——tum Octavianum ex proconsule——offensarum auctore, licet tardius ad sua redire permisso. Amm. l. xxix. c. 3. p. 614. [m] Presbyter Sirmii nequissime decollatur, quod Octavianum ex proconsule apud se latitantem prodere noluisset. Hieron. Chr. p. 187. [n] Prostremo hoc moderamine principatûs sui inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud; nec interdictis minacibus subjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipse coluit inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit. Lib. xxx. cap. 9.

[o] Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 211. B. [p] Zos. l. iv. sub. in.

Having alleged the principal passages of Ammianus, I shall now put down some others, though out of the order of time, as being of some use.

17. In the affairs of Gallus Cæsar, in the reign of Constantius, at the year 353, he speaks of one Maras,[q] a deacon, as the christians call it.

18. Silvanus, master of the horse to Constantius, who had performed many services for him, and for his father Constantine, fell under suspicion of disaffection to the government: whereby he was in a manner obliged, for his own safety, to rebel, and take the imperial purple at Cologne, where he then was, in the year 355. 'The soldiers of Ursicinus got into that city, and killed the guards, and soon after Silvanus himself,' Ammianus says, 'as he[r] was fleeing to a conventicle of the christians.' That was the end of Silvanus, in about a month after he had assumed the title of emperor.

19. When Sapor, king of Persia, had gained some advantages over the Romans, in the time of Constantius, 'and had taken some virgins,[s] after the christian manner devoted to God,' as Ammianus says, 'he gave orders that no man should hurt them, and that they should be permitted to perform their religious worship in their own way, without molestation.

20. He[t] also speaks of 'a bishop of the christian law, in a castle besieged by Sapor, who went out to the king to persuade him to desist from his design upon the place. But he was suspected of informing the king where the

[q] ——Maras quidam nomine inductus est (ut appellant christiani) diaconus. L. xiv. cap. 9.

[r] Firmato itaque negotio per sequestres quosdam gregarios, obscuritate ipsâ ad id patrandum idoneos, præmiorum expectatione accensos, solis ortu jam rutilo subitus armatorum globus erupit: atque ut solet in dubiis rebus audentior, cæsis custodibus, regiâ penetratâ, Sylvanum, extractum ædiculâ, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritûs christiani tendentem, densis gladiorum ictibus trucidârunt. Lib. xv. cap. 5. p. 92.

[s] Inventas tamen alias quoque virgines christiano ritu cultui divino sacratas, custodiri intactas, et religioni servire solito more, nullo vetante, præcepit. Lib. xviii. cap. 10. fin.

[t] Verum secuto die otio communi adsensu post ærumnas multiplices attributo, cum magnus terror circumsisteret muros, Persæque paria formidarent; christianæ legis Antistes exire se velle gestibus ostendebat et nutu: acceptâque fide, quod redire permitteretur incolumis, adusque tentoria Regis accessit. Ubi datâ copiâ dicendi quæ vellet, suadebat placido sermone discedere Persas ad sua.——Sed perstabat incassum hæc multaque similia disserendo, efferatâ vesaniâ Regis obstante, non ante castrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adjurantis. Perstrinxit tamen suspicio vana quædam, Episcopum, ut opinor, licet asseveratione vulgatâ multorum, quod clandestino colloquio Saporem docuerat, quæ mœnium appeteret membra, ut fragilia intrinsecus et invalida. L. xx. cap. 7.

castle was weakest, and might be attacked to the best advantage.'

21. In the beginning of the reign of Valentinian, 'Apronianus[u] præfect of Rome condemned a person to death for the practice of some magical arts. But the executioner,' as Ammianus says, 'losing his hold, the criminal fled to a chapel of the christian rite; but being presently taken thence, had his head cut off.'

22. In the year 367, or 368, in the time of Valentinian, 'a German prince,[v] named Rando, surprised the city of Mentz, then without a garrison. And,' as Ammianus says, 'finding the people engaged in celebrating a feast of the christian rite, he plundered the place, and carried off without resistance the people of both sexes, and of every condition, with all their effects.'

23. 'Palladius, notary, or secretary of state, had been taken up by order of Valentinian for some offences. And,'[w] says Ammianus, 'sensible of his guilt, early in the evening, when his keepers were absent, being gone to spend the night in a neighbouring church on a festival of the christian rite, he hanged himself.' Tillemont[x] thinks it might be the eve of Easter in 374.

24. I have now transcribed a great deal from Ammianus: nevertheless I hope not too much. Many of the passages are important, as well as entertaining; some are curious. If any others are less material, they are still of some use: they serve to show, that christian people were then of some consequence. A heathen historian, writing of public affairs,

[u] Dum hæc in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes, Apronianus, regens Urbem æternam, judex integer et severus, inter curarum præcipua, quibus hæc Præfectura sæpe solicitatur, id primum operâ curabat enixâ, ut venefícos, qui tunc rarescebant, captos,——indicatis consciis, morte mulctaret.—— Denique.——Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque confessum——capitali animadversione damnavit; qui laxius retinente carnifice, subito lapsus confugit ad ritûs christiani sacrarium, abstractusque exinde illico abscissâ cervice consumptus est. L. xxvi. cap. 3. p. 488.

[v] Sub idem fere tempus Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute ut rebatur profecto, Alemannus regalis, Rando nomine, diu præstruens quod cogitabat, Moguntiacum præsidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit. Et quoniam casu christiani ritûs invenit celebrari solennitatem, impræpedite cujusquemodi fortunæ virile et muliebre secus cum supellectili non parvâ indefensum abduxit. L. xxvii. cap. 10. p. 542.

[w] His literis ad Comitatum missis et lectis, Valentiniani jussu Meterius raptus suam esse confitetur epistolam: ideoque Palladius exhiberi præceptus, cogitans quas criminum coxerit moles, in statione primis tenebris observatâ custodum absentiâ, qui festo die Christiani ritûs in Ecclesiâ pernoctabant, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit. Lib. xxviii. cap. 6. p. 593.

[x] See L'Emp. Valentinien. art. xxvii Tom. v. p. 196.

could not decline to take notice of them; and for the most part he speaks civilly of them, and with marks of moderation.

CHAP. LII.

VEGETIUS.

FLAVIUS VEGETIUS RENATUS[a] wrote a treatise in five books, of the Art of War, dedicated to an emperor, by whose order it was composed. In most copies it is inscribed to Valentinian the Second; though some think, it was rather dedicated to Theodosius the First. Fabricius[b] is inclined to think him a christian. As that is only a doubtful point, I suppose I ought to quote him among heathen writers, and at the year 390, which is some while before the death of Valentinian the Second, and five years before the death of Theodosius.

He gives this account of the oath taken at that time by soldiers, when enlisted into the legions: 'They[c] swear,' says he, 'by God, and by Christ, and by the Holy Spirit, and by the emperor's majesty, who is to be loved and honoured by mankind in the next place after God.'

[a] Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. iii. cap. 12. T. i. p. 616. Tillem. H. Emp. Théodos. i. art. 92. [b] Fl. Vegetius Renatus videtur fuisse christianus. Fabr. Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 132. Hamb. 1722.

[c] Jurant autem per Deum, et per Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per Majestatem Imperatoris, quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda. Veget. Institutio Rei Militaris. l. ii. c. 5. Quemadmodum Legio constituatur.

CHAP. LIII.

EUNAPIUS.

I. *His time, and works.* II. *Extracts from his history of the Roman Emperors.* III. *Extracts from his Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers.* IV. *Remarks upon the foregoing Extracts.*

I. EUNAPIUS[a] was a native of Sardis in Lydia. He came from Asia to Athens, when he[b] was about sixteen years of age, in the year of Christ 363 or 364, and[c] therefore not till after the death of Julian: when likewise Proæresius, the christian sophist, was returned to his chair, and had resumed his lectures. Under that celebrated sophist Eunapius[d] studied five years. He wrote a book with this title, The[e] Lives of Philosophers and Sophists, which was not finished till near the end of the fourth century: for which reason I place him at the year 396. In that[f] work he speaks of his having written the History of the Roman Emperors, and that he should write the same history again: that history, in the second edition of it, reached to the year 404, as it began at the year 268, with the reign of Claudius the second, who succeeded Gallienus. This may suffice for the history of this writer and his works.

II. I begin my extracts with the History of the emperors, of which we have remaining some fragments only. Photius, in his Bibliotheque, gives this account of it: 'We[g] 'have read,' says he, 'the Chronicle History of Eunapius, in 'the new edition, in fourteen books. He begins his history 'with the reign of Claudius, where Dexippus's history con- 'cludes; and he ends with the reigns of Honorius and

[a] Nec multo hoc junior Eunapius fuit. Nam Valentiniani, Valentis, et Gratiani temporibus vixit: sophista, idem medicus, ac historicus insignis, magni illius Proæresii discipulus, affinis nobilis sophistæ Chrysanthii; quippe qui Eunapii consobrinam duxisset uxorem. Voss. de Histor. Gr. l. 2. cap. xviii. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 232, &c. Tillem. Theodos. i. art. 95.

[b] Eunap. in Vitâ Proær. p. 102, et 126.

[c] Il quitta l'Asie, et vint à Athènes âgé de 16 ans, au mois d'Octobre, vers le temps de Julien, mais apparemment, lorsqu'il étoit mort, et que Proérèse avoit repris ses leçons, Ainsi c'étoit en 363 ou 364. Tillem. ubi supr.

[d] See Eunapius as before, note [b].

[e] Βιοι φιλοσοφων και σοφιστων.

[f] Vid. Vit. Max. p. 75.

[g] Ανεγνωσθη Ευναπιυ χρονικης ἱστοριας, της μετα Δεξιππον νεας εκδοσεως——Ph. p. 169.

'Arcadius, sons of Theodosius, about the time that the wife 'of Arcadius died [meaning Eudoxia]. This Eunapius was 'of Sardis in Lydia. As[h] to religion he is impious, and a 'great admirer of the Greek customs. In his history he 'asperseth those who adorned the empire by their piety, and 'especially the great Constantine. But he commends the 'impious, and above all the rest, Julian the apostate: so that 'he seems to have written his history with the view of 'making an encomium upon him.' [He then commends his style, making however some exceptions.] 'He composed 'two works containing the same history, the first and the 'second. In[i] the first he has inserted many blasphemies 'against our holy christian religion, and extols the Greek 'superstition, and often reproacheth the pious emperors. 'But in the second, which he also calls a new edition, he 'omits a great deal of the reproachful language, which he 'had before uttered against our religion. Nevertheless he 'has still left sufficient marks of his enmity to us.' So wrote Photius in the ninth century.

If that work of Eunapius were now extant, undoubtedly we should find in it a good deal of railing. But the loss of it is the less regretted by those learned men who have a curiosity to know what he had said, because it is supposed that[k] Zosimus has copied a good deal out of him, and moreover we shall see a good deal of the temper of Eunapius in his Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists, which remain.

III. To that work therefore I now proceed.[l] And I in-

[h] *Δυσσεβης δε την θρησκειαν ων, τα Ἑλληνων γαρ ετιμα. Τους μεν ευσεβειᾳ την βασιλειαν κοσμησαντας, παντι τροπῳ και ανεδην κακιζων διασυρει, και μαλιστα γε τον μεγαν Κωνσταντινον.* p. 169. m.

[i] Ibid.

[k] Impulsu hujus Chrysanthii scripsit de Vitis Sophistarum, opus elegans ac venustum; sed in quo passim prodat, quam christiano nomini fuerit infestus. Idem res gestas Cæsarum, exinde orsus, ubi desierat Herodianus, ad sua usque tempora produxit——Eo ex opere solum de Legationibus fragmentum, beneficio Andreæ Schotti, lucem vidit. Reliqua extare dicuntur in Bibliothecâ Venetâ. Eo autem æquiori animo istis caremus, quod Zosimum habemus. Nam easdem res Eunapius et Zosimus tractârunt, et ita tractârunt, ut Zosimus Eunapium prope descripsisse visus sit, &c. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 18.

[l] I know not of any good edition of that work. I have two: one, Antverpiæ, ex officinâ Chr. Plantini, 1568; the other, Coloniæ Allobrogum, apud Sam. Crispinum. 1616. J. A. Fabricius seems sometimes to refer to an edition of Eunapius made by himself. Porphyrii vitam composuit e veteribus Eunapius, ad quem nonnulla annotavi. Bib. Gr. Tom. 4. p. 181. But from the learned Reimar, de Vitâ et Scriptis J. A. Fabricii. p. 209. we learn, that, though Fabricius had begun an edition of this author, it was never finished. Eunapii Vitæ Philosophorum ac Sophistarum Collatæ cum vi. Cod. MSS. a Marquardo Gudio, Græce et Latine, cum notis Fabricii——Tria hujus folia usque ad p. 48. typis exscripta sunt in 8. sed typographo moras nectente,

tend to take those passages which contain any express mention of the christians, or any material references to their affairs; in which will be many proofs of that zeal for Gentilism, which Photius observed in his history of the emperors.

1. This work begins with the life of Plotinus. The next is that of Porphyry. After whom follows Jamblichus, then Ædesius, in all three and twenty.

2. In his life of Ædesius, who was a Cappadocian, he writes to this purpose: 'At[m] length,' says he, 'Ædesius became little inferior to his master Jamblichus, setting aside the inspiration which belonged to Jamblichus. For of that I have nothing to write, perhaps, because Ædesius concealed it, by reason of the times. For then Constantine was emperor, who threw down the most celebrated temples, and set up the structures of the christians. For this reason it is likely the chief of his scholars,' that is the scholars of Jamblichus, 'might affect a kind of mysterious silence, and priestly taciturnity. Whence it came to pass that the writer of this, who from his youth was a scholar of Chrysanthius, spent well nigh twenty years with him before he was acquainted with the true doctrine. So difficult a matter has it been to bring down to our time the philosophy of Jamblichus.'

3. After which he proceeds, in the same life, to give an account of the death of Sopater, another celebrated Platonic philosopher, who attended on Constantine, as Eunapius says, 'to[n] check and govern by reason the warm temper of that emperor, and who was for a considerable time in great favour with him, so as to excite the envy of many of the courtiers. At length, by Constantine's order, he was put to death.' Our author imputes his death to Ablabius, præfect of the prætorium. It is not certain when it happened. Tillemont[o] inclines to the year 333. Nor do we clearly discern what[p] was the occasion of it. I may take some farther notice of this Sopater hereafter in my extracts from[q] Zosimus.

4. In the same life he speaks of Eustathius, another

quarum vel maxime impatiens erat vir excitati ingenii, editione abrupit, nec ipsum opus perfecit. I several years ago was informed that a learned German, whose name I do not remember, was preparing a new edition of Eunapius. In which I make no question there would be many valuable improvements. But I have not yet heard that it is finished. I therefore shall refer to the edition, before mentioned, in 1616. [m] Eunap. Vit. Ædes. p. 33, 34. [n] Ib. p. 34. m.

[o] L'Emp. Constantin. sect. 71. [p] See Tillemont, as before, and Crevier's History. Vol. x. p. 169, 170. [q] See hereafter my Extracts from Zosimus, num. 7.

scholar of Jamblichus, and intimate friend of Ædesius, whom he greatly commends upon divers accounts, and particularly for his eloquence: 'Which,' as[r] he says, 'was so charming, that the emperor, [Constantine,] though fond of the books of the christians, was desirous to see him.'

'Eustathius[s] married Sosipatra, who surpassed her husband, though he was so considerable.' 'She[t] left behind her three sons: the names of two of them need not to be mentioned; but the third, whose name was Antoninus, was not unworthy of his parents.' 'He, choosing for the place of his abode one of the mouths of the Nile, called Canobus, wholly applied himself to the learning there taught, and endeavoured to fulfil his mother's prediction concerning him. And all the youth of sound judgment, and that were studious of philosophy, resorted to him; and the temple was full of young priests. At that time he was not accounted more than a man, and conversed among men. Yet he foretold to all his disciples that, after his death, there would be no temples, but that the magnificent and sacred temple of Serapis would be laid in ruinous heaps, and[u] that fabulous confusion, and unformed darkness, would tyrannize over the best parts of the earth. All which things time has brought to pass, and his prediction has obtained the credit of an oracle.'

Afterwards of the same Antoninus, he says: 'But[v] he made no show of divine converse, nor of any thing above the common apprehensions of men: suspecting, perhaps, the emperor's inclinations, which lay another way.' 'But[w] that there was somewhat divine in him was not long after made manifest: for he was no sooner departed out of this world but the worship of the gods at Alexandria was abolished, and the priests were dispersed.' 'And not only the sacred worship was abolished, but the sacred fabrics were thrown down; and all things had the same end with the vanquished giants in the fables of the poets. And[x] the temples at Canobus underwent the same fate, Theodosius then reigning, Theophilus presiding over the affair, Euetius at the same time governor of civil affairs, [or præfect,] and Romanus general of the soldiery: who, having never so much as heard of war, vented all their anger against stones

[r] Vid. Ædes. p. 44. [s] Ib. p. 48. [t] Ib. p. 59, 60.

[u] *Και τι μυθωδες και αειδες σκοτος τυραννησει τα επι γης καλλιστα.* κ. λ. p. 60. m. [v] *Απεδεικνυτο μεν γαρ ουδεν θεουργον, και παραλογον ες την φαινομενην αισθησιν, τας βασιλικας ισως ορμας ὑφορωμενος ἑτερωσε φερουσας.* p. 62. [w] *Οτι δε ην τι θειοτερον το κατ' αυτον, ουκ εις μακραν απεσημανθη,* κ. λ. p. 63. [x] Ibid. p. 63. fin.

and statues, and levelled the temple of Serapis to the ground; and rifling away the consecrated oblations, they gained a complete, though never contested and bloodless, victory. For they fought so valiantly with statues and consecrated donatives, that they not only overcame them, but plundered them, and carried them away. And it was a part of their discipline, that whatever they stole they kept concealed. They only carried not away the foundations of the temple, by reason of the weight of the stones which rendered them not easy to be removed. Thus these warlike and courageous champions, overwhelming all things with confusion and disorder, and lifting up hands to heaven not stained with blood indeed, but foully defiled with avarice, gave out that they had overcome the gods, and boasted of their sacrilege and impiety. Then[y] they introduced into the sacred places a sort of people called monks, men it is true as to their outward shape, but in their lives swine, who openly suffered and did ten thousand wicked and abominable things. Nevertheless to them it seemed to be an act of piety to trample under foot the reverence due to the sacred places. For every one that wore a black coat, and was content to make a sordid figure in public, had a right to exercise a tyrannical authority. Such a reputation for virtue had this sort of men attained. But[z] of these things I have already spoken in the Universal History. These monks also were settled at Canobus; who, instead of deities conceived in our minds, compelled men to worship slaves, and those not of the better sort neither. For picking up and salting the bones and skulls of those whom for many crimes justice had put to death, they carried them up and down and showed them for gods, and kneeled before them, and lay prostrate at their tombs, covered over with filth and dust. These[a] were some of them (called martyrs and ministers and intercessors with the gods) slaves that had served dishonestly, and been beaten with whips, and still bore in their corpses the scars of their villanies. And yet the earth brings forth such gods as these. This highly advanced the reputation of Antoninus's foresight: forasmuch as he had told every body that the temples would be turned into sepulchres.'

So writes Eunapius, with great freedom, as all will allow, under a christian emperor.

[y] Ἔιτα επεισηγον τοις ἱεροις τοποις τες καλεμενες Μοναχες, ανθρωπες μεν κατα το ειδος, ὁ δε βιος αυτοις συωδης, και ες το εμφανες επασχον τε και εποιεν μυρια κακα και αφρατα, κ. λ. Vit. Ædes. 64 et 65. [z] P. 65. [a] Μαρτυρες γεν εκαλεντο και διακονοι τινες, και πρεσβεις τω αιτησεων παρα των θεων, κ. λ. p. 6. ead. Vit.

However there are some other remarks which may be not improperly made here.

The demolition of the temples, which Eunapius here speaks of, was made by order of the emperor Theodosius the first, in the year 389, as some[b] think: or as others[c] in the year 391. Eunapius says that Theophilus presided in this affair. Which[d] is very agreeable to what Socrates says of Theophilus, then bishop of Alexandria. At his request the emperor's edict was obtained; and he was also intrusted with the execution of it. And instead of 'Euetius, governor of civil affairs,' or præfect of Egypt, it has been observed that[e] Eunapius should have said 'Euagrius.'

5. In the life of Proæresius he says, 'When[f] Julian was emperor, being excluded from the schools, because he seemed to be a christian, he applied to Hierophantes, [or the high priest of Eleusinium,] who had a skill of discerning futurity, that he might inquire of the gods whether this state of things would last. And understanding that it would not, he was the more easy.'

By Jerom,[g] in his Chronicle, we are informed that Proæresius was an Athenian sophist: and that when Julian's edict was published, forbidding christians to teach the polite arts, Proæresius resigned his chair at Athens, though Julian was willing to allow him by a special privilege to continue there.

For certain therefore Proæresius was a christian. Nor does the expression of Eunapius, 'because he seemed to be a christian,' imply any doubt of it. The truth therefore of his making any inquiry of the gods concerning futurity may be questioned. Tillemont[h] was of opinion that this story needs not to be received.

6. In this place Eunapius tells us that 'when[i] he was sixteen years of age he came to Athens, and entered him-

[b] Vid. Tillem. Theodos. i. art. 51. et note 40. Pagi ann. 389. num. xv.

[c] Basnag. ann. 391. num. ix. x. Vid. et Pagi ann. 389. num. xii.

[d] Socrat. l. 5. c. xvi. p. 274. C. Conf. Sozom. l. 7. c. xv.

[e] Secundo, loco horum verborum: Ευετιυ δε την πολιτικην αρχην αρχοντος, legendum Ευαγριυ: ac vertendum, 'Evagrio res civiles administrante.' Evagrius itaque non præfectus Urbi, ut perperam vertit Junius, sed præfectus Augustalis, &c. Pagi ann. 389. n. xiv.

[f] Ιυλιανυ δε βασιλευοντος, τοπων τυ παιδευειν εξειργομενος, εδοκει γαρ ειναι Χριστιανος, συνορων τον Ιεροφαντην ωπερ Δελφικον τινα τριποδα προς την τυ μελλοντος προνοιαν πασι τοις δεομενοις ανακειμενον, σοφια τινι περιηλθε ξενη την προγνωσιν——Ὁ δε Προαιρεσιος ηξιωσεν αυτον εκμαθειν περι των θεων, ει βεβαια μενει τα της φιλανθρωπιας. Ὡς δε απεφασαν, ὁ μεν εγνω το πραχθησομενον, και ην ευθυμοτερος. Vita Proæres. p. 126.

[g] Chron. p. 185. Jerom's words are cited, Vol. viii. ch. xlvi. sect. 1. sub. fin.

[h] L'Emp. Julien. art. 33.

[i] Vita Proæres. p. 126.

self among the scholars of Proæresius, who loved him as if he had been his own son. With him Eunapius stayed five years, and then returned to Lydia; soon after which Proæresius died,' as may be supposed, in the year 368, when he was about ninety-two years of age. For when Eunapius came to be with him, he was[k] in the eighty-seventh year of his age. And as Proæresius resigned the chair of rhetoric in the time of Julian, it must be supposed that he resumed it after the death of that emperor, in the year 363, about which time our Eunapius came to Athens, and studied five years under him. There is extant[l] a letter of Julian to Proæresius, filled with high compliments upon his eloquence. And I would observe here, in favour of Eunapius, that though he was a zealous Gentile, he has once and again spoken very honourably of Proæresius, as a[m] very amiable, as well as eloquent man, and in great reputation upon that account. Eunapius, therefore, notwithstanding his bigotry, was not wholly destitute of candour.

7. Chrysanthius, as we have seen above, was one of Eunapius's[n] masters. He was descended of a good family, and was much respected by Julian, who[o] by letters several times sent to him to come to court, which Chrysanthius always declined. However, in that reign, he was made high priest of Lydia; of which event Eunapius, in his life, writes in this manner: 'Chrysanthius[p] then receiving the high priesthood of the whole nation, and well knowing what would come to pass, he was far from being troublesome in the exercise of his authority, not erecting new temples, as almost all men earnestly importuned him to do, nor extremely vexatious to any of the christians. But such was the simplicity of his behaviour, that the restoration of the sacred rites in Lydia was hardly perceived. So that, though formerly things had been managed after another manner, yet now there seemed not to be any innovation, nor was there any thing surprizing or tumultuous in the alteration, but all things tended to calmness and serenity. And he only was admired, whilst others were tossed in a storm.'

Here again, as seems to me, Eunapius shows moderation. He approves of the mildness and gentleness of Chrysanthius.

[k] Ibid. p. 102. [l] Julian. Epist. ii. ap. Spanhem. p. 373.
[m] Ubi supr. p. 102. et p. 129, 127. et alibi. [n] Vit. Chrys. p. 144.
[o] Eunap. ibid. p. 148, et Suid. V. Χρυσανθιος.
[p] Ὁ δε Χρυσανθιος, την αρχιεροσυνην τȣ παντος εθνȣς λαβων, και το μελλον εξεπιϛαμενος σαφως, ȣ βαρυς ην κατα την εξȣσιαν, ȣτε τȣς νεως εγειρων, ὡσπερ απαντες θερμως και περικαως, ες ταυτα συνεθεον· ȣτε λυπων τινας των Χριϛιανων περιττως· αλλα τοσαυτη τις ην ἁπλοτης τȣ ηθȣς, ὡς κατα Λυδιαν μικρȣ και ελαθεν ἡ των ιερων επανορθωσις, κ. λ. Vit. Chrysant. 148, 149.

At the same time there is an intimation that, in Julian's time, the proceedings were more violent and tumultuous in many other places.

8. In the life of Proæresius[q] Eunapius tells a long story of Anatolius, in the time of Constantius, which is very proper to be inserted here. But I think it best first of all to give some account of Anatolius from other writers.

Says Photius: 'We[r] read the work of Vindanius Anatolius of Berytus, concerning agriculture. It is a collection out of several writers upon the same subject, such as Democritus, and Africanus, and Tarantinus, Apuleius also, and Florentius, Valens, Leon, and Pamphilus, and likewise from the Paradoxes of Diaphones. The work consists of twelve books or sections. It contains many useful directions for agriculture and husbandmen; and may be reckoned one of the best books that have been written upon the subject. At the same time here are inserted many strange and incredible things savouring of the error of Gentilism. But a pious husbandman may let those things alone, and select only what is useful.'

Several learned men,[s] and particularly Valesius, are of opinion that this is the same Anatolius, who, having passed through other high offices in the state, came at length to be præfect of Illyricum in 358, as appears from[t] Ammianus Marcellinus, in which office he died in[u] 360. Valesius's note upon Ammianus, who has distinctly mentioned his præfecture of Illyricum in the time of Constantius, is so clear and instructive, that[v] I shall transcribe a part of it below for the use of attentive readers.

[q] P. 117, &c.

[r] Ανεγνωσθη Ουινδανιε Ανατολιε Βερυτιε συναγωγη γεωργικων επιτηδευματων——Εχει δ' ὁμως ενια και τατο το βιβλιον τερατωδη και απιτα, και της Ἑλληνικης πλανης ὑποπλεα· ο δει τον ευσεβη γηπονον εκτρεπομενον, των λοιπων συλλεγειν τα χρησιμα, κ. λ. Phot. Cod. 163. p. 349.

[s] Vide Gothofredi Prosopograph. Cod. Theodos. et Tillemont. L'Emp. Constance. art. 50. T. 4. p. 840, 841. art. 66. p. 903.

[t] Geminâ consideratione alacrior, [Constantius,]——quodque Anatolio regente per Illyricum Præfecturam, necessaria cuncta, vel ante tempus coacta, sine ullius dispendiis adfluebant. Amm. l. 19. c. xi. p. 243.

[u] Habita est iisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio——et Anatolio recens mortuo Præfecto Prætorio per Illyricum, ad ejus mittitur locum. Id. l. 21. cap. vi. p. 296.

[v] Anatolius Syrus, Beryto oriundus, cum scientiam juris civilis in patriâ didicisset, Romam profectus admissusque in Palatium, per omnes honorum gradûs ad Præfecturæ culmen adscendit. Vir etiam inimicorum judicio admirabilis, ut scribit Eunapius in Proæresio, quem jucundum erit legere. Erat autem sacrificiis et Græcanicæ religioni imprimis addictus, teste ibidem Eunapio. Unde fere adducor, ut credam eum ipsum esse, quem Photius in Bibliothecâ Vindamum Anatolium appellat, Berytium, qui de Re Rusticâ scripsit, cultu Ethnicum, ut Photius testatur.——Ejus porro industriam, vigilantiam, integritatem, magnitudinem animi, et eloquentiam

Several of the letters of Libanius are written to Anatolius, and in divers of them notice is taken of his præfecture of Illyricum, which was a station of great honour. In one of them he says: 'He[w] could not but be greatly pleased that 'he was advanced to that dignity, which is superior to all 'others: for,' says he, 'we Syrians are proud when we can 'give a man to the Romans who is able to direct the affairs 'of the state.' In another letter to Anatolius he tells him that 'he[x] had been informed by a person who was present, 'that, beside other commendable things, he said to the em-'peror, when he was going away to the government of the 'province to which he was appointed: "Henceforward no 'dignity shall protect an offender from punishment: let 'him be one of the judges or a military man, if he transgress 'the laws he shall be called to an account for it."' In another letter to Anatolius, he celebrates[y] his great mind, his integrity, his eloquence.

We have evidently discerned from Ammianus that Anatolius was præfect of Illyricum under Constantius in 358, and 359. Some think he[z] had been put into that office by Constans in the year 348, and that Eunapius says as much.

I shall now transcribe a good part of what Eunapius says of Anatolius in his life of Proæresius.

'Anatolius,' he[a] says, 'was of Berytus in Phœnicia, a man studious of eloquence, which also he attained, well skilled in the laws, and a great patron of learning, and so prosperous in his designs, that, going to Rome, and being well received in the emperor's palace, he passed through several high offices of the state with the applause even of his enemies, till at length he was advanced by the emperor to the præfecture of Illyricum. And[b] being a lover of sacrificing, and extremely zealous of Hellenism, though at that time the stream ran another way; and having, by vir-

magnopere commendat Libanius in epistolâ 15. [18. ap. Wolf.] Qui cum Præfecturæ codicillis donatus, jamque in Illyricum profecturus Imperatori valediceret, hæc inter cætera dixisse fertur: Post hæc, Imperator, neminem nocentem dignitas a supplicio liberabit, &c. Vales. ad Ammian. l. 19. cap. xi. p. 243.

[w] Liban. ep. 394. p. 201. Wolf. edit. an. 1738.

[x] Liban. ep. 466. p. 233.

[y] Ep. 18. p. 5, &c.

[z] See Tillem. L'Emp. Constance. art. 13. p. 701. et note xv. p. 1103, 1104.

[a] Eunap. Vita Proæres. p. 117, &c.

[b] *Και φιλοθυτης ων, και διαφεροντως Ἑλλην· καιτοιγε ἡ κοινη κινησις προς ἑτερας εφερε ῥοπας, εξον αυτω προς τα καιρια της αρχης ελθειν, και διοικειν εκαστα προς ὁ βουλοιτο. Ὁ δε χρυσης τινος αυτον μανιας ὑπολαβουσης ιδειν την Ἑλλαδα——Ὁ δε Ανατολιος εγγυθεν, και εισεδημησεν Αθηναζε. Θυσας δε θαρσαλεως, και περιελθων τα ιερα παντα, ἡ θεσμος ιερος εκελευσεν, εξεκαλει τους σοφιστας επι τον αγωνα· κ. λ.* Eunap. in Proæresio, p. 117—120.

tue of his high office, a privilege of visiting the best parts of the empire, and of directing things as he pleased; he was seized with a certain golden phrensy of seeing Greece: but before he went thither, he sent a problem to be considered by the sophists there, and desiring them to exert themselves, and to give the best solution they were able.' According to Eunapius, the sophists there fell into vexatious disputes about the state of the question, and the best method of solving it. 'One of them,' as he says, 'was Himerius the sophist of Bithynia. At length Anatolius came to Athens. Upon his arrival he offered sacrifices in a splendid manner, and visited the temples as the sacred institution required. He then called for the sophists, and invited them to produce their arguments. But,' as Eunapius says, 'they showed so much self-love, and vanity, and such ambition to be preferred each one above the other, that Anatolius despised them, and pitied the parents whose children were under the care of such instructors. Proæresius then was called for, who was the only one that had not yet appeared. He spoke to the point in question with so much perspicuity, as to give Anatolius complete satisfaction. And,' as Eunapius assures us, 'Proæresius[c] was greatly honoured by Anatolius: the rest he hardly thought worthy to sit at his table.'

This story cannot be read without making some reflections.

(1.) It is easy from this temper of Anatolius, as well as from many other things that come before us, to perceive how great was the affection of many for ancient Gentilism, and how difficult it was to persuade men to alter the sentiments in which they had been educated.

(2.) Secondly, We see here, in Eunapius himself, an acknowledgment of the defects of education at Athens, a thing insisted on by Gregory Nazianzen,[d] whose accounts are here confirmed.

(3.) Once more, I reckon that we here see an instance of the candour of Anatolius, in the respect which he showed to Proæresius, who was a christian. He allowed him to have a superior excellence above the other sophists at Athens. In short, Anatolius, though a Gentile, was a man of great learning, good judgment, and much candour. He was also a faithful subject and able officer under the emperor Constantius. Indeed, he is commended by all who have had occasion to speak of him.

[c] Τιμησας εν εκεινον διαφεροντως φαινεται, και τοι γε τες αλλες μολις αξιωσας της εαυτε τραπεζης. Ibid. p. 120.

[d] Gr. Naz. Or. 20. p. 327, 328.

One of the Orations of Himerius is in praise of the præfect Anatolius. Photius[e] has made some extracts out of it. But as there are not in them any historical facts, I transcribe nothing from them.

Anatolius is likewise commended by[f] Aurelius Victor, and for the same useful public services, which are mentioned to his honour by[g] Ammianus Marcellinus.

9. There is another like story in the life of Chrysanthius. The exact time of it does not appear to me: but, probably, it might be in the time of Valentinian and Valens. 'But,'[h] says Eunapius, 'the business of the christians prevailing, and spreading itself far and wide, there came so far as from Rome a præfect of Asia, whose name was Justus. He was now considerably advanced in years, but of a generous and noble disposition, and one who had not relinquished the ancient rites and ceremonies of his country: but was a professor of that blessed and happy way of life, and was continually in the sacred offices of religion, and fond of all sorts of divination, highly valuing himself likewise upon this temper of mind, and the right performance of these things. He, crossing from Constantinople to Asia, and finding a governor in the country to his heart's desire, whose name was Hilarius, erected some extempore altars, (for there are none there,) and if he found any ruins of a temple, he set his hands to repair it. Having appointed a public sacrifice, he sent an invitation to all who were of note in those parts for learning to come to him. Thereupon great numbers soon resorted to him: and Justus sacrificed in the presence of the writer of this work, and others.' It appears from what follows that[i] Chrysanthius also was there.

So writes Eunapius with an excellent relish for Hellenism.

10. In the life of Maximus, which is the fifth in order, Eunapius has several times mentioned Julian, and refers[k]

[e] ——εκ τε εις Ανατολιον ὑπαρχον. Phot. Cod. 243. p. 1139.

[f] Simul noscendis ocyus, quæ ubique e Rep. gerebantur, admota media publici cursûs. Quod equidem munus, satis utile, in pestem orbis Romani vertit posteriorum avaritia, insolentiaque; nisi quod his annis suffectæ vires Illyrico sunt, Præfecto medente Anatolio. Aur. Vict. de Cæsar. in Trajano. cap. 13.

[g] Ammian. l. 19. cap. xi. p. 243.

[h] Τα δε των Χριστιανων ενικωντος εργα, και κατεχοντος ἁπαντα, δια μακρα τις απο της Ρωμης εισεφοιτησεν αρχων της Ασιας· Ιωστος ενομαζετο· πρεσβυτης μεν ηδη κατα την ηλικιαν· γενναιος και αλλως το ηθος, και αρχαιας και πατρια πολιτειας εκ απηλλαγμενος· αλλα τον ενδαιμονα και μακαριον εκεινον εξηλακως τροπον. Ιερος ιεροις ην αει, και μαντειας εξεκρεματο πασης, μεγα φρονων, ὁτι τετων επεθυμησε τε και κατωρθωσεν, κ. λ. Vita Chrys. p. 153, 154.

[i] Vid. p. 155.

[k] Vita Maximi. p. 68. in.

to the fuller account which he had given of him in his History of the Roman Emperors. He says, particularly, 'the[l] family of Constantine failing, Julian only was left; who, by reason of his tender age, and mildness of temper, was much despised. Yet he was waited on by the emperor's eunuchs, and others, who were placed about him as spies, to see that he continued to be a good christian.' He goes on to extol Julian's ready wit and uncommon memory. 'So swift progress he made in learning as to cause uneasiness even to his masters, who had nothing more that they could teach him. And Constantius was well enough pleased to see him study philosophy, instead of minding the affairs of state.' He adds, that 'Julian[m] was old, when young:' meaning that he was old in wisdom and science 'when young in years.'

In the same life he says, that 'Julian[n] was sent into Gaul with the title of Cæsar, not so much that he might rule there, but rather with hopes that so difficult a government would prove his ruin. But, contrary to all expectation, through the good providence of the gods, he carried all before him: at[o] which time it was unknown that he was a worshipper of the gods.'

It is not unlikely that here we see some things transferred from his History of the Roman Emperors into this work of the Lives of Sophists and Philosophers.

11. Oribasius, a friend of Julian, is one of the sophists or philosophers whose lives are written in this work; he has therefore a distinct chapter for him, but it is not long: it may be worth our while to take a part of it.

'Oribasius,' says[p] Eunapius, 'was born at Pergamus, and was descended from parents of good condition. He made a quick progress in the liberal arts, which greatly conduce to virtue. He studied under the great Zeno at the same time with Magnus, whom he greatly excelled. Indeed he hastened to the summit of the medical art, imitating his country god as far as it is possible for man to imitate divinity. [I suppose he means Æsculapius, who had an ancient temple at Pergamus.] Being in great reputation, even in early life, Julian, when he was made Cæsar, took him to be with him as his physician. He also excelled in other qualifications; insomuch[q] that he raised Julian to the empire, as is

[l] Και ψιλοθεντος τε γενες, Ιελιανος περιελειφθη μονος——Ευνεχοι δε ὁμως αυτον αμφεπολευον βασιλικοι, και παραφυλακαι τινες ησαν, ὁπως ειη Χριστιανος βεβαιος. p. 68. [m] Ὁ και εν μειρακι πρεσβυτης Ιελιανος. p. 68. m.

[n] Ibid. p. 76. [o] ——παντας μεν λανθανων, οτι θεραπευει θεες. Ibid. [p] Eunap. De Vit. Sophist. p. 139, 140. [q] Ὡστε και βασιλεα

shown by us in our history of his reign: but afterwards he felt the strokes of envy. And because of his great fame, the emperors, who succeeded Julian, stript him of all he had. And after deliberating whether they should put him to death, they sent him into banishment among cruel barbarians. [Eunapius does not say who those barbarians were.] In that hostile country he exhibited proofs of his abilities, restoring some to health from long and grievous sicknesses, and recovering others from the very gates of death. Whereby, in a short time, he gained great esteem with the barbarian kings, and was revered with almost divine honours. The Romans then were desirous of his presence with them; and the emperors, changing their former counsels, gave him leave to return; which he was very willing to do out of regard to his native country. He then married a wife with a large fortune, and of an honourable descent, by whom he had four sons still living. And may they long be so! He is also still living at my time of writing this. And may he long continue so! He also had his estate restored to him out of the public treasury, the emperors revoking their former sentence against him as unjust.'

This, I think, is very honourable to the christian emperors of that time. It hence appears that Oribasius reached to a good old age. If Eunapius wrote at about the year of Christ 400, it was now more than forty years since Oribasius went with Julian into Gaul in the character of his physician. And Oribasius and his family lived very comfortably; if he met with some difficulties, as Eunapius intimates, they could not be of any long duration; and the rest of his life, in particular the latter part of it, was easy and prosperous.

Oribasius, as[r] Philostorgius says, attended Julian in his Persian expedition. And it has been observed by some that he was not able to cure the emperor. But that is no reflection upon his skill, as Julian's wound was mortal. He likewise attended[s] Chrysanthius in his last sickness without healing him; but neither is that any just reflection upon him, since Chrysanthius was then of a great age; and under his indispositions he was relieved and comforted by the mollifying medicines prescribed by Oribasius.

There is still extant[t] a letter of Julian to Oribasius, sup-

τον Ιελιανον απεδειξε. P. 140. in.

[r] *Ιατρων μεντοιγε αριστος ὁ Λυδος Οριβασιος αυτῳ συνην, ὁ εκ Σαρδεων· αλλ' ἡ πληγη πασαν χλευαζουσα θεραπειαν——απαλλαττει τυ βιυ.* Pholost. l. 7. p. 510. B.

[s] Eunap. p. 160.

[t] Ep. xvii. p. 384.

posed to have been written in 358. Tillemont says it[u] contains marks of their mutual confidence, and of their idolatrous sentiments.

Eunapius gives no particular account of the works of Oribasius. But Suidas, who, as well as Philostorgius, says he was of Sardis, and calls him 'friend[v] of Julian the 'apostate,' mentions these following: 'Concerning the Doubts 'and Difficulties of Physicians, in four books: To Julian the 'emperor, a work in seventy-two books: An Epitome of 'them in nine books, to his son Eustathius: Of[w] Royalty, 'and of the Passions or Maladies.'

Photius[x] has four articles of the works of Oribasius. And in the introduction to his account of them he says: 'He had written four books, comprising the art of medicine, 'and seven others of a like sort.'

The first of the four was an abridgment of the works of Galen, in several books. The second contained the sentiments of other physicians, as well as Galen's, in seventy books, according to Photius, or seventy-two, as Suidas says. These two works were inscribed to Julian, and the prefaces or dedications are preserved in Photius. In the preface to the second, Oribasius reminds Julian that[y] the former work had been composed at his command, when they were in Gaul, in the western part of the empire. And the style of it is very particular, addressing Julian as a deity. Julian therefore was now sole emperor, and he is expressly styled emperor in this second preface. The third work was an abridgment of the other two, and was inscribed by Oribasius to his son Eustathius, in nine books. The fourth was another compendious representation of the principles of medicine, in four books, inscribed to Eunapius, at whose desire also it was composed, whom he qualifies with the character of a man of great eloquence, probably meaning our Eunapius, writer of these Lives of Sophists, and among them the Life of Oribasius himself.

I add no more. If any are desirous of a farther account of the works of Oribasius, and the merit of them severally, and what parts of them are still extant, they may consult[z] others.

Some may be of opinion that this article is needless, and

[u] Tillem. Julien. art. 34.

[v] Ορειβασιος, Σαρδιανος, γνωριμος Ιωλιανου παραβατου. Suidas.

[w] ——και περι βασιλειας, και περι παθων.

[x] Cod. ccxvi. ccxvii. ccxviii. ccxix. p. 556—565.

[y] Τας προσαχθεισας επιτομας παρα της σης θειοτητος, αυτοκρατορ Ιωλιανε, προτερον, ηνικα διετριβομεν εν Γαλατια τη προς εσπεραν, εις τελος ηγαγον, κ. λ. Phot. Cod. 217. p. 557.

[z] See Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien. art. 34. and the Universal Ancient History, Vol. xvi. p. 374, &c.

might have been omitted. Nevertheless, I think it to be of use for showing the state of Gentilism under christian emperors. Oribasius was at first designed to be put by me in another place in this volume. But now I have brought him in here, in the chapter of Eunapius, who was his great admirer, and by whom we are informed of some things concerning him, which cannot be met with elsewhere.

I make here no more extracts from this work of Eunapius. But he will be quoted again hereafter.

IV. We may now make some general observations upon these extracts.

1. We have seen many proofs of great zeal for Gentilism in divers persons.

2. Though the majority of the people of the Roman empire were now christians, and the laws were favourable to them, and adverse to the Gentiles, yet these last enjoyed many privileges, and a great deal of liberty. We see many evidences of this. The writer of this work openly professeth great zeal for Gentilism, and expresseth himself with great freedom concerning things and persons. Here is mention made of divers men of distinction who were zealous Gentiles, and were in some of the highest offices of the empire. Anatolius, præfect of Illyricum; Justus, president of Asia; Hilarius, also governor of a province. Anatolius, and these other great men here mentioned, sacrificed and performed all the peculiar rites of Gentilism in the presence of many others. And the chairs of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens were filled chiefly with professors who were zealous for Gentilism.

3. Doubtless my readers have also observed the indignation with which Eunapius speaks of the monks: and it is a just indignation; they were too numerous, they were in too much credit, and had too much influence, and heaped up riches beyond measure. Eunapius is likewise offended at the respect given to christian martyrs; and we may well allow that it was excessive and unreasonable; and we may wish that the remonstrances made against it by learned Gentiles, and some learned and discerning christians, had prevailed to check and control it. But popular things will have their course, as was observed by us[a] long ago in the history of Gregory of Neocæsarea, called Thaumaturgus. We see proofs of it in every age.

[a] See Vol. ii. ch. xlii.

CHAP. LIV.

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS; OR CLAUDIAN.

I. *His time and works.* II. *His testimony to Theodosius's victory over Arbogastes and Eugenius, in the year* 394.

I. CLAUDIAN has been already quoted as bearing witness to the wonderful deliverance of Marcus Antoninus and his army in[a] Germany. He is now to be quoted again upon another like occasion. And he may be quoted again hereafter.

Accounts of him, and his works, may be seen in several[b] authors. I refer particularly to[c] Tillemont, and our writers of Ancient Universal[d] History.

Says Suidas: 'Claudian[e] of Alexandria, a late heroic 'poet: he flourished in the times of the emperors Arcadius 'and Honorius.'

In Blount's Censura Auctorum he is placed at the year 385; by Cave at the year 395, in the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, which he celebrated in an excellent poem, and was his first Latin poem. I place him in 396, because I shall largely quote his panegyric upon the third consulship of Honorius, written in that year.

It appears to me somewhat extraordinary that a native of Egypt, at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, should so excel in Latin verse as to approach the best writers of the Augustan age in purity and elegance.

As Orosius calls Claudian 'an obstinate pagan,' Cave[f] thought it might be reasonably argued that he had written against the christian religion, though there are no traces of it in any of his writings now extant. Fabricius[g] says that the words of Orosius afford no ground for such an appre-

[a] See Vol. vii. ch. xv. sect. 3. [b] See the Life of Claudian, and the testimonies to him, prefixed to the edition of his works in Usum Delphini. Pope Blount's Censura Auctorum, p. 185. Cave H. L. Tom. i. p. 348. Fabric. Bib. Lat. lib. iii. cap. 13. p. 624, &c. Tom. i. p. 148, &c. Tom. iii. Rollin. Hist. Ancienne, p. 172. T. xii. [c] Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. 66. [d] Vol. xvi. p. 533, 534. [e] Κλανδιανος, Αλεξανδρευς, εποποιος νεωτερος· γεγονεν επι των χρονων Αρκαδιε και Ονωριε βασιλεων. [f] Immo 'paganum pervicacissimum' vocat Orosius. Unde jure quis inferre possit, ipsum scriptis editis fidem christianam oppugnâsse, etiamsi in iis quæ supersunt, nulla vestigia deprehenduntur. Cav. p. 348. [g] Sed argumentum hoc ab Orosii verbis petitum levius videtur, quam ut eo facile duci se quis patiatur. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 624.

hension. But I presume that Cave did not intend to say that such a conclusion could be certainly made. However, it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable that a learned man, a devout worshipper of all the gods, a wit, and a poet, and author of many works, should never say any thing disrespectful to christianity. Nevertheless nothing of that kind has been observed in his writings that I know of. Undoubtedly the christian poems, which have been ascribed to him, are spurious.

It might have been worth the while, and would have been very proper, for me to give some account of an eminent heathen poet, who flourished under christian emperors in the fourth and fifth centuries, though there had been nothing in him relating to christian affairs. But there is something of that kind well deserving of our notice. It was occasioned by some remarkable events which must be first related from christian authors.

II. Valentinian the Second died in the year[h] 392, on the fifteenth day of May, when he was somewhat more than twenty years old, after having borne the title of Augustus sixteen years, and almost six months; though he cannot be said to have reigned till after the death of Gratian, that is, eight years and nine months.

Arbogastes, a general of great authority and influence, having been provoked by some treatment received from Valentinian, was the author, or at least the occasion, of his death. For the manner of his death is differently related. It happened near Vienne in Gaul.

Arbogastes might have set himself up for sovereign: but being desirous, as is supposed, to avoid the reproach of the crime which he had been guilty of, he gave that title to Eugenius. 'Who,' as[i] Socrates says, 'was originally a 'grammarian, who had taught Latin with reputation; but[k] 'leaving that employment, he obtained a military post in the 'palace, and was made master of the desks to the emperor. 'After the death of the emperor, [Valentinian,] he assumed 'the supreme government of affairs in the western part of the 'empire. The emperor Theodosius, hearing of these things, 'was greatly disturbed in mind. Collecting his forces 'therefore, and having appointed his son Honorius Augus-'tus, when himself was the third time consul, together with 'Abundantius, [in the year 393,] on the tenth day of the

[h] Vide Pagi ann. 392. num. iii. iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Théodose. i. art. lxix. et Conf. Basnag. ann. 392. iii. et iv.

[i] Socrat. H. E. l. v. c. 25.

[k] —— *αφεις τα παιδευτηρια, εν τοις βασιλειοις εστρατευετο, και αντιγραφευς τω βασιλεως καθιστατο*, κ. λ. Ib. p. 293. D.

'month of January, he set out in great haste for the western 'parts, leaving both his sons at Constantinople. As he 'marched along to the war against Eugenius, many barba- 'rians, living beyond the Danube, joined him in this expe- 'dition, voluntarily offering their assistance against the 'tyrant. In no long space of time he arrived in Gaul 'with a numerous army; for there the tyrant had put him- 'self in a posture of receiving him with great force. They 'came to an engagement near the river Frigidus, at the 'distance of six and thirty miles from Aquileia. In that 'part of the army, where Romans were engaged with 'Romans, the battle was doubtful. Where the barbarians, 'the emperor's auxiliaries, engaged, Eugenius's forces had 'much the better. When the emperor saw the slaughter 'made of the barbarians, he was in great concern; and, 'casting himself upon the ground, he called upon God to 'afford him all his aid. Nor was his prayer rejected. For 'Bacurius, præfect of the prætorium, was greatly en- 'couraged; and, hastening with his vanguard to the place 'where the barbarians were hard pressed, he broke through 'the enemy's ranks, and put to flight those who before 'were pursuing. At[1] the same time happened some- 'what deserving admiration: a vehement wind arose on a 'sudden, which beat back upon themselves the darts 'thrown by those with Eugenius, and also carried with 'redoubled force upon the enemy those thrown by the 'soldiers of Theodosius. So prevalent was the emperor's 'prayer! Thus the battle was turned, and the tyrant threw 'himself at the emperor's feet, requesting that his life 'might be spared. But the soldiers beheaded him as he 'lay prostrate on the ground. These things happened on 'the sixth of the month of September, in the third consul- 'ship of Arcadius, and the second consulship of Honorius. 'Arbogastes, who had been the cause of all these troubles, 'on the third day after the battle, finding there were no 'hopes of safety, ran himself through with his own sword.'

I have taken Socrates' account, and have translated it very literally. Rufinus, who was contemporary with the event, and from whom Socrates differs very little, says, that 'when[m] the emperor saw the barbarians, his auxiliaries,

[1] Επιγινεται δε και αλλο θαυματος αξιον· ανεμος γαρ σφοδρως επιπνευσας, τα πεμπομενα βελη παρα των Ευγενιȣ κατ' αυτων περιετρεπεν· ȣ μην αλλα και των αντιπαλων, μετα σφοδροτερας της ὁρμης εφερε κατ' αυτων. Τοσȣτον ισχυσεν ἡ τȣ βασιλεος ευχη. Socrat. ibid. p. 294. D.

[m] Stetit aliquamdiu anceps victoria: fundebantur auxilia barbarorum, terga jam hostibus dabant.——Tum ille, ut conversas suorum acies vidit, stans in editâ rupe, unde et conspicere et conspici ab utroque posset exercitu, projectis

'turning back, standing upon an eminence where he might 'see and be seen by both armies, laying aside his weapons, 'he betook himself to his wonted resource, and falling 'down upon the ground, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, 'he said: "O Almighty God, thou knowest that in the 'name of thy Son Jesus Christ, I have undertaken this war, 'in the way of just vengeance, as it has appeared to me. 'And if it be not so, let thy vengeance fall upon me: but 'if upon good ground, and trusting in thy blessing, I came 'hither, do thou graciously afford thy assistance, that the 'Gentiles may not say, Where is their God?" After which, 'all his generals were greatly animated, and especially 'Bacurius, [who is here much commended,] who fought 'with great courage, and gained great advantages. At the 'same time there arose a vehement wind which beat back 'the enemy's darts upon themselves, and rendered them 'vain and fruitless. Thus the enemies were discouraged; 'and Arbogastes, though he fought valiantly, was defeated; 'and Eugenius was brought bound to the emperor, and 'there was an end put to his life and designs.'

Augustine also has particularly related this event, and its circumstances, in his work of the City of God, and says, he[n] had the account from some of the soldiers, who were present in the battle, and fought on the side of the enemy.

Orosius,[o] though an historian, has described the storm

armis, ad solita se convertit auxilia, et prostratus in conspectu Dei: Tu, inquit, omnipotens Deus, nôsti, quia in nomine Christi filii tui ultionis justæ, ut puto, prœlia ista suscepi: si secus, in me vindica. Si vero cum causâ probabili, et in te confisus, huc veni, porrige dextram tuam, ne forte dicant Gentes, Ubi est Deus eorum? Quam supplicationem pii principis certi a Deo esse susceptam, hi qui aderant duces, animantur ad cædem.——Etenim compertum est, quod, post illam Imperatoris precem, quam Deo fuderat, ventus ita vehemens exortus est, ut tela hostium in eos qui jecerant, retorqueret. Cumque, magnâ vi persistente vento, omne jaculum missum ab hostibus frustraretur, fracto adversariorum animo, seu potius divinitus repulso, Arbogasto duce nequicquam fortiter faciente, Eugenius ante Theodosii pedes, vinctis post terga manibus, adducitur. Ibique vitæ ejus et certaminis finis fuit. Rufin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 33.

[n] ——eoque, [Valentiniano,] sive per insidias, sive quo alio pacto, vel casu, proxime exstincto, alium tyrannum Eugenium, qui in illius imperatoris locum non legitime fuerat subrogatus, accepto rursus prophetico responso, fide certâ oppressit, [Theodosius,] contra cujus robustissimum exercitum magis orando, quam feriendo, pugnavit. Milites nobis, qui aderant, retulerunt, extorta sibi esse de manibus quæcumque jaculabantur, cum a Theodosii partibus in adversarios vehemens ventus iret, et non solum quæcumque in eos jaciebantur, concitatissime raperet, verum etiam in eorum corpora retorqueret. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. v. cap. 26.

[o] Historiam notam etiam oculis plurimorum, quam melius qui spectavere noverunt, dilatari verbis non opus est.——At ubi ad contigua miscendæ

very oratorically. He also says that it was attested by many witnesses still living.

There are some fabulous stories, relating to this event, in[p] Sozomen, and[q] Theodoret, which are taken notice of by[r] Basnage, and are rejected and exposed by him as becomes a good critic, and a genuine christian and Protestant.

I need not mention them, but that there was then a vehement storm of wind, which was favourable to Theodosius and his army, and adverse to the enemy, is attested by Claudian, in his Panegyric upon the third consulship of Honorius, in the year 396, written about eighteen months afterwards. I shall give, as well as I can, a literal translation, in prose, of what is elegantly expressed in verse.

'Such[s] is your good fortune that the victory was speedily accomplished. Both fought: you by your destiny, your father in person. For your sake even the Alps are easy to be seized. Nor was it of any advantage to a subtle enemy to be posted in a fortified place. The walls, in which he confides, fall down, and rocks are removed, and set open their hiding places. For your sake Boreas overwhelms the adverse forces with cold torrents poured down from the mountains, and casts back their darts upon those who throw them, and blunts their spears. O [Honorius] highly favoured of God, for whose sake Æolus sends out

pugnæ spatia perventum est, continuo magnus ille et ineffabilis turbo ventorum in ora hostium ruit. Ferebantur per aëra spicula missa nostrorum manu, atque ultra mensuram humani jactûs per magnum inane portata, nusquam propemodum cadere, priusquam impingerent, sinebantur. Porro autem turbo continuus ora pectoraque hostium nunc illisis scutis everberabat, nunc impressis pertinaciter obstructa claudebat, nunc avulsis violenter destituta nudabat, nunc oppositis jugitur in terga trudebat. Tela etiam, quæ ipsi vehementer intorserant, excepta ventis impetu supinata, ac retrorsum coacta ipsos infeliciter configebant. Oros. l. vii. cap. 35.

[p] Soz. l. 7. cap. 24.

[q] Theod. l. v. cap. 24.

[r] Basnag. ann. 394. num. v.

[s] ——————— Victoria velox
Auspiciis effecta tuis. Pugnâstis uterque:
Tu fatis, genitorque manu. Te propter et Alpes
Invadi faciles: cauto nec profuit hosti
Munitis hæsisse locis. Spes irrita valli
Concidit, et scopulis patuerunt claustra revulsis.
Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hiemes; cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!
Alpinæ rubuere nives, et frigidus amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbâque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina sanguis.
Claudian. de tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris. ver. 87—101.

from his caverns stormy winds; for whom heaven itself fights, and the winds conspire to come at the call of your trumpet. The snowy Alps are stained red, and the river Frigidus foams with discoloured streams; and would be stopped with the heaps of the slain, if the rapid blood did not strengthen the current.'

Here is every thing that can be desired to confirm the christian accounts of the storm which favoured the army of Theodosius: 'nothing to be complained of, but that he 'flatters Honorius, and ascribes to the fate of the son, who 'was yet but an infant ten or eleven years old, what was 'due to the sole faith and piety of the father:'—which is Tillemont's[t] observation.

This testimony of Claudian is alleged by Orosius and Augustine in their accounts of this event. And do we not think that the christian writers of that time, and especially such of them as were engaged in the defence of the christian religion against Gentiles, endeavoured to make an advantage of the remarkable victory which Theodosius gained over those enemies? Yes, certainly they did. Orosius harangues and triumphs in this manner: 'I[u] would not 'insult those who revile us. But may I not ask, if since 'the foundation of the city they can allege one war so 'justly undertaken, so happily concluded by divine inter-'position, and quieted with so merciful benignity; where 'neither the battle was grievous for slaughter, nor the vic-'tory followed with cruel revenge? And then perhaps I 'may allow that these advantages were not the reward of 'the faith of the christian prince. Although indeed I need 'not labour this point, since one of themselves, an excellent 'poet, though obstinate pagan, has borne testimony to God 'and man in these lines:

'O beloved of God, for you the heavens fight: and the 'winds conspire to come at the call of your trumpet!'

[t] L'Emp. Theodos. i. art. 80. at the end.

[u] Non insulto obtrectatoribus nostris. Unum aliquod ab initio Urbis conditæ bellum proferant, tam piâ necessitate susceptum, tam divinâ felicitate confectum, tam clementi benignitate sopitum; ubi nec pugna gravem cædem, nec victoria cruentam exigerit ultionem; et fortasse concedam, ut non hæc fidei christiani ducis concessa videantur: quamvis ego hoc testimonio non laborem, quando unus ex ipsis, poëta quidem eximius, sed Paganus pervicacissimus, hujusmodi versibus et Deo et homini testimonium tulit, quibus ait:

O nimium dilecte Deo! tibi militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!

Ita cœlitus judicatum est inter partem etiam sine præsidio hominum de solo Deo humiliter sperantem, et partem arrogantissime de viribus suis et de idolis præsumentem. Theodosius autem, compositâ tranquillitate Reipublicæ, apud Mediolanum constitutus, diem obiit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 35.

'Thus was the cause decided by heaven in favour of 'that side which without human aid humbly trusted in 'God alone, against that side which arrogantly boasted of 'their own strength, and their idols. Soon after which, 'Theodosius, having settled the public tranquillity, went to 'Milan, where he died.'

Augustine, likewise, having mentioned the vehement storm, and the circumstances of it, so favourable to Theodosius, adds: 'Hence[v] also the poet Claudian, though alien 'from the name of Christ, celebrates his praises, saying: "O 'beloved of God, for whose sake Æolus sends out from his 'caverns stormy winds, for whom heaven fights, and the 'winds conspire to come at the call of your trumpet:' thus quoting somewhat more of Claudian than we find in Orosius.

Whether the victory of Theodosius was miraculous, as[w] some think, or not, it was a remarkable event, and very seasonable and advantageous to the christian cause. And this testimony of Claudian well deserves our notice.

CHAP. LV.

MACROBIUS.

I. *His name, works, time, dignity.* II. *His religious profession and character.* III. *His testimony to Herod's slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem.*

I. AURELIUS THEODOSIUS AMBROSIUS MACROBIUS is an author well known by name, and by some works which are generally ascribed to him. Nevertheless the place of his nativity, his religious profession, and his

[v] Unde et poëta Claudianus, quamvis a nomine Christi alienus, in ejus tamen laudibus dixit:

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hiemes; cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!

Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. v. cap. 26.

[w] Claudien même, qui se rendoit alors célèbre par ses poésies, quoiqu'il fût payen et très fortement attaché à l'idolatrie, n'a pu s'empêcher de rendre témoignage à la vérité de ce miracle, par de très beaux vers, qu'il fit 18 mois après. Tillem. L'Emp. Théodos. i. art. 80. à la fin. And see Colonia. Tom. i. ch. v. p. 157.

time, are either unknown, or at least doubtful and uncertain. Even his names are written differently. Macrobius is generally put last, but there is a variety in the order in which the others are placed.

He writes in Latin, but what was his native place is unknown; for himself says he[a] was born in a country where the Latin tongue was not in use.

The works ascribed to him[b] are a Commentary upon the Dream of Scipio, as represented by Cicero, in two books: The Saturnalia, in seven books, and a grammatical treatise concerning the Differences and Agreements between the Greek and Latin languages.

At the head of his works he is qualified[c] with the title of Illustrious, which is proper to such as were advanced to some of the highest posts of the empire. Concerning which[d] several learned men may be consulted. But it is generally supposed that he was vicar of Spain in 399 and 400, proconsul of Africa in 410, and grand chamberlain to Theodosius the Second in 422.

Tillemont[e] says it may be well questioned whether Theodosius the Second would have a pagan for grand chamberlain, that is, for him who was nearest his person. However, upon the whole, Tillemont[f] thinks that 'Macrobius lived 'under Theodosius the First, or rather a short time after 'him: for he acknowledgeth that[g] he put some persons 'into his Dialogues, who were lower in time than Præ-'textatus.' Let this suffice for his time.[h]

II. As for his religious profession, some[i] have supposed him to have been a christian, others a heathen, whilst others have doubted and been in suspense. Tillemont is

[a] ——— oratio solertior, sermo incorruptior; nisi sicubi nos sub alio ortos cœlo Latinæ linguæ vena non adjuvet. Quod ab his, si tamen quibusdam forte nonnunquam tempus voluntasque erit ista cognoscere, petitum impetratumque volumus, ut æqui bonique consulant, si in nostro sermone nativa Romani oris elegantior desideretur. Saturn. lib. i. in Pr.

[b] Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis. Convivia Saturnalia. De Differentiis et Societatibus Græci Latinique Verbi.

[c] V. Cl. et Illustris. [d] Vid. Gothofredi Prosop. Cod. Theodos. p. 370. and Tillemont L'Emp. Honoré. art. 68. at the beginning.

[e] As above, at p. 1381. [f] Ibid. p. 1382.

[g] Nec mihi fraudi sit, si uni aut alteri ex his, quos cœtus coëgit, matura ætas posterior seculo Prætextati sit. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap. 1.

[h] There is a large account of Macrobius and his work, in the sixteenth vol. of the Ancient Universal History, p. 536, 537.

[i] Non minus incerta res de religione Macrobii. Christianis eum annumerat Barthius. Contra homo Ethnicus dicitur Spanhemio, Dub. Evang. T. i. p. 593. cui ego assentiri malim. Ambigui hærent Grotius ad Matt. ii. 16. et Huet. Dem. Evan. p. 789. Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib. 3. cap. xii. Tom. i. p. 620.

very clear. He[k] says, 'every thing in the Saturnalia[l] is 'pagan. Symmachus, Flavianus, Prætextatus, who appear 'in every part, were the most zealous patrons of paganism: 'so that there can be no doubt that the author, and all 'those whom he makes speak, were of the same profession. 'Among them, beside those already mentioned, may be 'reckoned Postumian, a celebrated advocate, Eusebius, 'professor of rhetoric, who was very learned in Greek and 'Latin, and Servius the grammarian.'

But no one has treated this point more fully than[m] Mr. Masson, he having had a particular occasion for it. To him therefore I refer my readers if they have any doubts about it: there, as I apprehend, they will find more than enough to satisfy them that Macrobius was a sincere Gentile.

III. I formerly[n] quoted this author. Having alleged divers christian writers who have borne testimony to the truth of St. Matthew's history, in the second chapter of his gospel, concerning the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, I added:

'There[o] is also a noted passage of Macrobius a heathen 'author, who flourished near the end of the fourth century, 'who among other jests of Augustus has this: When[p] he 'had heard that among the children within two years of 'age, which Herod king of the Jews commanded to be 'slain in Syria, his own son had been killed, he said: "It 'is better to be Herod's hog than his son."'

Upon which I then said: 'I lay little or no stress upon 'this passage, because it comes too late; partly because 'there is reason to suppose that Macrobius has been mistaken 'upon the occasion of the jest. No early christian writers 'have said any thing of Herod's having a young child of 'his own killed in the slaughter at Bethlehem. If Augus-'tus did pass this jest upon Herod, it might be occasioned 'by the death of Antipater, or rather of Alexander and[q] 'Aristobulus.

'That[r] is what I said of this passage in the first edition.

[k] As before, p. 1382, 1383.

[l] Saturn. l. i. cap. 2, 3.

[m] The Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical fact in St. Matthew's Gospel vindicated: and the suspected christianity of Macrobius, who also mentions the same fact, disproved, &c. At the end of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield's Vindication of Christianity, in 1728.

[n] Vol. i. Pt. I. B. ii. ch. 2.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Cum audisset, inter pueros, quos in Syriâ Herodes Rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: 'Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam 'filium.' Macrob. Sat. l. ii. cap. iv. p. 332.

[q] See Dr. Whitby's Annotations upon Matt. ii. 16, 17.

[r] Vol. i. ut supr.

'I would now add: It ought to be allowed that Augustus 'did pass this jest on Herod upon some occasion or other; 'and that Macrobius has given us the words of the jest. 'This passage also shows that Herod's slaughter of the 'infants in Judea was a thing well known in the time of 'Macrobius, and was not contested by heathen people.

'If we could be assured that Macrobius transcribed this 'whole passage, not only the jest itself, but the occasion of 'it likewise, from some more ancient author, it would be a 'proof that this event was known in that author's time also: 'and we should have a great deal of reason to suppose that 'author to have been a heathen, because it is likely that 'Macrobius, a bigoted heathen himself,[s] did not much deal 'in christian writers.

'But it is possible that Macrobius found only the jest in 'his author, and added the occasion, having collected it 'from the common discourse of the christians in his time, 'who frequently spoke of this cruel action of Herod. There is 'some reason to suspect this, because it is very likely that 'Augustus's reflection upon Herod was occasioned by the 'death of one of those sons whom Josephus has mentioned; 'and that it has no relation at all to the slaughter of the 'infants at Bethlehem. This suspicion may be farther 'strengthened by the great agreement of Macrobius with 'St. Matthew, in the words which he useth concerning the[t] 'children. Macrobius being ignorant of Herod's story, 'and having heard of the slaughter of the infants; when 'he met with this jest in some author, concluded, that 'there had been some young child of Herod put to death 'with them.

'I am content therefore to leave it a doubtful point, 'whether Macrobius transcribed this whole passage, or the 'jest only, from some more ancient author.

'Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against 'this relation of St. Matthew. There is nothing improbable 'in the thing itself, considering the jealous cruel temper of 'Herod. The silence of Josephus, or of the ancient Greek 'and Roman historians, can be no difficulty with any rea-'sonable person. This fact is confirmed by the express 'testimony of very early christian writers, and by Macro-'bius, a heathen author, about the end of the fourth century;

[s] 'This is very evident from his works. And the reader may see a full 'proof of it in the Rev Mr. Masson's Slaughter of the Children at Bethlehem, 'as an historical fact, vindicated,' sect. 3.

[t] 'Children within two years of age, which Herod king of the Jews commanded to be slain.' So in Macrobius.

'from whom it appears that this event was not then con-
'tested, and that it was even better known than the fate of
'those sons of Herod, whom Josephus says he put to death
'at man's estate.'

All this I wrote formerly. Nor am I now able to say any thing more pertinent, or more material.

However, I shall observe that this jest of Augustus stands in a chapter of Macrobius, which[u] contains a collection of Augustus's witty sayings or jests upon others, and the repartees or smart sayings of others upon him; which, as it seems, to his no small honour, he bore very[v] patiently. As they are all independent on each other, no elucidations can be brought in from the connexion; for there is none.

Pontanus, in his notes upon this place, says, 'Scaliger[w]
'wondered that Augustus should make this reflection upon
'Herod, since Augustus himself had confirmed the sen-
'tence of death upon the three sons of Herod.'

I do not find that place in Scaliger. But whoever wondered at it, it was without reason in my opinion. For though Augustus complied with the requests or proposals of Herod, and gave him leave to do with those sons as he pleased, the emperor might still think it a strange thing that any prince should put so many of his own sons to death; and he might well say, alluding to the Jewish custom of forbearing to eat swine's flesh, 'it was better to be
'Herod's hog than his son.' Very probably that was the occasion of the jest of Augustus. And therefore, as Whitby says: 'It must be confessed that Macrobius is mistaken
'about the circumstances of this story.'

[u] De Jocis Augusti in alios, et aliorum rursus in ipsum. Saturn. l. ii. c. iv.

[v] Soleo in Augusto magis mirari quos pertulit jocos, quam ipse quos protulit, quia major est patientiæ quam facundiæ laus; maxime cum æquanimiter aliqua etiam jocis mordaciora pertulerit. Sat. l. ii. cap. 4. p. 335.

[w] Miratur autem Scaliger ad Eusebium, p. 163. hæc verba excidisse, cum ipse Augustus sententiam capitis in tres filios Herodis judicio suo probatam confirmaverit. Pont. in loc.

CHAP. LVI.

RUTILIUS.

His time, and character, and work, and extracts from him.

I. CLAUDIUS RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS,[a] whose father had borne several high offices in the Roman empire with great applause and acceptance, was a native of Gaul. He had himself been præfect of the city, and master of the palace; and, as some say, consul and præfect of the prætorium, which I do not think to be certain. In the year 418, in the time of Theodosius the younger, he made a visit to his native country, or returned to it, with a design to reside there. He has described his voyage thither from Rome in an elegant Latin poem, consisting of two books, the second of which is almost entirely lost.

II. In his voyage he touched at Capraria, a small island lying between Leghorn and Corsica. 'This[b] island,' says he, 'is full of men that shun the light. They call themselves monks, a name borrowed from the Greek language, because they choose to live alone. They dread the gifts of fortune, because they are not able to bear her frowns: and make themselves miserable, because they are afraid of being so. What foolish distraction of mind—to dread adversity, and yet not be able to bear prosperity!' He goes on to ascribe their way of life to melancholy, ill-nature, and hatred of mankind.

[a] Vid. Voss. de Hist. lat. l. ii. cap. 15. Tillem. L'Emp. Honorè. art. 67. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 13. Tom. i. p. 630.

[b] Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit.
Squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Grajo cognomine dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
Munera Fortunæ metuunt, dum damna verentur.
Quisquam est sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?
Quænam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati?
Sive suas repetunt ex fato ergastula pœnas,
Tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument.
Sic nimiæ bilis morbum assignavit Homerus
Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus.
Nam juveni offenso sævi post tela doloris
Dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.
Rutilii Itinerarium, lib. i. ver. 439—452.

III. Soon after, at Gorgona, another small island near Pisa, among the hermits there, he met with a young gentleman of his own acquaintance, whom he laments and banters in the following manner: 'And[c] here a Roman citizen has buried himself among the rocks alive. For the young man, once our friend, of noble parentage, and ample fortune, happy too in marriage, impelled by the furies, forsakes the society of gods and men. The superstitious fool hides himself in a dark hole. The unhappy wretch believes the cœlestial deities to be pleased with human misery, and plagues himself worse than the angry gods would do. What new mischief do we see worse than the sorceries of Circe? She metamorphosed the bodies of men into the shape of swine. This religion makes men brutes all over!'

IV. Hence it is apparent that hermitages and monasteries, which had their religion in the East, were now got also into Europe. Other reflections I forbear, as obvious, and easy to be made by all who are disposed to think.

V. Beside these two passages, more directly relating to christian affairs, it may be observed that, at the port Faleria, when Rutilius went ashore, he found the heathen people celebrating the feast of Osiris. 'Here[d] he met with a Jew who had some authority in the place: and he laments the conquest of Judea by Pompey and Titus, which

[c] Assurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon,
Inter Pisanum Cyrniacumque latus.
Adversus scopulos, damni monumenta recentis,
Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noster enim nuper juvenis, majoribus amplis,
Nec censu inferior, conjugiove minor,
Impulsus furiis, homines, divosque reliquit,
Et turpem latebram credulus exul agit.
Infelix putat, illuvie cœlestia pasci,
Seque premit læsis sævior ipse Deis.
Non, rogo, deterior Circæis secta venenis?
Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.
Ibid. ver. 515—526.

[d] Sed male pensavit requiem stationis amœnæ
Hospite conductor durior Antiphate.
Namque loci querulus curam Judæus agebat,
Humanis animal dissociable cibis.
Vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas;
Damnaque libatæ grandia clamat aquæ.
Reddimus obscœnæ convicia debita genti,
Quæ genitale caput propudiosa metit.
Radix stultitiæ, cui frigida sabbata cordi:
Sed cor frigidius religione suâ est.
Septima quæque dies turpi damnata veterno,
Tamquam lassati mollis imago Dei.

had occasioned the spreading of the Jewish superstition over the empire.'

I have thought this worth notice, because, possibly, here is a reference to the increase of christianity, which was derived from Judaism, and certainly had spread farther in the Roman empire than Judaism itself. I therefore put the verses in the margin. An exact translation is not needful.

However, at the year 418, the year of this voyage of Rutilius, Pagi[e] has some curious observations upon the laws of the empire at that time. He says that[f] the Jews were then of great account.

This author is in[g] Colonia.

CHAP. LVII.

OLYMPIODORUS.

His work, and time, and extracts from him.

I. I begin immediately with Photius's account of this[a] author.

'We read,' says[b] Photius, 'the two and twenty books of 'Olympiodorus. He begins his history at the second con-'sulship of Honorius, emperor of Rome, and the second of 'Theodosius, and brings it down to the time that Valenti-'nian, son of Placidia and Constantius, was declared em-'peror of Rome. This[c] writer was of Thebes in Ægypt, a 'chemist by employment, as he says himself, and as to 'religion a Greek. He dedicates his history to the emperor

Cætera mendacis deliramenta catastæ
Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt;
Victoresque suos natio victa premit.
Ibid. ver. 381—398.

[e] Ann. 418. num. lxx. [f] Judæorum magna ratio hoc adhuc tempore habita. Id. ibid. [g] Tom. ii. ch. vi. p. 203, &c.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 468. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. 5. T. 6. p. 237. &c. et lib. v. cap. 38. T. ix. p. 400. Tillem. H. E. Honoré. art. 66. Voss. de Histor. Gr. l. ii. cap. 20. Universal Ancient History, Vol. xvi. p. 532.

[b] Cod. 80. p. 178. [c] *Ουτος ὁ συγγραφευς Θηβαιος μεν εστιν, εκ των προς Αιγυπτον Θηβων το γενος· ποιητης, ὡς αυτος φησι, το επιτηδευμα, Ἑλλην την θρησκειαν.* Phot. p. 178. med.

'Theodosius, son of Arcadius, and nephew to Honorius and 'Placidia.'

Hereby it appears that the history of Olympiodorus began at the year 407, and reached to the year 425, when Valentinian the third was declared emperor. The history was dedicated to Theodosius the younger, who reigned from the year 408 to 450. As it reached to the reign of Valentinian, it must have been published between the year 425 and 450. I place him at the year 425, where he is placed by Cave.

Photius says the author's style is clear; nevertheless he passeth a censure upon his manner of writing. However Tillemont[d] says that, 'the extract, which Photius has pre-'served, makes us regret that we have no more of him: 'for, certainly, he would clear up many things. Zosimus[e] 'cites him by name, and appears to have borrowed several 'things from him, as well as Sozomen.'

Cave[f] considers him as a very superstitious Gentile, and thinks he was partial in what he says of some christians. Nevertheless, if his history were now extant, I believe it would have been curious and entertaining. But the bigotry of some people who have destroyed works which they did not like, has deprived us of a great deal of pleasure, as well as instruction, which we might have had.

2. I shall transcribe a few things out of the extracts of Photius, which are all we now have of this history.

Olympiodorus gives a brief account of one Constantine,[g] a common soldier, who was proclaimed emperor by the Roman army in Britain out of respect to his name, in the reign of Honorius, A. D. 407, and was put to death in 411.

'Whilst[h] these things were transacting,' says he, 'Constantius and Ulphilas are sent by Honorius against Constantine: who coming to Arles, where Constantine then was with his son, laid siege to it. And[i] Constantine taking refuge in a church, was ordained presbyter, his life having

[d] As before, Honoré, art. 66. [e] Zos. l. 5. p. 803.

[f] In hac historiâ non modo superstionum Gentilium ritus commendavit, sed et in christianos clam invectus est, præcipue in Olympium officiorum magistrum, quem ob pietatem vere christianam miris effert laudibus Augustinus, eumque, ut *ανοσιεργον*, falso non minus quam invidiose traducit. Cav. ib. p. 468. [g] Hujus loco Constantinus, ex infimâ militiâ, propter solam spem nominis, sine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo, ut invasit imperium, in Gallias transiit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 40. p. 576. [h] Apud Phot. ib. p. 184. [i] *Και Κωνσαντινος, καταφυγων εις ευκτηριον, πρεσβυτερος τοτε χειροτονειται, ὁρκων αυτῳ ὑπερ σωτηριας δοθεντων, κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 184.

been promised to him with the security of an oath. The gates of the city were then open to the besiegers; and Constantine, with his son, was sent to Honorius. But the emperor not being able to forgive the treatment of his cousins,[k] whom Constantine had killed contrary to the oath that had been given, ordered them to be both put to death, when they were yet thirty miles off from Ravenna.'

3. I shall observe briefly another passage or two in the extracts of Photius.

'This writer,' says he, 'gives an account of a voyage he 'made to Athens, not without some danger.' He[l] says that by his interest Leontius was advanced to the sophistic chair when he 'did not himself at all desire it.' He likewise says 'that none, especially strangers, might wear the cloak 'without leave of the sophists, and submitting to the cere-'monies of initiation.' Which are there transcribed, and are ridiculous enough.

Upon occasion of this passage, Tillemont, and other learned men, refer to an oration of Gregory Nazianzen,[m] and observe that the same fooleries were still practised at Athens, with regard to scholars newly arrived, which are described by Gregory in his time. I think we may also hence conclude that Gentilism still prevailed very much at Athens, and that it was not restrained with much rigour and severity by christian magistrates.

4. 'Once more, there is a story told by this[n] writer, which he had heard from a man of great note, of three silver images found in the earth in Thrace. And when this treasure was inquired into, it was found that they had been hid by the people of the country in a consecrated piece of ground, as a security against the incursions of barbarians. The images lay with their faces toward the north, the country of the barbarians. And,' as he says, 'the removal of them was soon followed by the incursions of Goths, and afterwards of Hions.'

This story is a proof of the writer's superstition and credulity: which, as I apprehend, were common dispositions in heathen people of all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned. Indeed, we have seen many proofs of it.

[k] He means Didymus and Verinianus. Vid. Sozom. l. 9. cap. 4. et 13. et Zosim. l. 5. et 6.

[l] Λεγει δε και εις τας Αθηνας καταραι, και τη αυτε σπεδη και επιμελεια και εις τον σοφιστικον θρονον αναχθηναι Λεοντιον επω θελοντα· Λεγει δε και περι τε τριβωνος, ως εκ εξην κατα τας Αθηνας περιβαλεσθαι αυτον τινα——ω μη η των σοφιστων γνωμη επετρεπε——κ. λ. Ib. p. 189.

[m] Or. 20. p. 327.

[n] Ap. Phot. p. 188, 189.

CHAP. LVIII.

ZOSIMUS.

I. *His time and works.* II. *Extracts from his history.* III. *Concluding remarks upon the foregoing extracts.*

I. I SHALL likewise begin the history of this writer with the extracts of Photius.

'We[a] read,' says Photius, 'the history of Zosimus, count, 'and ex-advocate of the treasury, in six books. As to re-'ligion, he is impious, and often reviles the pious. His style 'is concise and perspicuous. He begins his history at the 'time of Augustus, and runs through the several reigns to 'Dioclesian, in a brief and hasty manner, mentioning little 'more than the successions of the emperors. But after 'Dioclesian he is more particular, writing their history in 'five books, whereas the first alone comprehends all the 'rest from Augustus to[b] Dioclesian. And the sixth book 'concludes with Alarich's second siege of Rome.' Photius adds farther, that 'Zosimus[c] so nearly resembles Eunapius, 'that he may be said to have transcribed him, rather than 'to have written a new history, except that he is more con-'cise, and does not rail at Stilicho; for the rest, his history 'is much the same. And they agree in reviling the pious 'emperors.'

So says Photius: but Zosimus has not mentioned Eunapius.

There needs little more to be said by way of a previous account of this writer. Cave[d] placeth him as flourishing about the year 425. And Euagrius says he[e] lived in the time of Honorius and Arcadius, and afterwards. As he quotes Olympiodorus he must have written after him, if that passage be genuine: and some learned men are of opinion that he plainly borrows some things from Olympiodorus, in the fifth and sixth books of his work. I shall

[a] Ανεγνωσθη ἱστορικον λογοις ἑξ Ζωσιμε, κομητος απο φισκοσυνηγορε. Ετι δε θρησκειαν ασεβης, και πολλακις εν πολλοις ὑλακτων κατα των ευσεβων, κ. λ. Phot. Cod. 98. p. 269.

[b] In our present copies the latter part of the first book is wanting. Hodie postrema pars libri primi, ea nempe quæ a Probo usque ad Diocletianum, desideratur. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 604.

[c] Ib. 271. m.

[d] Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 468.

[e] —— η και μετ' αυτες γεγονως· Euagr. l. 3. cap. 51. p. 312. A.

place[f] below what Fabricius says concerning his time, not very disagreeably to what has been already observed.

Zosimus has been often blamed for his severe reflections upon Constantine and Theodosius the First, and has been defended by others. He is manifestly an enemy to the christians: and, in point of his own religion, very superstitious and credulous. I think it best for me to transcribe from him a good part of what he says directly or indirectly of christians: and I shall also take in some of his remarkable strokes in favour of Gentilism. These things may entertain my readers, as I apprehend, without perverting any of them. Indeed I think this method necessary to set before my readers the state of things in the Roman empire at that time, both with regard to Gentilism, and christianity.

But before I proceed to make my extracts I shall put down here a part of what Vossius says of this author, in his work concerning the Greek historians. 'Zosimus,[g] 'count, and ex-advocate of the treasury, lived in the time of 'the younger Theodosius, as appears from Euagrius. He 'has left six books of history: the first of which runs 'through the emperors from Augustus to Dioclesian. In 'the other he relates more at large the Roman affairs to the 'second siege of Rome by Alarich, and his appointing 'Attalus emperor, and then dethroning him again. It is 'probable that he went somewhat lower, as something 'seems to be wanting at the end of what we have.——The

[f] Scripsisse videri possit non post Eunapium modo, sed Olympiodorum Thebanum quoque (adeoque post A. C. 425.) quem libro v. cap. 27. allegat, ubi de Ravennâ urbe disserit, quamquam locus iste glossema videtur Lambecio. ——Ea vero, quæ de Constantino Tyranno habet libro vi. et quæ de Alaricho ac Stilichone scribit libro quinto, cuncta fere ex Olympiodoro mutuatum esse notat Henr. Valesius ad Sozom. p. 170. Quoniam porro Olympiodorus historiam suam usque ad Valentiniani iii. sive Placidi imperium produxit, quod cœpit A. C. 425, hinc constat, Zosimum non ante id tempus historiam suam composuisse. Post Arcadii et Honorii tempora rejicit etiam Euagrius. iii. 41. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. v. T. 6. p. 606, et 607.

[g] Zosimus quoque, comes, et ex-advocatus fisci, vixit tempore Theodosii junioris, ut ex Euagrio Scholastico constat. Reliquit Historiæ libros sex, quorum primus Cæsares ab Augusto usque ad Diocletianum percurrit. Cæteris quinque fusius persequitur res Romanas usque ad Romam iterum ab Alaricho obsessam, Attalum ab eo designatum Imperatorem, posteaque eâ dignitate exutum——Sed homo fuit Paganus.——Unde creber est in sugillandis principibus christianis. Quo nomine etiam a Photio reprehenditur, item Evagrio, Nicephoro, et aliis. Sed Leunclavius censet, ne in istis quidem fidem facile Zosimo esse abrogandam. Nam et christiani principes quædam enormia vitia habuisse quæ fidelis historicus minime debeat præterire. G. J. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. xx. Vid. etiam J. A. Bosius, ap. Blount Censura auctor. in Zosimo. p. 209.

'style of Zosimus is concise, pure, and perspicuous, as is 'observed by Photius in his Bibliotheque. But he was a 'pagan, and frequently blames christian princes: upon 'which account he has been censured by Photius, Euagrius, 'Nicephorus, and others. But Leunclavius is of opinion 'that, even in those things, Zosimus ought to be credited. 'For it is certain that christian princes were guilty of great 'faults, which a faithful historian ought not to conceal.' So says Vossius. And I have thought it best not to suppress his judgment.

Vossius, as we have seen, supposed somewhat to be wanting at the end of the last book. But Fabricius, who has since considered that point, is of opinion that we[h] have it entire.

I have not observed any where an account of the place of this writer's nativity, nor of his usual residence. He is called count, which shows his dignity, and is said to have been ex-advocate of the treasury: which seems to show that he had for some time an honourable employment under the emperor, in whose time he lived; but the emperor is not named. Valesius, in his notes upon Euagrius, is inclined to place Zosimus much lower than is generally done. He thinks he flourished in the time of the emperor Anastasius: and says that the character[i] of advocate of the treasury, differs little from that of sophist.

II. I now proceed to make extracts.

1. In his first book, in the reign of Aurelian, speaking of some superstitious customs of the Palmyrens, and the benefit of them: 'But these things,[k]' says he, 'I leave with the happiness of those men. For the present race has rejected the divine benefit.' And soon afterwards: 'Such[l] was the divine benevolence toward the Romans, so long as the sacred rites were observed. But when I shall

[h] Gesta hæc sunt, in quibus desinit Zosimi historia, anno Christi 410, Honorii Imp. 16, Theodosii Junioris 3. Atque ex isto Photii loco patet, historiam Zosimi, quam ipse legit, non longius productam fuisse, quam in nostris codicibus extat: quamquam Vossius——verisimile putavit paullo ulterius progressum, &c. Fabric. Bib. Gr T. 6. p. 607.

[i] Et advocati fisci dignitas, quâ ornatur Zosimus, non multum abhorret a sophisticâ. Vales. Ann. ad Euagr. l. 3. cap. 41.

[k] *Ταυτα μεν τη τηνικαυτα των ανθρωπων ευδαιμονια παριημι, τα καθ' ημας γενος αποσεισαμενα θειαν ευεργεσιαν.* Zos. l. i. p. 660. A. ed. Sylburg. Francof. 1590.

[l] *Η μεν ουν εις Ρωμαιους ευμενεια τα θεια, της ιερας αγιστειας φυλαττομενης, τοιαυτη. Επειδαν δε εις εκεινους αφικωμαι τους χρονους, εν οις η Ρωμαιων αρχη, κατα βραχυ βαρβαρωθεισα, εις ολιγον τι, και αυτο διαφθαρεν, περιεστη· τηνικαυτα και τας αιτιας παραστησω τα δυστυχηματος, και τους χρησμους ως αν οιοτε ω παραθησομαι, τους τα συνενεχθεντα μηνυσαντας.* Ibid. p. 660. fin.

come down to those times, in which the Roman empire became in a manner barbarous, and very small, and that little corrupted, I shall set down the causes of those misfortunes, and shall also endeavour to add, as I am able, those oracles by which the unhappy event was foretold.'

These, and other like passages may convince us, how strong the prejudices had always been in favour of Gentilism, and how much men were afraid of departing from ancient customs, lest they should thereby bring down upon themselves, and the state, misery and confusion. And it may enable us to conceive, in some measure, how great fortitude of mind must have been needful, to enable the first christians to bear up under all the reproaches which they met with upon that account. They must have been persuaded that they had good reason to act as they did, against the prevailing opinion. This observation we have had occasion to make several times.

2. In the second book of his history, having given a large and particular account of the secular games, and the manner of celebrating them, and the rites accompanying them, he says: 'Whilst therefore all these things[m] were performed, according to the appointment of the oracle, and as they really ought to be done, the Roman empire was safe, and they had in a manner the whole world in subjection to them. But the festival having been neglected from the time that Dioclesian abdicated, it has decayed, until it is become almost barbarous. I shall put down the true account of the time. For from the consulship of Cilo and Libo [A. C. 204.] in which Severus celebrated the secular games, to the ninth consulship of Dioclesian, and the eighth of Maximian, [A. C. 304.] are an hundred and one years. But then Dioclesian of an emperor became a private man. The same was the case of Maximian. In the third consulship of Constantine and Licinius [A. C. 313.] the time of a hundred and ten years was complete, when the festival ought to have been observed according to custom. And not having been then observed, there was a necessity that affairs should sink into the distress and misery in which they now are.'

3. In the same book: 'At that time[n] [in the year 309, or thereabout] there happened a fire at Rome, whether from the air, or from the earth, is uncertain, and it took the

[m] Lib. ii. p. 671. [n] *Κατα δε την Ῥωμην εκπεσοντος πυρος, ειτε εξ αερος, ειτε εκ γης, (τουτο γαρ αδηλον,) ὁ της Τυχης εφλεχθη ναος. Παντων δε σβεσαι την πυραν συνδραμοντων, βλασφημα ῥηματα κατα τε θειε των στρατιωτων τις αφεις, κ. λ.* l. ii. p. 675.

temple of Fortune. When all men ran to extinguish the fire, a soldier, who had spoken some blasphemous words against the deity, was killed by the multitude out of veneration for the goddess. This inflamed the soldiery into a sedition; which might have ruined the whole city, if Maxentius had not interposed and restrained their fury.

4. 'But when the whole empire[o] came to be in the hands of Constantine alone,' meaning after the death of Licinius, in the year 323 or 324, 'he no longer concealed his bad nature, but did every thing as he pleased. Hitherto he had practised the sacred rites of his country, not so much indeed out of real veneration for them, as out of necessity. And he therefore gave credit to soothsayers, as men expert in their art, and who had truly foretold his future successes. And when he came to Rome, being exalted with pride and arrogance, he began with exercising cruelty in his own family; for he put to death his son Crispus, whom he had before declared Cæsar, upon a suspicion of unlawful commerce with his mother-in-law Fausta. Constantine's mother Helena being extremely grieved for the death of the young man, as if he had aimed to comfort her by adding one evil to another, he had Fausta suffocated in a bath. Being conscious to himself of these things,[p] and of his breaches of faith, he applied to the priests for some expiatory purifications of those crimes. They answered him, that there were not delivered to them any purifications which could expiate such crimes as those were. At that time there came an Ægyptian to Rome from Spain, who getting acquainted with the women of the court, and at length coming into Constantine's company, he told him that the christian doctrine could wipe away all offences: for it[q] contained this assurance, that the wicked, who embraced it, should be immediately freed from the guilt of all sin. Constantine, readily embracing that discourse, hearkened to the Ægyptian; and forsaking the rites of his country, he began his impiety with neglecting divination and augury: and at length he abolished such things. And when a day came

[o] Περισασης δε της πασης εις μονον Κωνσαντινον αρχης, εκετι λοιπον την κατα φυσιν ενεσαν αυτῳ κακοηθειαν εκρυπτεν, αλλα ενεδιδε τῳ κατ' εξουσιαν απαντα πραττειν. Εχρητο δε ετι και τοις πατριοις ἱεροις, ε τιμης ἑνεκα, μαλλον η χρειας· ἡ και μαντεσιν επειθετο πεπραγμενοις, ὡς αληθη προειπουσιν επι πασι τοις κατωρθωμενοις αυτῳ. Επει δε εις την Ῥωμην αφικετο, μεσος πασης αλαζονειας, αφ' ἑσιας ωηθη δειν αρξασθαι της ασεβειας, Κρισπον γαρ παιδα.—κ. λ. l. ii. p. 685.

[p] Ταυτα συνεπισαμενος ἑαυτῳ, και προσετι γε ορκων καταφρονησεις, προσηει τοις ἱερευσι καθαρσια των ἁμαρτηματων αιτων ——p. 685. in.

[q] Και τουτο εχειν επαγγελμα, το τους ασεβεις μεταλαμβανοντας αυτης, πασης ἁμαρτιας εξω παραχρημα καθισασθαι. p. 685.

that, according to custom, the army should go up to the capital, Constantine spoke slightly of that custom. And thus, abandoning the sacred rites, he lost the affections of the senate and people of Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches cast upon him on that account, he then thought of choosing another city for the seat of the empire. At length he fixed upon the city of Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.'

This paragraph will certainly require some remarks. To me it seems not at all strange that such reflections as these should be sometimes thrown upon Constantine, and the christian religion, by heathen people. Sozomen, near the beginning of his Ecclesiastical History, speaks to this purpose: 'I[r] am not ignorant that the Gentiles are wont to say 'that Constantine, having put to death some of his relations, 'and particularly his son Crispus, and being sorry for 'what he had done, applied to Sopater the philosopher, 'and the chief master of the school of Plotinus at that 'time: and he answering that there were no expiations for 'such offences, the emperor[s] then had recourse to the 'christian bishops, who told him, that by repentance and 'baptism he might be cleansed from all sin; with which 'doctrine, as they say, he was mightily pleased. Where-'upon he became a christian himself, and required his sub-'jects to be so likewise. But,' says Sozomen, and very honestly, 'it seems to me[t] that these stories have been in-'vented by those who are desirous to reproach the christian 'religion. For Crispus, upon whose account, as they say, 'Constantine needed a purification, died in the twentieth 'year of his father's empire. And whilst he was yet living, 'having the second post in the government, as being Cæsar, 'he enacted many laws in favour of the christians, jointly 'with his father, as the laws still in being testify. He like-'wise says,' following Eusebius,[u] 'that Constantine em-'braced christianity before his war with Maxentius, and 'before his coming to Rome, and into Italy. Nor is it 'probable that Sopater should have an opportunity of 'conversing with Constantine in Britain or Gaul.' So writes Sozomen.

That Constantine was no longer a heathen and idolater, but a christian, may be concluded from his edict, published

[r] Sozom. H. E. l. i. cap. 5. p. 406. [s] *Αδημονεντα δε τον βασιλεα επι τη απαγορευσει, περιτευχειν επισκοποις, οι μετανοια και βαπτισματι ὑπεσχοντο, πασης αυτον ἁμαρτιας καθαιρειν.* Ib. 406. B.

[t] *Εμοι δε δοκει, ταυτα πεπλασθαι τοις σπευδαζουσι την Χριστιανων θρησκειαν κακηγορειν.* Ibid. [u] Vid. Euseb. de Vitâ Constantini, l. i. c. 26—32.

in favour of the christians, in the year 313, soon after the defeat of Maxentius. Nevertheless his notions concerning the christian religion, and his knowledge of it, might be afterwards more full and clear.

That Constantine was a christian before this time, is manifest from Zosimus himself. For, as we saw just now, he complained that the great festival of the secular games, which should have been celebrated in the year 313, was omitted by Constantine. Is not that a proof that he was then a christian?

This may suffice for a general observation upon this paragraph. However, I shall take some farther notice of the several particulars of it.

(1.) Zosimus insinuates that for a long time Constantine practised divination.

With regard to this, it should be observed that there are laws extant, two[v] passed by Constantine in the year 319, one directed to Maximus præfect of Rome, the other to the people, and another[w] in the year 321, wherein the senate of Rome, and others, are allowed to consult soothsayers upon occasion of lightning and thunder, or other surprising events, provided it be done publicly, in the temples, and at the usual altars. At the same time soothsayers are strictly forbidden to go to private houses.

I have put the laws below in their original language.

These laws have occasioned some reflections upon Con-

[v] Imp. Constantinus ad Maximum. Nullus aruspex limen alterius accedat, nec ob alteram causam; sed hujusmodi hominum, quamvis vetus, amicitia repellatur. Concremando illo haruspice, qui ad domum alienum accesserit: illo et qui eum suasionibus vel præmiis evocaverit, post redemtionem bonorum, in insulam detrudendo. Superstitioni enim suæ servire cupientes poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere. Accusatorem enim hujus criminis non delatorem esse, sed dignum magis præmio arbitramur. De Malefic. et Mathematicis, Cod. Theod. l. 9. Tit. 16. l. i. Tom. iii. p. 114. Idem A. ad Populum. Haruspices, et eos qui huic ritui solent ministrare, ad privatam domum prohibemus accedere, vel sub prætextu amicitiæ limen alterius ingredi, pœnâ contra eos propositâ, si contemserint legem. Qui vero id vobis existimatis conducere, adite aras publicas atque delubra, et consuetudinis vestræ celebrate solennia. Neque enim prohibemus præteritæ usurpationis officia liberâ luce tractari. Dat. Id. Maii. Constantio. Aug. V. et Licinio. Coss. Ibid. l. ii. Tom. iii. p. 115.

[w] Si quid de Palatio nostro, aut cæteris operibus publicis degustatum de fulgore esse constiterit, retento more veteris observantiæ, quid portendat, ab haruspicibus requiratur, et diligentissime scriptura collecta ad nostram scientiam referatur. Cæteris etiam usurpandæ hujus consuetudinis licentiâ tribuendâ: dummodo sacrificiis domesticis abstineant, quæ specialiter prohibita sunt. Eam autem denunciationem atque interpretationem, quæ de tactu Amphitheatri scripta est, de quâ ad Heraclinanum Tribunum, et magistrum officiorum scripseras, ad nos scias perlatum, Dat.——Crispo ii. et Constantino ii. Coss. De Paganis, &c. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. Tit. x. lib. i. p. 257.

stantine. Baronius[x] was greatly offended, especially at the last of them, and exclaims against Constantine, as if he had for a while apostatized from christianity. Other learned men, particularly James Gothofred,[y] in his notes upon these laws, and Pagi,[z] and Basnage,[a] and Tillemont,[b] argue, that the terms of these laws import not any approbation of soothsaying, or any rites belonging to it, but rather a dislike of them. They are only permitted in condescension to the prejudices of heathen people, and especially the people of Rome, who were extremely fond of haruspices.

The observations of those learned men seem to me to contain a proper vindication of Constantine. Nevertheless Mr. Mosheim[c] is not satisfied: he still thinks these laws a proof that Constantine had not yet forsaken Gentilism, or acquiesced in the christian, as the only true religion. I have put his words below. But I do not think his exceptions to be of any great weight.

As to what Zosimus says that, 'Constantine still paid a regard to soothsayers, having experienced the truth of their predictions in his own successes;' Tillemont[d] says, we need not believe it upon his word alone. And it seems to be contrary to what is said in the panegyric of an uncertain author, to Constantine himself, in the year 313,

[x] Baron. Ann. 321. num. 18, &c. [y] Vice versâ, sicut haruspicinam privatim exerceri Constantinus his legibus vetat, ita contra publice eam exerceri permittit. Publice, inquam, apud aras publicas, et delubra, et retento more veteris observantiæ.——Quin, et infra, De Paganis, haruspicinam in publicis quoque causis a Senatu urbicisque magistratibus Romæ usurpari idem Constantinus concessit; sic tamen ut ad se responsa haruspicum referri vellet. —Et hæc omnia non tamquam ipse haruspicinam probaret, vel ei obnoxius fieret, quod Zosimus credidisse videtur, et Baronius hinc colligit, verum quia evellendæ e Gentilium animis haruspicinæ par nondum erat, et Romæ quidem, et per Italiam, quam haruspicinæ nominatim fidem maximam habuisse scribit Herodianus, lib. viii. p. 612. Ideoque satis habuit Constantinus suæ interim saluti et publicæ quieti his legibus eâ quam dixi ratione consuluisse; prohibitis sacrificiis domesticis, et privatarum ædium ingressu haruspicibus interdicto, &c. J. Gothofred. not. ad leg. i. et. ii. de Maleficiis, &c. Tom. iii. p. 116. [z] Pagi Ann. 319. num. xi. et 321. num. iv.

[a] Basn. ann. 321. num. v. [b] L'Emp. Constantin. art. xlii.

[c] Notæ sunt leges ejus de tolerandis haruspicibus, modo publice artem suam exerceant——septimo et nono post debellatum Maxentium anno sancitæ; quarum tametsi turpitudinem Gothofredus, Tillemontius, et alii extenuare student, haud tamen impedient, quo minus ex illis pateat, nondum tum temporis Imperatorem prorsus a veteri Romanorum religione descivisse, atque in unius christianæ professione acquievisse. Neque video, cur Zosimus mentiri putandus sit, qui Constantinum diu post firmatum imperium hariolis aures præbuisse, fidemque habuisse narrat. lib. ii. p. 203. edit. Oxon. 1079. Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 975. [d] Mais pour ce qu'il ajoûte, qu'il avoit souvent éprouvé dans ses heureux succès la vérité de leurs prédictions, nous ne l'en croirons pas assurément sur sa parole. Tillem. ib.

where he says that, 'in undertaking[e] the war with Maxentius, Constantine had acted contrary, not only to the advices of his friends and generals, but likewise contrary to the admonitions of the haruspices.'

Upon the whole, I do not perceive any thing in those laws, which we are now considering, contrary to the edict of Constantine and Licinius, in favour of the christians, in the year 313. There it is said: 'We[f] publish this therefore as our will and pleasure, and agreeable to right reason, that leave should not be denied to any man whatever to follow and choose the constitution and worship of the christians: and that leave be given to every one to betake himself to that religion, which is most agreeable to him.'

Those laws contain no enlargement of the privileges of heathen people: they are rather a restriction of them: for all rites of soothsaying are here confined to public temples and altars; no haruspex, or soothsayer, is allowed to go into private houses. If any thing is done there privately, discovering the fact is encouraged. 'Such shall not be reckoned informers, or accusers, but shall be entitled to a reward.' And all answers or determinations of haruspices, relating to the public, are to be transmitted to the emperor himself in writing.

Moreover Zosimus himself says, that, at the time of which he is here speaking, 'Constantine practised the rites of his country, not from any real veneration for them, but from necessity:' that is, in condescension to the sentiments of others, and that he might not too much offend and provoke heathen people.

(1.) It is reasonable therefore to think that none of those laws above mentioned, or what is here imputed to Constantine by Zosimus, ought to be understood as any impeachment of his christianity at that time.

(2.) With regard to the death of Crispus and Fausta, it is to be said that no christians justify any bad actions of Constantine, or any other christian emperor. Such things as have been reckoned blemishes in the reign of Constantine, with the occasions of them, were particularly considered formerly.[g] And since that, in the chapter of

[e] Quisnam te Deus, quæ tam præsens hortata est majestas, ut omnibus fere tuis comitibus et ducibus non solum tacite mussitantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus, contra consilia hominum, contra haruspicum monita, ipse per temet liberandæ Urbis tempus venisse sentires. Incerti Paneg. Const. Aug. cap. 2. p. 233.

[f] See Vol. vii. ch. xl. num. x.

[g] See Vol. iii. ch. 70.

Eutropius,[h] I have proposed some additional observations, and therefore need not enlarge now.

(3.) Here is a reflection upon christian baptism, the like to which we have met with already in Celsus[i] and Julian:[k] but there is no foundation for it. By Sozomen, this is represented after this manner, as we saw just now: that 'Constantine met with some christian bishops, who told 'him that by repentance and baptism he might be cleansed 'from all sin. With which doctrine the emperor was 'mightily pleased.' And is there any absurdity in this? Crimes are not to be expiated by sacrifices of animals, nor by bodily pains and mortifications: but they may be expiated by sincere repentance, and solemn engagements to universal virtue and piety for time to come, which are implied in baptism. This doctrine is reasonable in itself, and is agreeable to the declarations of the ancient Jewish prophets, and of Jesus Christ and his apostles. It is a reasonable doctrine, and worthy of all acceptation. If God is not inexorable to his creatures, who have offended against him and his laws, how can they appease his displeasure, or recommend themselves to his favour, in any other or better way than this?

(4.) Zosimus tells us that when Constantine was under concern of mind, 'there came an Ægyptian to Rome from Spain, who first got acquaintance with the women of the court, and then with Constantine himself, and taught him how he might obtain the expiation of his offences and sins.'

All this is said without ground, so far as we know, and may all be the fiction of Zosimus, or of some other Gentile people before him. However, upon this Tillemont[l] remarks in the following manner: 'Eusebius has not told us who 'they were whom God employed to inspire this prince 'with the first principles of the truth: all that can be said 'is, that Zosimus, amidst the falsities which he relates con-'cerning the conversion of Constantine, there inserts one 'thing which may be true, that an Ægyptian having come 'from Spain to the place where Constantine was, he was 'the cause of his abandoning the Roman religion. This 'seems to agree well enough with the great Osius of Cor-'duba in Spain, whom some affairs may have brought to 'the court of Constantine. He was at that time famous in 'the quality of confessor of the name of Jesus Christ: and 'we shall hereafter see him employed by Constantine in the

[h] See in this Vol. ch. l. num. ii.
[i] See Vol. vii. ch. xviii. sect. x.
[k] Ibid. ch. xlvi. num. iv. 25, 26.
[l] Emp. Constantin. sect. xxiv.

'distribution of his alms, and in the greatest affairs of the 'church, as a man for whom Constantine had a very parti-'cular respect and esteem.'

But that is mere conjecture. Nor do I know of any reason to believe that Osius of Corduba was acquainted with Constantine at the time of his conversion, or very soon after it.

(5.) Zosimus reflects upon Constantine for leaving Rome, and building Constantinople. But as this will come over again, I defer for the present to make the proper observations relating to that event. We therefore proceed.

5. Zosimus[m] finds great fault with Constantine for making alterations in the magistracy, and, instead of two præfects of the prætorium, appointing four with several districts. But I do not think it needful for me to transcribe him here at length, nor to make any remarks. I refer to some learned modern historians and chronologers,[n] where this new distribution of the several parts of the empire is considered.

6. Having given an account of Constantine's enlarging the city of Byzantium, and calling it Constantinople, and having expatiated upon the expenses of that undertaking, and the consequences of it, he goes on: 'Indeed Constantine[o] mistook prodigality for magnificence. And moreover he imposed a tax of gold and silver upon all merchants and traders throughout the empire, not excepting miserable prostitutes; insomuch, that upon the return of every fourth year, when the tax was to be collected, there was nothing to be heard but lamentations and complaints in every city; and whips and torments were inflicted upon those, who, by reason of extreme poverty, were not able to pay it. And mothers were forced to part with their children, and fathers prostituted their daughters, that they might satisfy the collectors of this gold and silver exaction.'

So says Zosimus. And I refer to[p] Gothofred, and[q] Pagi, and[r] others, who have vindicated Constantine from the scandal of this tax. They say it was not new, not even the more infamous part of it, but had been in force in the time of heathen emperors. Some alterations, however, in all

[m] Zos. l. ii. p. 687, 688.

[n] Vide Pagi ann. 332. n. iv. Basnag. ann. 333. ii. Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin. art. 84.

[o] Lib. ii. p. 691.

[p] Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. Tit. i. De Lustrali Collatione. leg. 1. Tom. v. p. 1. &c.

[q] Pagi in Baron. ann. 330. n. vi. ann. 491. num. xii.

[r] Baron. ann. 331. n. 33, &c. Basn. ann. 449. num. i. Tillemont L'Emp. Constantin. sect. 80. Bingham's Antiquities of the Church, B. v. chap. iii. sect. 6.

probability, were made by[s] Constantine. Possibly, he appointed the collecting it every fourth or fifth year; for which reason it is sometimes called the Chrysargyral, at other times the Lustral tax. Nor[t] are any ancient laws of Constantine, or any other emperor, relating to it, now in being; all copies of them, and all papers concerning it, having been carefully destroyed[u] by Anastasius, who abolished this tax.

Some part of this tax was abrogated by Theodosius the younger in the year 439. The rest was in force through the reigns of several christian emperors, till the eighth or ninth of Anastasius, in the year[v] 499. And that it was exacted with great rigour in the time of Julian, appears from an oration of Libanius to that emperor, against Florentius, then præfect of the Prætorium: 'An[w] insufferable 'tax,' he says, 'which fills all men with horror, at the ap- 'proach of the Lustral year, and especially labouring 'mechanics who have nothing but the instruments of their 'trade. Whom I have often seen,' says Libanius, 'lifting 'up their eyes to heaven, with an awl or an axe in their 'hands, and professing that they had nothing else.'

Undoubtedly the building and adorning Constantinople occasioned great expense. Jerom, in his Chronicle, says: 'At this time[x] Constantinople is built, and all other cities 'stript almost naked to enrich it.'

But whatever reflections may be made upon Constantine by Zosimus, or others, for enlarging Byzantium, his choice seems to have been approved in the end. For all succeeding emperors made it the seat of the eastern part of the empire. And the emperor Julian was exceeding fond of Constantinople, as being his native place, and conferred upon it many privileges, as we are assured[y] by Ammianus. Zosimus himself speaks to the like purpose. 'Constanti-

[s] Quare si quid hac parte a Constantino factum, forma tantum ejus mutata. Forte lustralis hæc collatio ab eo facta, seu τεταετηρικη, quæ antea annalis, vel ejusmodi erat: sic, ut pro facultatum incremento, totidem lustris augeretur. Goth. ut supra, p. 4. [t] Cod. Just. De Lustralis auri Collatione: quo titulo absunt omnes hujus tituli constitutiones: utpote sublatâ hac collatione ab Anastasio, teste Euagrio, et Zonara. Gothof. ib. p. 1.

[u] Vid. Euagr. H. E. l. iii. cap. 41. Zonar. ann. T. iii. p. 45.

[v] At lenonum quidem vectigal jam sustulerat Theodosius anno 439.—— Anastasius vero infame vectigal ubique locorum exstinguere decrevit. Basn. ann. 499. num. i. Conf. Pagi ann. 330. num. vi.

[w] Liban. Invect. in Florentium. ad Imp. Julian. T. ii. 427, 428.

[x] Constantinopolis dedicatur pene omnium urbium nuditate. Chron. p. 181. [y] Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis multis fultam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam, et colebat. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 9. p. 346.

nople[z] was his native city, and he made their senate equal to that of Rome, improved their harbour, adorned the city with a magnificent portico, and a library in which he placed his own books.' And[a] Julian in a letter to the Alexandrians, to induce them the more readily to part with a 'stone 'obelisk, which lay on the sea-shore of their city, tells 'them, that Constantine had built a vessel for bringing it 'to Constantinople his native city; but had been prevented 'by death. That city,' says he, 'now asks the same of me, 'which is my native country, and therefore more dear to 'me than to him. He loved it as a sister, I as a mother. 'For there I was born and bred, and therefore cannot be 'ungrateful to her.'

Julian, I think, might have said, that Constantine loved the city as his daughter: and then he could have had no pretence to magnify his affection for that place above Constantine's. However, the more to satisfy the Alexandrians, he promiseth them a colossus of brass, of a large size, in the room of the Ægyptian obelisk of stone. And thus Julian does what had been blamed in Constantine. He robs and strips Alexandria, to enrich and adorn Constantinople.

All which, as seems to me, is sufficient to show that Constantine's choice of Byzantium was approved of by succeeding emperors, and that this conduct therein was justified by them. But I think that somewhat more may be said; and that what Constantine did now, had been in effect done before. Dioclesian, who was the first and eldest emperor, had for some while resided chiefly at Nicomedia; and Maximian in Italy. Dioclesian's resignation in the year 305, was performed at a place near Nicomedia, and Maximian's at Milan. Dioclesian and Galerius were at Nicomedia, when the edict for a general persecution of the christians was published in 303, and had been there some while before. There Dioclesian had a palace. He also endeavoured to increase the confluence of people there, by making Nicomedia the seat of learning. For that end he invited the professors of other countries, most eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences, to come and make it the place of their residence. One of these was the celebrated

[z] Επει δε εις το Βυζαντιον παρεγενετο, παντες μεν αυτον συν ευφημιαις εδεχοντο, πολιτην και τροφιμον ἑαυτων ονομαζοντες, (οια δη εν ταυτη τεχθεντα τε και τραφεντα τῃ πολει,)——Εν ταυτῃ της πολεως ἁμα και των τρατοπεδων επιμελημενος, εδωκε μεν τῃ πολει γερασιαν εχειν ὡσπερ εν τῃ [πολει] Ῥωμῃ, κ. λ. Zos. l. iii. p. 713.

[a] Ep. 58. p. 443. edit. Spanhem. et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 8. T. vii. p. 84.

Firmianus Lactantius,[b] who was invited to set up there a school of rhetoric, which he did. And, as we learn from Jerom, Flavius Grammaticus was invited at the same time, who was in repute for his skill in medicine, and likewise had a talent for poetry. And if Constantine be censured for the expenses of building, so was Dioclesian[c] likewise, and for a design to make Nicomedia equal to Rome. And Ammianus Marcellinus says, that[d] Nicomedia, in the time of its prosperity, resembled Rome itself for the number and grandeur of its private and public buildings with which it had been adorned by divers princes.

Zosimus, as may be remembered, in a place above cited, says: 'When a day came that, according to custom, the army should go up to the capitol, Constantine spoke slightly of that custom. And then abandoning the sacred rites, he lost the affections of the senate and people of Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches cast upon him upon that account, he thought of choosing another city for the seat of the empire. At length he fixed upon the city of Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.'

So says Zosimus. Nevertheless that might not be the whole of the reason why Constantine determined to make Byzantium the place of his residence. For, as I apprehend, the authority and influence of the senate had been for some while troublesome to the emperors; they therefore chose to be generally at a considerable distance from it. And the present extent of the empire, and the state of things, called them much into the eastern part of it. And to me it seems not improbable that, if Constantine had never been converted to christianity, and if Gentilism had continued to subsist in its ancient splendour, Nicomedia, or some other city near it, would have been chosen for the place of the chief residence, for the emperor, or for the first of the emperors if there were more than one. And at length a senate

[b] Firmianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe, accitus cum Flavio grammatico, cujus de medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri, Nicomediæ rhetoricam docuit. Hiero. De V. I. cap. 8. Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, &c. Lact. Inst. l. 5. cap. 2.

[c] Huc accedebat infinita quædam cupiditas ædificandi, non minor provinciarum exactio in exhibendis operariis, artificibus, et plaustris omnibus, quæcumque sint fabricandis operibus necessaria——Repente magna pars civitatis exceditur. Migrabant omnes cum conjugibus et liberis, quasi urbe ab hostibus captâ.——Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ coæquare. Cæc. de M. P. cap. 7.

[d] Inde Nicomediam venit, urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro Principibus amplificatam impensis, ut ædium multitudine privatarum et publicarum recte noscentibus regio quædam Urbis æstimaretur æternæ. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 9. p. 346.

likewise might have been appointed in it, with suitable privileges, as a rival with the ancient senate at Rome.

And for certain, Constantine in the choice of Byzantium showed his judgment and sagacity. For no place could be pitched upon, as to its situation, more agreeable, or more convenient for an imperial seat, in the whole extent of the Roman empire, nor perhaps upon the face of the whole earth.

These thoughts are my own, and therefore are proposed, as they ought to be, with diffidence. But I was willing to mention them for abating the reproaches cast upon Constantine upon this account; which have often appeared to me invidious, excessive, and unreasonable. They came originally from Gentile writers, who laid hold of every occasion to disparage the first christian emperor. And others, as seems to me, not being duly upon their guard, have incautiously embraced them.

7. Among those who were put to death soon after the accession of Constantius, Zosimus says: 'At[e] that time also was put to death Ablabius, præfect of the Prætorium, in the way of a just punishment for his procuring the death of the philosopher Sopater, because he envied him the friendship of Constantine.'

Eunapius[f] likewise, who enlarges more than Zosimus in the character of Ablabius, who, from a mean original, arose to great splendour and dignity, ascribes the death of Sopater to the intrigues of Ablabius. Jerom[g] also in his Chronicle, mentions the death of Ablabius among other executions at the beginning of the reign of Constantius.

I do not think it needful for me to enlarge in the history, or character of Ablabius, who was præfect of the Prætorium from the year 326 to 333, or longer. I shall refer therefore to[h] Gothofred, and[i] Tillemont. But perhaps it may be expected that I should here say somewhat of Sopater, who was so much esteemed by the learned men of those times, who were zealous for Gentilism. He is said to have been a disciple of Jamblichus who was disciple of Plotinus. Eunapius says, 'he[k] was a man of great abilities; and

[e] *Ανηρεθη δε τοτε Αβλαβιος ὁ της αυλης ὑπαρχος· της δικης αξιαν αυτῳ ποινην επιθεισης ανθ' ὡν επεβϐελευσε θανατον τῳ Σωπατρῳ τω φιλοσοφῳ, φθονῳ της Κωνϛαντινϑ προς αυτον οικειοτητος.* Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

[f] Eunap. in Ædes. p. 37.

[g] Ablabius præfectus Prætorio, et multi nobilium occisi. Chron. p. 182.

[h] Gothof. Prosopographia, p. 347.

[i] L'Emp. Constantin. sect. 60.

[k] *Σωπατρος, δε ὁ παντων δεινοτερος, δια τε φυσεως ὑψος και ψυχης μεγεθος, ϑκ ενεγκων τοις αλλοις ανθρωποις ὁμιλειν, επι τας βασιλειας αυλας εδραμεν οξυς, ὡς την Κωνϛαντινϑ προφασιν τε και φοραν τυραννησων, και μεταϛησων*

'disdaining to live in obscurity, he hastened to the court of 'Constantine, with a view of restraining the impetuosity of 'that prince against the old religion, and to govern him by 'reason. And for a while he was in great esteem, and was 'openly favoured and honoured by Constantine. But,' as he says, 'there being a scarcity of corn at Constantinople, 'and the people there thinking that,[l] by magical arts, he 'bound up the winds, and obstructed the arrival of ships 'laden with corn for their relief, his enemies, and particu-'larly Ablabius, who envied his credit with the emperor, 'obtained an order for putting him to death. Which[m] 'order was immediately executed by those who bore him 'ill-will.' That is Eunapius's account of the occasion of Sopater's death. Here I would refer to[n] Crevier, who has a conjecture concerning the occasion of Sopater's death; which does not appear to me so material as to deserve to be transcribed.

Sopater is in Suidas, who says: 'Sopater was of Apamea, 'a sophist, and a philosopher, whom the emperor Constan-'tine put to death that he might convince all that he no 'longer favoured Gentilism: for to that time he was very 'familiar with him, and friendly to him. He wrote a work 'concerning Providence, and another concerning such as 'had been without their own desert happy or unhappy. 'Constantine however did not do well in killing Sopater. 'For no man is good by necessity, but by choice only.'

There follows in Suidas another article, which is to this purpose: 'Sopater of Apamea, or rather of Alexandria, 'sophist. He[o] made epitomes of several books. Some 'ascribe to him a work of historical collections.'

Whether this be the same with the forementioned and celebrated Sopater of Apamea, may be questioned. However, those works are ascribed to him by[p] some. And in Photius[q] is an article of 'Collections, or extracts from 'several, in twelve books, by Sopater the sophist.' They are indeed out of many authors, and most of them of great

τω λογῳ. Και ες τοσουτον γε εξικετο σοφιας και δυναμεως, ὡς ὁ μεν βασιλευς ἐαλωκει τε ὑπ' αυτῳ, και δημοσια συνεδρον ειχεν, εις τον δεξιον καθιζων τοπον. In Ædesio. p. 34.

[l] —— *αλλα Σωπατρος γε, εφασαν, ὁ παρα σε τιμωμενος, κατεδησε τας ανεμας δι' ὑπερβολην σοφιας, κ. λ.* Id. ib. p. 37.

[m] *Και εγενετο δια τας βασκαινοντας ταυτα θαττον η ελεγετο.* Eunap. ibid.

[n] History of the Roman Emperors, Vol. x. p. 169, 170.

[o] *Επιτομας πλειτων. Τινες δε και την εκλογιαν των ἱτοριων τετε ειναι φασι.*

[p] Vide Voss. Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 17.

[q] *Ανεγνωσθησαν εκλογαι διαφοροι εν βιβλοις δυοκαιδεκα Σωπατρε σοφιτε. Συνειλεκται δε αυτῳ το βιβλιον εκ πολλων και διαφορων ἱτοριων και γραμματων.* Cod. 161. p. 337.

note. Photius says, 'the[r] work may be useful to the readers, 'though there are in it not a few fables, and prodigies, and 'false and incredible stories.'

8. In the beginning of the reign of Valentinian all the friends of Julian were looked upon with dislike. But Zosimus says, that[s] 'Valentinian was particularly incensed against the philosopher Maximus, bearing in memory a charge which he had brought against him in the time of Julian, of impiety toward the gods, out of respect for the christian religion.'

However, Maximus was not now put to death, nor till a good while afterwards, as we may show in another place.

9. Presently afterwards, still at the beginning of the same reign, in the year 364, he says: 'Valentinian[t] made a law forbidding nocturnal sacrifices, intending thereby to prevent the enormities which were sometimes committed at those seasons. But Prætextatus, then proconsul of Greece, a man adorned with every virtue, assuring him, that law would do no less than deprive the Greeks of all the comfort of their lives, if they were hindered from performing those most sacred mysteries, according to the appointment, upon which the welfare of mankind depended, he permitted them to be done, his law lying dormant, provided that all things were done according to the laws of the country, as they had been done from the beginning.

The law prohibiting nocturnal sacrifices may be a law dated the ninth day of September, in the year 364, which[u] I shall place below with a reference to Gothofred's notes upon it. But Zosimus says that law was suffered to lie dormant, or without effect, for Greece at least. And[v] there

[r] Ibid. p. 344.

[s] Zos. l. 4. p. 735. sub. in.

[t] —— *αφ' ἑτιας ὡσπερ αρξαμενος, τας νυκτερινας εκωλυε θυσιας επιτελεισθαι, τοις μυσαρως μεν αν πραττομενοις εμποδων δια τα τοιαδε νομα γενεσθαι βουλομενος. Επει δε Πραιτεκστατος, ὁ της Ἑλλαδος την ανθυπατον εχων αρχην· ανηρ εν πασαις διαπρεπων ταις αρεταις, τουτον εφη τον νομον αβιωτον τοις Ἕλλησι κατασησειν τον βιον, ει μελλοιεν κωλυεσθαι τα συνεχοντα το ανθρωπειον γενος ἀγιωτατα μυστηρια κατα θεσμον εκτελειν, επετρεψεν, αργοντος τα νομα· πραττεσθαι δε παντα κατα τα της αρχης πατρια.* p. 735, 736.

[u] Ne quis deinceps nocturnis temporibus, aut nefarias preces, aut magicos apparatus, aut sacrificia funesta celebrare conetur: detectum atque convictum competenti animadversione mactare perenni auctoritate censemus. Cod. Theod. lib. ix. Tit. 16. l. 7. p. 126. Tom. iii.

[v] Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum causis habere consortium indico: neque ipsam aut aliquam præterea concessam a majoribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datæ, quibus, 'unicuique, quod animo imbibisset, colendi libera facultas tributa est.' Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus.

is another law, dated May 29, in the year 371, where the practice of soothsaying and other rites of the Gentile religion are allowed of, provided nothing magical or hurtful was done.

And Ammianus Marcellinus commends the moderation of Valentinian, in[w] that he did not disturb men upon account of their religion, but let every man do as he pleased, without interposing his authority: as was also observed formerly[x] from the same historian.

Zosimus acknowledgeth that Theodosius was a good soldier, and skilful in the art of war; but he chargeth him with great luxury and expensiveness in his way of living. I do not transcribe him here. It is sufficient briefly to mention this, and[y] make a reference to what he says.

But by way of balance to his invectives, I would refer to the panegyric of Pacatus, pronounced before the senate of Rome, and as some think in the presence of Theodosius himself, soon after the defeat of the usurper Maximus, in the year[z] 391, as some think, or rather[a] in the year 339, and to the younger Victor, who[b] flourished in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and published a compendious history of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Theodosius, with whom his history concludes. His honourable character[c] of Theodosius is[d] truly remarkable.

11. Still, at the beginning of that reign, about the year 379, he says: 'Under[e] these afflictions, however, the people made supplications to the Deity, entreating deliverance 'from so great calamities. For as yet they had the privilege of frequenting the temples, and appeasing the anger 'of the gods, according to the method of the ancient institutions.'

12. And soon after, about the year 380 or 381:[f] 'Moreover,[g] Theodosius attacked the temples of the gods in the

Ibid. l. 9. p. 128, 129. T. iii. Conf. Gothofredi Notas, et Tillemont, L'Emp. Valentinien. art. 11.

[w] Ammian. l. xxx. cap. ix.

[x] See in this Vol. ch. li. n. 11, 16.

[y] Lib. iv. p. 754, 755, et p. 758. m.

[z] La Baune ad Paneg. Vet. p. 308. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. 2. p. 772.

[a] Tillem. L'Emp. Theod. i. art. 47. p. 631. and the Universal History, Vol. 16. p. 425.

[b] Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. ii. cap. xv.

[c] Fuit autem Theodosius moribus et corpore Trajano similis——Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam et cupidinem trumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit, sed invenerit, &c. Vict. Epit. cap. 48.

[d] Vide Basnag. ann. 379. iii. Tillem. L'Emp. Theodose. art. 85.

[e] *Επι γαρ ην αυτοις αδεια τοις φοιταν εις τα ιερα, και τα θεια κατα τους πατριους θεσμους, εκμειλιττεσθαι.* l. 4. p. 755.

[f] Soon after that, Theodosius began to take up his residence at Constantinople. See Tillemont, Theodos. i. art. 17. p. 710, 711.

[g] *Επι δε και τα των θειων ειδη κατα πασαν επολιορκει πολιν και χωραν.*

cities, and in the country. And all were in the utmost danger who believed there were any gods; or who at all looked up to heaven, and worshipped the things that shine in it.'

13. He gives this account of Gratian's refusing the title of high priest, or pontifex maximus: 'Numa Pompilius[h] first had this title: and ever after those called kings, [Reges,] and after them Octavianus, [Augustus,] and other Roman emperors who succeeded him. For at the same time that they received the supreme government, a priestly vestment was brought to them by the pontifices, [priests so called by the Romans,] and immediately he was called pontifex maximus. And all the other emperors always appeared to be pleased with that honour, and have used that title. And even Constantine, although he forsook the true religion and embraced the faith of the christians, and others his successors, particularly Valentinian and Valens, did the same. When therefore the pontifices brought the vestment to Gratian, he rejected their request, thinking it to be an unlawful habit for a christian. The[i] vestment being returned to the priest, it is said that the chief of them said: "Since the emperor will not be called pontifex, there will soon be a pontifex maximus."'

There is a point in this last expression; the meaning is, Maximus shall soon be pontifex.

Upon this paragraph of Zosimus some remarks must be made.

(1.) First of all, it is not allowed that Constantine, and other christian emperors after him, did receive the title of pontifex maximus. It is strongly argued[k] by divers of our most learned modern ecclesiastical historians, that they did not. This title, they say, may be given them in some inscriptions and medals still extant. But that will not amount to a proof that any christian emperors did accept of it and take it upon them.

(2.) It is unknown when Gratian rejected the pontifical vestment, there being no authentic account of it in ancient authors.

Other learned men are willing to allow the truth of what Zosimus here says, that[l] Gratian refused the title of ponti-

Κινδυνος τε πασιν επεκειτο τοις νομιζουσιν ειναι θεους, η ὁλως εις τον ουρανον αναβλεπουσι, και τα εν αυτῳ φαινομενα προσκυνουσι. Ib. p. 758.

[h] P. 761.

[i] Τοις τε ἱερευσι της πολης αναδοθεισης, φασι τον πρωτον εν αυτοις τεταγμενον ειπειν, Ει μη βουλεται Ποντιφιξ ὁ Βασιλευς ονομαζεσθαι, ταχιστα γενησεται Ποντιφιξ Μαξιμος. Ibid.

[k] Vide Pagi ann. 312. n. xvii. &c. Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin. art. 28.

[l] See Bletterie, Vie de l'Emp. Julien. liv. 3. p. 232, the second edition.

fex, and that he was the first who refused it, and consequently, that it was accepted by all preceding christian emperors.

(3.) If the priestly vestment was refused by Gratian at the time of his accession in the year 367, or soon afterwards, I may take the liberty to say that the prediction concerning Maximus's usurpation in the year 382 was invented afterwards. And we must do so much justice to Zosimus, as to observe that he puts the credit of it upon a φασι only, *it is said.*

14. 'Theodosius,'[m] he says, 'sent Cynegius præfect of the Prætorium into Ægypt, with orders to prohibit all worship of the gods, and to shut up the temples. Which orders Cynegius punctually executed, and shut up the doors of the temples all over the East, and in all Ægypt, and in Alexandria itself; and prohibited the sacrifices which had been ever practised hitherto, and every branch of the ancient religious rites. And what has been the fate of the empire from that time to this, will appear from the following relation of the things that have happened.'

Here is no mention made of the demolition of the temples. All that Zosimus says is, that they were all shut up: this was done in the year 386, or before, as is supposed: and Cynegius, now præfect of the Prætorium in the East, who was employed in this commission, died in his consulship, in the year 388.[n]

15. Soon afterwards he says, 'Gerontius,[o] a general of great valour and conduct, commanded in Tomus in Scythia. Having been insulted by some barbarians in that country, he sallied out upon them, and having with difficulty overcome them, they who had escaped[p] fled to a building highly honoured by the christians, and esteemed an asylum.' This also is supposed to have happened in the year 386.[q]

16. Having related how Arbogastes and Eugenius were overcome, he proceeds:[r] 'Things thus succeeding with Theodosius, when he came to Rome [in the year 394] he declared his son Honorius emperor, and appointed Stilicho

Who refers to a dissertation of M. de la Bastie, which is inserted in Les Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, et de Belles Lettres. Tom. xv.

[m] —— ωστε και Κυνηγιῳ, τῳ της αυλης υπαρχῳ, πεμπομενῳ κατα την Αιγυπτον, προστεταγμενῳ τε πασι την εις τα θεια θρησκειαν απαγορευσαι, και κλεθρα τοις τεμενεσιν επιθειναι.——Lib. iv. p. 762.

[n] Vide Basn. ann. 388. num. vii. Tillemont. Theod. i. art. xix.

[o] L. iv. p. 764, 765. [p] Τους δε αποδραντας εδεχετο παρα Χριστιανων τιμωμενον οικοδομημα, νομιζομενον ασυλον. p. 765.

[q] Vide Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. i. art. 28. [r] Lib. iv. p. 779.

general of the legions in those parts, and left him to be guardian to his son; and assembling the senate, who still adhered to the ancient religion of their country, and had not yet chosen to join themselves to those who had fallen into contempt of the gods, he made a speech to them, and exhorted them to leave the error (as he called it) which they had yet been in, and to embrace the faith of the christians, the great promise of which is the forgiveness of every sin, and every impiety. But none followed his advice, nor consented to forsake the rites of their country, which had been delivered to them from the foundation of the city, or to make an unreasonable choice of others in their room.[s] For they said that, in the observation of them, they had possessed the city unconquered for almost twelve hundred years; but what might happen, if they should change them for others, they knew not. Theodosius then told them, that the public was burdened with the expenses of the temples and sacrifices, and that for the future they should not be allowed, for he did not approve of that kind of expense. And besides, the necessities of the army required more money. The senate answered, that the worship of the gods could not be rightly performed but at the public charge: and then from that time the public sacrifices ceasing, and all other things received from ancient tradition being neglected, the Roman empire has gradually declined, till it is become the habitation of barbarians, or rather is almost destitute of inhabitants; and the form of it is so altered, that it is not easy to find the places where cities once stood. Theodosius now assigned Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Africa, to his son Honorius, and died soon afterwards. His body having been embalmed, was carried to Constantinople, and there interred in the imperial sepulchres.'

That is the conclusion of the fourth book of this history. There is no necessity that I should stay to make many remarks. But I think it easy to suppose that the great unanimity of the senate in adhering to the old religion is here magnified. The complaints before made are here renewed, and with aggravations: for I presume the ancient cities were still to be found in their old places, and were most of them as well peopled as in former times. If some had been ruined by wars, or earthquakes, other cities had risen up in their room, and others were more populous,

[s] So writes Zosimus. On the contrary, Prudentius says, that about this time many senators of the best families were converted, and embraced the christian religion. Contr. Symm. l. i. ver. 545, &c.

and more splendid, than in former times. This, particularly, was the case of Byzantium, now called Constantinople.

17. Rufinus, who had many honours under Theodosius, and had been some while præfect of the Prætorium, and consul in the year 392, and who, after the death of Theodosius, (which happened in the beginning of the year 395,) was for a short time prime minister to Arcadius, was killed at Constantinople, or near it, before the end of the year 395,[t] and his body miserably abused, as Zosimus and others write. Zosimus then adds: 'The wife[u] of Rufinus fearing that she should likewise perish with her husband, fled with her daughter to a church of the christians. And Eutropius, then in favour with Arcadius, assured her of her life, and gave them leave to sail to the city of Jerusalem, formerly inhabited by the Jews, but since the reign of Constantine, adorned with buildings by the christians. Here they spent the rest of their days.'

18. And we meet with the end of Eutropius in the year 399.[v] The account given of it by Zosimus, is to this purpose: 'Arcadius[w] hearing of these things, sent for Eutropius, and having taken from him all his honours, let him go. Whereupon he fled to a church of the christians, which had been made an asylum by himself. But Gainas,' as Zosimus says, 'insisting that Tribigildas would make no concession, unless Eutropius were taken off, contrary to the privilege of asylum given to churches, they took him thence, and sent him to Cyprus, to be kept a close prisoner. Afterwards he was brought thence to Chalcedon, and there put to death: thus[x] eluding the oath they had given him, and pretending that they had only promised he should not die at Constantinople.' So Zosimus.

19. Gainas, a Gothish prince, for some while general under Arcadius, revolted: 'And Gainas,'[y] as Zosimus says, 'demanded a conference with Arcadius at a place near

[t] Vide. Basnag. ann. 395. iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Arcade. art. iv.

[u] *Της δε Ρυφινε γαμετης συν τη θυγατρι τη των Χριστιανων εκκλησια προσδραμεσης, δεει τε μη συναπολεσθαι τω ανδρι, πιστιν δες ὁ Ευτροπιος, εφηκεν αυταις εις την κατα Ἱεροσολυμα πολιν εκπλευσαι, παλαι μεν οικητηριον Ιεδαιων ουσαν, απο δε της Κωνσταντινε βασιλειας, ὑπο Χριστιανων τιμωμενην οικοδομησιν. Εκειναι μεν ουν αυτοθι τον λειπομενον τε βιε διετριψαν χρονον.* l. v. p. 785, 786.

[v] Basn. ann. 399. iii. Pagi 399. i. et ii.

[w] Zos. l. 5. p. 793, 794.

[x] —— *σοφιζομενοι τον ὁρκον οι τα περι βασιλεα διατιθεντες.* p. 794. in.

[y] *Προς τετο δη τε βασιλεως ενδοντος, εγενετο μεν ἡ συνοδος εν τινι προ της Χαλκηδονος τοπῳ, καθ' ον οσιας Ευφημιας μαρτυριον ωκοδομητο, τιμης δια την περι Χριστον θρησκειαν αξιωθεισης.* l. v. p. 794. fin.

Chalcedon, where was a martyrdom, dedicated to a religious woman, named Euphemia, who had this honour done to her because of her devotion to Christ.'

20. Again, of Gainas. He attempted to take the city of Constantinople, in which he had already a great number of Gothish soldiers, but was defeated. This was in the year 400. 'The city,'[z] says Zosimus, 'having thus escaped that danger, the barbarians, which were shut within the city, to the number of seven thousand, took to a church of the christians near the palace, seeking that as a sanctuary for their safety. But the emperor commanded them to be killed even there, not allowing that place itself to secure them from the just punishment due to them. That was the emperor's command: but none dared to lay hands on them to take them thence for fear of a desperate resistance. It[a] was therefore judged proper to break open the roof, which was over the table called the altar. Which having been done, lighted wood was thrown down upon them, till they were all burnt to death: by this means all the barbarians were killed. But the zealous christians[b] thought this to be a horrid crime committed in the midst of the city.'

21. Gainas fled into Thrace, and then to Chersonesus, with an intention to return through the straits of the Hellespont into Asia. 'At[c] the same time the emperor and senate, with common consent, made choice of Frajutus for general to act against him; a man who in regard to his native country was a barbarian; but in disposition, and manners, and religion, a Greek; and who had upon divers occasions shown himself to be a good general. He came to an engagement with Gainas, and obtained a victory over him: but for some reasons did not pursue him; upon which account he was censured, and suspected to favour him as being his countryman. But Frajutus,[d] not being con-

[z] Ib. p. 796, in.

[a] Εδοκει τοινυν, την ὑπερκειμενην της τραπεζης τω λεγομενω θυσιαστηριω στεγην γυμνωθεισαν. Ibid.

[b] Εδοξε δε παρα τοις σφοδρα χριστιανιζουσι, μεγα μυσος εν μεσῃ τετολμησθαι τῃ πολει. Ibid.

[c] Ουτος δε εν τουτοις αυτω, κοινῃ ψηφῳ βασιλευς τε και ἡ γερουσια στρατηγον επι τῳ κατα Γαιννην αιρουνται πολεμω Φραιστον, ανδρα βαρβαρον μεν το γενος, Ἑλληνα δε αλλως ω τροπῳ μονον, αλλα και τῃ προαιρεσει και τῃ περι τα Θεια θρησκειᾳ. Τουτῳ τοινυν, ἠδη πολλαις διαπρεψαντι στρατηγιαις,——παραδεδωκασι τας δυναμεις——p. 796.

[d] Ουδεν τοιουτον ἑαυτῳ συνεπισαμενος, επανηει προς τον βασιλεα, μεγα φρονων επι τῃ νικῃ, και μετα παῤῥησιας τοις παρ' αυτω τιμωμενοις ταυτην ανατιθεις. Ουδε γαρ ησχυνετο, και αυτω τω βασιλεως ακουοντος, ὁμολογειν, ὁτι σεβοιτο και τιμαῃ Θεους κατα τα πατρια, και ουκ ανεξεται κατα τουτο τοις απο τω πληθους ακολουθησαι. Φραιουτον μεν ουν αποδεξαμενος ὁ βασιλευς, ὑπατον ειναι κατεστησε. Zos. p. 798.

scious of any fault, returned to the emperor in high spirits for the victory which he had obtained, and openly ascribing it to the gods whom he worshipped. For he was not ashamed to own in the presence of the emperor himself, that he worshipped and honoured the gods according to the ancient custom, and that he could not persuade himself to follow the multitude therein. The emperor received Frajutus graciously, and appointed him consul.'

So writes Zosimus. These things were done in the year 400, and Frajutus, or Fravitta, was consul in 401.

But though Gainas escaped then, he afterwards fell into the hands of Uldas, prince of the Huns, as Zosimus[e] proceeds to relate, who fought with him, and overcame him, and slew him, and then sent his head to Arcadius. All[f] which was done before the end of the year 400.

The history of Gainas, but with somewhat different circumstances, may be seen in our ancient ecclesiastical historians.[g] Nor is Fravitta or Frajutus omitted by them: they have mentioned him in a very honourable manner. Socrates particularly says, that though he was a Goth by nation,[h] he was faithful to the Romans, and in that war performed very valuable services, for which reason he was honoured with the consulship in the following year. And Philostorgius says, Fravitta[i] was a Goth by nation, a Greek by religion, faithful to the Romans, and a great general.

May we not then observe that here is an example of moderation and generosity in a christian emperor, and of fidelity in a heathen general, who were of different sentiments from each other in things of religion?

22. I shall be now led to transcribe a long passage[k] of this historian concerning the differences between the empress, wife of Arcadius, and John Chrysostom, in the years 403 and 404.

'Hence,' says this heathen historian,[l] 'was increased the empress's hatred against John, bishop of the christians, [at Constantinople,] who was before greatly incensed against him, because he had been wont to revile her in his homilies

[e] Ib. p. 798, 799. [f] Vide Basnag. ann. 400. n. iii.—v.

[g] Socrat. l. 6. c. Sozom. l. 8. c. 4. Theod. l. v. c. 32, 33. Philostorg. l. xi. p. 531. [h] Socrat. l. vi. c. 6. p. 309.

[i] Πεμπεται στρατηγος κατ' αυτα Φραυιτης, Γοτθος μεν το γενος, Ἑλλην δε την δοξαν, πιστος δ' αν Ῥωμαιοις, και τα πολεμια κρατιστος. Philost. l. xi. p. 531. D. [k] Zos. l. v. p. 799, 800. [l] Εντευθεν ηυξηθη τη συνοικουσῃ τῳ βασιλει το κατα Ιωαννα τα των Χριστιανων επισκοπα μισος, χαλεπαινησης προτερον μεν αυτω, κωμωδειν ειωθοτι κατα τας συνοδους αυτην εν ταις προς το πληθος ὁμιλιαις. p. 799. fin.

delivered in the public assemblies. But at that time, after the return of John and some others, she openly showed her resentment. And doing all things according to her own pleasure, she stirred up all the bishops every where to remove John; the principal of whom was Theophilus[m] bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, who first began the attack upon the temples, and the rites established from the beginning of time. When the consultation was appointed, and John saw that the cause would not be decided equitably, he left Constantinople of his own accord. The people being exceedingly disturbed at this, (for he was very skilful in governing the irrational multitude,) the city was filled with confusion, and the church of the christians was seized by the monks. These are men who reject lawful marriage, and fill numerous colleges in cities and villages with unmarried men, fit neither for war nor any other service of the state: except that, increasing in a long course of time, they have got possession of a large part of the earth, and under pretence of giving all to the poor, they have reduced almost all mankind to poverty. These men having seized the churches, obstructed the people from coming to the usual prayers: at which many of the people, as well as the soldiers, were greatly provoked; and they desired leave to chastise the audaciousness of those men. Having obtained a grant for that purpose, they set about the work with a good will, and killed all whom they found, without distinction, till they had filled the churches with corpses; and pursuing those who had escaped, they slew all whom they met with in black coats: by which means many perished who happened to be so dressed, either for mourning or on some other account. But John returning again, went on in his old way, making the like disturbances in the city as formerly.' Here are inserted some reflections upon the public management under a weak prince and his imperious wife, governed by eunuchs and women. 'And as if all these disorders were not sufficient, a terrible calamity befel the city of Constantinople, which was occasioned in this manner: John, as I said just now, being returned after his flight, again excited the people in the wonted solemnities of religion against the empress. But being soon after deprived of the episcopal see, and also banished the city, he took shipping and went away. At which time they who favoured him, desirous that no other person should be bishop in his room, resolved to set fire to the city; they therefore threw some combustible materials into the church

[m] Ibid.

privately in the night, and early in the morning left the city; whereby they were unknown. But when it was day the city appeared to be in the utmost danger, for the church was all in flames, and at length was burnt down to the ground, as were also the adjoining houses, especially on that side where the wind drove the flames. The fire also seized the house in which the senate used to meet, which was near the palace, and was adorned with statues of excellent artifice, and marble of beautiful colours, such as are not now to be found any where. And it is said that at that time were consumed those images which had been formerly dedicated to the Muses in Helicon, and were a part of the many sacrileges committed in the time of Constantine, and had been set up in this place: whereby[n] was evidently intimated the general disaffection to the Muses which now began to prevail among men. However, at that time there happened a kind of miracle which ought not to be buried in silence: for the temple of the senate, for the sake of which I mention these things, had before the doors of it the statues of Jupiter and Minerva, standing upon stone pedestals as they do at this time: and they say that of Jupiter is Jupiter Dodonæus, and that of Minerva is the same that was formerly set up at Lindus. When therefore the temple was consumed by the fire, the lead also upon the roof was melted, and ran down upon the statues; and the stones likewise which could not resist the force of the fire, fell also upon them; till at last, when the beauty of the building was all turned into a heap of rubbish, it was the common opinion that those two images were reduced to ashes: but afterwards when the place was cleared and ready to be rebuilt, the statues of those deities, and they only, appeared, having escaped the universal destruction. Which[o] gave all men of a liberal mind good hopes concerning the city, and that those deities would ever favour it with their protection. But let that be as God pleaseth.'

I have thus largely transcribed this paragraph for more fully showing the temper of this learned and polite writer.

23. In the year 408, the senate of Rome, with the advice of Stilicho, consented to pay Alarich the Goth four thousand pounds in gold. 'However,[p] it was not with the appro-

[n] —— σαφεστερον πως την καθεξουσαν ἁπαντας αμουσιαν μηνυοντα. p. 801.

[o] Ὁπερ ἁπασι τοις χαριεστεροις αμεινους επι τῃ πολει δεδωκεν εχειν ελπιδας, ως δη των θεων τουτων εχεσθαι της ὑπερ αυτης αει βουλευομενων προνοιας. Αλλα ταυτα μεν, ὁπῃ τῳ θειῳ δοκει, παντα προϊτω. p. 802. init.

[p] —— των πλειονων ου κατα προαιρεσιν, αλλα Στελιχωνος φοβῳ, τουτο ψηφισαμενων· κ. λ. p. 806. in.

bation of all. And in the debates about that matter,' as Zosimus says, 'Lampadius, one of the senators, and a man of great eminence for his family and station, said in the Latin tongue: Non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis, "that is not the bond of peace but of slavery." But when the senate was risen, fearing he might suffer for that freedom of speech, he fled to a neighbouring church of the christians.'

24. We may take this opportunity to observe of Stilicho, that he was much in favour with Theodosius the First, who gave him in marriage his niece Serena, and left him, when he died in the year 395, the charge of his son Honorius, and under him the care of the empire in the West. Honorius married two of Stilicho's daughters, first one, and after her death the other. He was consul in the years 400 and 405: but his ruin soon followed after the conclusion of the contract above mentioned; for he was put to death in the month of August in that same year 408.

25. At this time news was brought of the death of Arcadius. Honorius had a mind to go into the East, to secure the empire for young Theodosius: but Stilicho endeavoured to dissuade him from it. 'Thus acted Stilicho,'[q] says Zosimus, 'conscious of no misbehaviour, or ill design against the emperor, or the soldiers. But Olympius, who came from the Euxine sea, and had been advanced to a high military post in the palace, and who,[r] under an appearance of christian piety concealed a great deal of wickedness, and pretended to the emperor a world of candour and moderation, vented against Stilicho, as the poet expresseth it, words exciting anger: for he said that Stilicho contrived the taking a journey into the east, with a design to make away with the young Theodosius, and then secure the empire for his own son Eucherius.'

26. 'Olympius[s] being now master of the emperor's counsels, sent imperial letters to the soldiers at Ravenna, ordering Stilicho to be taken into custody, but to be kept at large. When Stilicho knew that, he went to a church of the christians which was near at hand in the night time.——As soon as it was day the soldiers entered into the church, and, in the presence of the bishop, made oath that they were ordered by the emperor only to take him into custody, but not to kill him. When he was come out of the church and was in the hands of the soldiers, another

[q] P. 808. in.

[r] —— *εν δε τη φαινομενη των Χριστιανων ευλαβειᾳ πολλην αποκρυπταν εν ἑαυτω πονηριαν.* Ibid.

[s] P. 810, &c.

letter was produced by him who brought the first, commanding Stilicho to be put to death for his crimes against the state. His son Eucherius escaped for the present, and went to Rome. Thus died Stilicho, being beheaded: the most modest of all the men in power at that time: for he had married the niece of the elder Theodosius, and had been entrusted with the care of both his sons; and in the three-and-twenty years that he had governed the army, it never appeared that he sold any places for money, or converted any part of the pay of the soldiers to his own use. His death happened when Bassus and Philip were consuls, in the same year that the emperor Arcadius died, on the tenth day of the kalends of September:' that is, the twenty-third day of August, in the year 408.

27. 'Stilicho's son, Eucherius,[t] was sought for to be put to death: but finding that he had fled to one of the churches at Rome, they let him alone out of reverence for the place.' However, afterwards, he also was put to death by order of Honorius.[u]

28. Zosimus likewise gives an account of the death of Serena, which he says was a just judgment upon her. 'She[v] suffered,' he says, 'this punishment worthy of her impiety, as I shall now relate. When Theodosius the elder, after having vanquished the tyrant Eugenius, came to Rome, and endeavoured to form in all a contempt of the sacred rites, and refused to allow the public expenses for the sacrifices, and the priest and priestesses were driven away, and the temples were left destitute of the sacred offices and ministrations there performed: at that time Serena derided those things, and would herself see the temple of the mother of the gods. And when she saw there the necklace upon the image of Rhea, an ornament suited to that divine religion, she took it off from the image and put it upon her own neck. And when one of the elder of the vestal virgins, that were yet left and stood by, reproved her for her impiety, she abused her, and ordered her to be had away by her servants. She then, as she was going, imprecated to Serena and her husband and her children, every thing worthy of her impiety.' He there goes on to say likewise, that[w] Stilicho had brought down the divine vengeance upon himself, by taking away the gold which was upon the doors of the capitol at Rome. So he is now pleased to say, though some while ago he commended Stilicho for his faithful services, and disinterested behaviour in the high offices which he had borne.

[t] P. 811. [u] P. 813. [v] P. 814. [w] Ibid.

29. Alarich, after the death of Stilicho, came again to Rome, before the end of the year 408, the stipulated conditions, as is supposed, not having been performed. 'The city was then in great straits: and,' as Zosimus says, 'the[x] people were made sensible that these calamities had befallen them because they had neglected the ancient rites. Whilst they were thinking after this manner,' as he goes on to say, 'Pompeianus, præfect of the city, met with some Tuscans lately come to Rome; they proposed the performing some rites, by which, as they said, they had saved another place called Narnia, when in great danger, for they had brought down thunder and lightning which drove the barbarians away. Whereupon Pompeianus resolved that the same rites should now be performed: but[y] considering what was the prevailing opinion, that what he intended might be done with the greater security, he communicated the whole affair to the bishop of the city. This was Innocent. He, preferring the safety of the city to his own opinion, gave them leave to do what they pleased, only privately. But they said that those rites could be of no benefit to the city unless they were done publicly, after the appointed manner, the senate ascending to the capitol, and there and in the markets of the city, performing what was fit to be done. This being the case, none dared to partake in the sacred rites, and the proposal of the Tuscans was rejected. They therefore dismissed the Tuscans, and resolved to come to an agreement with the barbarians: and after treating with them, it was agreed that the city should pay to Alarich five thousand pounds of gold, and thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and three thousand pounds of pepper. But the treasury was empty, and it was difficult to get so much money from private persons. Some of the senators therefore who had good estates, undertook the collection by way of assessment: but in vain. And[z] that wicked dæmon, which then governed human affairs, carried those who were appointed over this business to the perfection of impiety; for they determined to make up the sum that was wanting with the ornaments of the images. The taking away which things, set up with the solemn rites

[x] P. 816. [y] Επει δε την κρατησαν κατα νεν ελαμβανε δοξαν, ασφαλεστερον εθελων πραξαι το σπευδαζομενον, ανατιθεται παντα τω της πολεως επισκοπω. Ην δε Ιννοκεντιος, κ. λ. Ibid.

[z] —— επι τον κολοφωνα των κακων ὁ τα ανθρωπινα λαχων αλιτηριος δαιμων, τα πραγματα πραττοντας ηγαγε——ὡν ην και το της ανδρειας, ἡν καλεσι Ῥωμαιοι Υιρτεμ. Οὑπερ διαφθαρεντος, ὁσα της ανδρειας ην και αρετης παρα Ῥωμαιοις, απεσβη. Ibid. p. 817.

of consecration, and in a like manner covered with becoming ornaments, for securing perpetual prosperity to the city, was nothing else than rendering them inanimate and insignificant. And because every thing was to conspire to accomplish the ruin of the city, they not only stript the images of their ornaments, but they also melted down some of the images which were of gold and silver; among which was the image of Fortitude, which the Romans call Virtue: which being destroyed, whatever fortitude or virtue had remained among the Romans till that time, was now extinguished: and that this would be the event was then foretold by those who were skilful in divine things.'

I am not concerned to justify the conduct of those officers. But I suppose that no men of sense can now believe that those images were of any advantage to the safety of the city. However we have here another proof that the change of religion was continually, upon all occasions, represented as hazardous to the state. And we may farther observe, that no religion can be so absurd and unreasonable, especially when it has been established, and of a long time, that will not find men of good abilities, not only to palliate and excuse, but also to approve and justify and recommend its greatest absurdities.

Zosimus says that Innocent, bishop of Rome, consented to the proposal of Pompeianus, provided the ancient rites were performed privately. This[a] Baronius calls a calumny upon Innocent; the rather because the same affair is related by Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, who says nothing of Innocent. It may be not improper therefore for us to observe Sozomen's account. Speaking of this siege of Rome by Alarich in the year 408, he says: 'When[b] the 'siege had been prolonged, and the city laboured under 'both famine and pestilence, and many of the slaves had 'gone away to Alarich; the senators who adhered to the 'Greek religion, were of opinion that it was needful to offer 'sacrifices at the capitol, and the other temples; and that 'there were with the prefect of the city some Tuscans who 'engaged to drive away the barbarians by thunder and 'lightning; and they boasted that they had already done 'the same at Narnia, a city of Tuscany: whereupon Alarich

[a] Baron. ann. 109. num. vi. vii. &c.

[b] —— *αναγκαιον εδοκει τοις ἑλληνιζουσι της συγκλητου, θυειν εν τω Καπιτωλιῳ και τοις αλλοις ναοις· Θεσκοι γαρ τινες επι τουτο μετακληθεντες παρα τε ὑπαρχου της πολεως, ὑπισχνουντο σκηπτοις και βρονταις απελασειν τους βαρβαρους· ηυχων δε τοιουτον αυτοις ειργασθαι και περι Ναρνιαν πολιν της Θεσκιας, ἡν παριων Αλαριχος επι την Ῥωμην ουχ ἑιλεν· αλλα τουτων μεν ουδεν ὠφελος εσεσθαι τῃ πολει, ἡ αποβασις εδειξε.* Soz. l. ix. c. 6.

'passed by that place, when he came to Rome, and never 'besieged it. But the event showed that those things could 'be of no benefit to the city.'

Sozomen therefore seems to say that these rites were performed, but were ineffectual. Perhaps some sacrifices were offered according to the ancient customs, but not openly, and at the public expense, as Zosimus intimates. And whether[c] Innocent consented, or was absent at that time, as Baronius thinks, may be doubtful. It may be best to leave some things in uncertainty concerning this history, for want of better information.

31. 'Heliocrates, præfect of the treasury, was appointed to seize the effects of Stilicho, and of those who were supposed to be concerned with him. But[d] he used great lenity, and was far from being strict in making inquiries after their effects. Being therefore,' as Zosimus says, 'judged to be a man of no worth, he was sent to Ravenna, to be there punished for his humanity to the unfortunate; and would have been put to death, but that he took refuge in a church of the christians.'

32. In the year 409,[e] as is computed, Generidus was appointed general of the forces in Dalmatia, as well as in Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia.[f] Of him Zosimus speaks in this manner: 'This[g] Generidus was a barbarian by origin, but of an excellent disposition for every kind of virtue, and not to be tempted by money. He still adhered to the ancient rites, and could not be persuaded to relinquish the worship of the gods: though there was a law enacted which forbade all who were not christians to wear a girdle at court. When that law was published, Generidus, who had a considerable military post at Rome, staid at home, laying aside his girdle. When the emperor called for him, expecting his attendance at court in the duty of his office, he answered there was a law forbidding him to wear a girdle, and that any should be so much as numbered among officers, who were not of the christian religion. The emperor replied, that law was binding to all others, but not to him, who had run so many hazards for the state. He an-

[c] Vide Basnag. ann. 408. n. x. Tillem. Emp. Honoré. art. 32.

[d] P. 819. [e] See Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. 34. p. 1228.

[f] Soz. l. 5. p. 820. l. 30, &c. [g] Ην δε ὁ Γενεριδος βαρβαρος μεν το γενος, τον δε τροπον εις παν αρετης ειδος ευ πεφυκως, χρηματων τε αδωροτατος. Ουτος, ετι τοις πατρωοις εμμενων, και της εις θεες θρησκειας εκτηναι ουκ ανεχομενος, επειδαν νομος εισηχθη τοις εκ βσι Χριστιανοις ζωνην εν τοις βασιλειοις εχειν απαγορευων, τοτε τε νομε τεθεντος, αρχης εν τη Ρωμη στρατιωτικης προεστως ὁ Γενεριδος, εμεινεν επ' οικε, την ζωνην αποθεμενος, κ. λ. Zos. l. v. p. 820.

swered, that he could not receive that honour with the injury of so many others, who by that law were deprived of their military posts. Nor would he discharge his office till the emperor, compelled by shame and necessity, repealed that law, and gave leave to all of the same opinion with him to bear civil and military offices. Whereupon Generidus accepted the office proposed to him, and acted therein with diligence and zeal.'

By the law, 'forbidding all but christians to wear a girdle,'[h] probably Zosimus intends the law of Honorius, dated the fourteenth of November, in the year 408, which 'forbids all but catholics to bear any military offices.' I do not see any law expressly repealing that just mentioned; though there may be some references to it. And, as Gothofred[i] says, 'in the latter part of the year 409, and in the beginning of the year 410, Honorius showed uncommon mildness to heretics, and particularly to Donatists, in which the pagans may have shared. For Zosimus says that the law which forbade all who were enemies to the catholic faith, (which includes both pagans and heretics,) to bear military offices, (meaning that above mentioned,) had been repealed, and about this time.' Tillemont[k] likewise may be consulted.

33. I proceed no farther in my extracts of this kind out of Zosimus. Alarich still continued in Italy; and Honorius not having performed the conditions insisted upon, Alarich came again to Rome, besieged it, and took it, in the year 410. But Zosimus has not written the history of the siege, and the event of it; or if he did, it is now wanting.

34. In the extracts already made, we have seen many proofs of the credulity and superstition of this great man. Nevertheless I am disposed to put together here some other instances hitherto omitted.

35. After having made complaints of the extent and grandeur of the city of Constantinople, he says: 'I[l] have often wondered, since the city of Byzantium has grown so

[h] Eos qui catholicæ sectæ sunt inimici, intra Palatium militare prohibemus. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 42. de Hæreticis, Tom. vi. p. 163.

[i] Honorius scilicet et extremis superioris anni, 409, et primis hujus anni mensibus, in hæreticos remissior fuerat, ac nominatim Donatistas, quorum depravatos animos ad correctionem mitius invitandos crediderat, ut ipsemet superiore loco ait. Quinimo et in Paganos. Nam et Zosimus, lib. v. p. 821, legem, quâ catholicæ sectæ inimici (id est, ut hæretici, ita et pagani) intra Palatium militare prohibiti fuerant, (et sic l. xlii. supr.) eo quo dixi tempore, abrogatam testatur. Gothofred. Cod. Theod. T. vi. p. 171.

[k] See L'Emp. Honoré. art. 31. et 34. [l] Lib. ii. p. 689, 690.

great, that our ancestors had no divine prophecy about it. And having long employed my thoughts about it, and having turned over a great many historians, and collections of oracles, and having spent a good deal of time in endeavouring to understand them, I at length met with an oracle, which is ascribed to Sibylla Epythræa, or Phaello. It is to this effect——'

36. About the time of the death of Valentinian, which happened in November 375, or soon after, 'there[m] fell a thunderbolt,' he says, 'upon Sirmium, which consumed both the palace and the market-place, which by good judges was esteemed a bad omen to public affairs. There also happened earthquakes in some places. Crete was violently shaken, as also Peloponnesus, and all the rest of Greece; so that many cities were destroyed, except only the city of the Athenians and others in Attica. That, as is said, was saved in this manner: Nestorius,[n] who was hierophantes, (or high priest,) had a dream, in which he was admonished that the hero Achilles ought to be honoured with public honours, for that would be for the welfare of the city. When he communicated that vision to the chief men of the city, they thought he doted, as being an old man, and therefore did nothing that was required. However,[o] considering with himself what ought to be done, and being likewise instructed by divine illuminations infused into his mind, he made an image of the hero in a small house, and then put it under the image of Minerva, which is in the Parthenon. And as often as he offered sacrifices to the goddess, he at the same time performed what was due to the hero. By this means, having fulfilled the intention of the dream, the Athenians were saved; and all Attica partook of the benevolence of the hero. The truth of all which may be learned from the hymn which the philosopher Syrianus composed in honour of the hero upon that occasion. This relation I have thought not improper to insert in this place.'

Beside other things which may be taken notice of, we may observe, here are proofs that at this time, about the year 375, and afterwards, Gentile people did practise the ancient rites upon divers occasions: nor do we see that they met with much molestation therein. And Zosimus, now in 420, or later, speaks of them with a great deal of freedom.

[m] L. iv. p. 745.

[n] Νεστοριος, εν εκεινοις τοις χρονοις ιεροφαντειν τεταγμενος, οναρ εθεασατο παρακελευομενον χρηναι τον Αχιλλεα τον ηρωα δημοσιαις τιμασθαι τιμαις· εσεσθαι γαρ τουτο τη πολει σωτηριον. p. 745. fin.

[o] —— αυτος καθ' εαυτον λογισαμενος το πρακτεον, και ταις θεοπεσιοις εννοιαις παιδαγωγουμενος, εικονα του ηρωος εν οικῳ μικρῳ δημιουργησας, υπεθηκε τῳ εν Παρθενωνι καθιδρυμενῳ της Αθηνας αγαλματι, κ. λ. l. iv. p. 746. in.

37. Valens had war with the Goths. And in the year 378, the year in which he died, he came from Antioch to Constantinople. 'When[p] the army set out thence to go into Thrace, and the emperor with them,' as our historian says, 'they saw a prodigy, or strange sight; the body of a man lay in the road quite motionless, who looked as if he had been whipped from head to foot, only his eyes were open, and seemed to stare at all who came near him. When he was asked who he was, and whence he came, and from whom he had suffered that treatment, he made no answer to any; which they thought to be very strange. And they showed him to the emperor as he passed by; and though he put the same questions to him he remained speechless. He could not be thought a living creature, because his whole body was void of motion; nor yet quite dead, because his eyes seemed well. At length he vanished on a sudden. Which when the standers-by saw, they could not tell what to think. But they who were skilful said, it portended the future state of the empire: that it should look as if it had been beaten, and whipt, and like those who are just expiring, till by the bad management of magistrates and governors, it should be quite destroyed. And if we consider every thing, this prediction will appear to have been very true.'

38. I shall transcribe no more of these things at length, and add only a paragraph of Dr. Bentley, in his Remarks[q] upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking; where this last mentioned, and several other like things are summarily rehearsed: 'Zosimus, a poor superstitious creature, (and 'consequently, as one would guess, an improper witness 'for our free-thinker,) who has filled his little history not 'more with malice against the christians, than with bigotry 'for the pagans; who treats his readers with oracles of the 'Palmyrenes, and Sibyls; with annual miracles done by 'Venus, where gold and silver swam upon the water; with 'presages and dreams of old women; with thunders and 'earthquakes, as if they were prodigies; with a dead body 'vanishing in the middle of an army; with omens and predictions from entrails of beasts; with an apparition of 'Pallas and her gorgons, and with a spectre of Achilles; 'with wooden idols that fire could not burn; with a necklace of the goddess Rhea that executed divine vengeance: 'who imputes the taking of Rome by Alarich to the 'omission of pagan sacrifices; and the decay of the 'Roman empire to Constantine's neglecting the Ludi

[p] Zos. l. iv. p. 748.

[q] Remarks, &c. num. xlii. p. 167.

'Seculares: this wise and judicious author is brought in 'for good evidence. And our avowed enemy to superstition 'connives at all this trumpery for the sake of one stab at 'the reputation of Constantine, and the honour of chris-'tianity.'

III. Some may think that I have been too prolix in my extracts from this author. Nevertheless I have not thought it expedient to abridge more than I have done. There is somewhat entertaining in those histories, as I believe will be owned by most of my readers. And these extracts are authentic monuments of the ancient heathen superstition and credulity, and of the zeal with which the rites of Gentilism were upheld and defended by all sorts of persons, learned as well as unlearned; and by men of high stations, as well as by people of low condition. They did all that lay in their power to check or stop the progress of christianity. They would gladly have recovered and restored ancient Gentilism. Here are many reflections upon christian emperors, and especially upon Constantine and Theodosius. And the work is even filled with complaints of the badness of the times, and the declension of the Roman empire: all owing, as insinuated, to the change of religion, and the non-performance of the rites of Gentilism, according to the ancient custom.

CHAP. LIX.

HIEROCLES OF ALEXANDRIA.

His time, history, and works, with remarks.

HIEROCLES,[a] styled by Bayle a Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, I place at the year[b] 450.

'Hierocles,' says[c] Suidas, 'an Alexandrian philosopher, 'was a man of a great mind, and of such eloquence, as to 'attract the admiration of all his hearers. He had a disci-'ple named Theosebius, who, beyond any man known to us,

[a] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. ii. cap. 12. Tom. i. p. 469—473. Bayle, Hierocles Philosophe Platonicien. Pearsoni Prolegom. et Needham Præfatio.

[b] ——atque adeo circa medium seculi post Christum natum quinti floruisse. Fabric. ubi supra. p. 470.

[c] Ἱεροκλης, φιλοσοφος Αλεξανδρευς, κ. λ. Suidas.

'was able to look into the minds of men. This Theosebius 'assured us, that Hierocles in some of his lectures said, 'that the discourses of Socrates were like dies; for fall 'which way soever they would, they were always right. 'Hierocles's great and generous mind was discovered in 'adversity; for[d] coming to Byzantium, he offended the 'people of the prevailing religion,' meaning the christians, 'and being brought into court, he was there beaten and 'wounded: the blood then running down, he took some of 'it in the hollow of his hand and threw it at the judge, 'saying to him at the same time, "You Cyclops here, 'drink wine, since you have devoured human flesh." And 'being banished thence he came to Alexandria, where, 'after his former manner, he taught philosophy to those 'who resorted to him. His good sense may be seen in his 'writings; in his Commentary upon the golden Verses of 'Pythagoras, in his book of Providence, and in many 'other works: by all which he appears to have been a 'man of an exalted mind, as well as of extensive knowledge.'

1. It is allowed, and is particularly observed by his[e] annotator, that this article of Suidas is taken from the Life of Isidorus, written by Damascius.

2. We may observe the style of this heathen writer in the sixth century. Speaking of Constantinople, he calls it by its ancient name Byzantium, rather than by that which generally obtained in his own time.

3. May not this action of Hierocles, who filled the hollow of his hand with blood, and threw it at the judge, be allowed to justify a like action in Ædesius, a christian martyr mentioned formerly?[f]

4. I am sorry that Hierocles was ill-treated by the christians at Constantinople: but I am well pleased to see that he afterwards philosophized at Alexandria in his usual manner. Of this we are assured by Damascius himself, who was not wanting in zeal for Gentilism. And it is, I think, a proof that the severities with which the Gentile people, and particularly their learned men and philosophers, were treated, were not extremely rigorous.

[d] Εις γαρ το Βυζαντιον ανελθων προσεκρουσε τοις κρατουσι, και εις δικαστηριον αχθεις ετυπτετο τας εξ ανθωπων πληγας. Ῥεομενος δε τῳ αἱματι, βαψας κοιλην την χειρα, προσραινει τον δικαστην, ἁμα λεγων,

Κυκλωψ, τῳ, πι' οινον, επει φαγες ανδρομεα κρεα.

Homer. Odyss. 1. ver. 347. Suidas.

[e] Totum hunc articulum descripsisse Suidam ex Damascii Vitâ Isidori philosophi, vel ex Photio patet; apud quem in Excerptis ex illâ Vitâ, Cod. 242. p. 1037. nonnulla eorum, quæ hic de Hierocle grammaticus noster habet, αυτολεξει leguntur. Kuster. in Suidæ locum. [f] See Vol. vii. ch. xxxix. num. iii.

Hierocles was a married man. 'He[g] married only for the sake of children. His wife,' as Damascius writes, 'be-'came possessed. As the dæmon would not be persuaded 'to depart by good words, his disciple Theosebius com-'pelled him by an oath; though he did not understand 'magic nor theurgy: but he adjured him by the rays of 'the sun, and the God of the Hebrews. Whereupon the 'dæmon departed, crying out that he reverenced the gods, 'and him in particular.'

I need not to make any remarks. But I thought it not improper to relate this story of a Gentile philosopher told by a Gentile historian.

In this article we have seen particular mention made of two works of Hierocles, his Commentary upon the golden Verses of Pythagoras, which is still extant; and his Discourse on Providence, of which there are large extracts in[h] Photius. It consisted of seven books, and was inscribed to Olympiodorus, well known for some embassies, and other services for the empire.

Beside these there are large fragments of other works preserved in Stobæus, and generally published together with the works above mentioned.

All these are valuable, tending to recommend and promote virtue; but not with that force which flows from revelation, enjoining part of moral righteousness by divine authority, and with the assurance of recompences in a future state. This is a defect common to him with other Gentile writers.

However, it is not my design to detract from Hierocles; whom I esteem as a good and useful man, and all his writings valuable. Several of the fragments are of considerable length. Some of the subjects treated of in the fragments are these: 'Our[i] duty to the gods; our duty to our country; our duty to parents; of brotherly love; of marriage; of our duty to relations; of œconomy, or the management of a family; where he treats of the different offices of the husband and the wife, or the master and the mistress.' The fragment on marriage, meaning[k] the society of one man and one woman, is copious, enlarging on the

[g] Γυναικα παιδοποιον αγεται. Ὡς δε ϗκ επειθετο το δαιμονιον της γυναικος εξελθειν λογοις ἡμετεροις, ὁρκῳ αυτο απηναγκαζεν ὁ Θεοσεβιος· καιτοι ϗτε μαγευειν ειδως, ϗτε θεϗργιας μελετησας· ὡρκιζε δε τας τϗ ἡλιϗ προτεινων ακτινας, και Ἑβραιων θεον. Ὡδε απεληλατο ὁ δαιμων, ανακραγων, ευλαβεισθαι τϗς θεϗς, αισχυνεσθαι δε και αυτον. Ap. Phot. Cod. 242. p. 1037.

[h] Cod. ccxiv. p. 548, &c.

[i] Hieroclis Fragmenta apud Needham. p. 280, &c.

[k] P. 300. edit. Needham.

benefits, the pleasures, the honour of marriage, and that it is becoming in a wise man. It must be owned that here occur those expressions: 'In[1] this discourse concerning marriage, and the procreation of children, it will be needful to say something concerning the increase of children: for it is agreeable to nature and marriage, that all, or however the most, should be preserved and brought up.'

Here seems to be a license given to parents to expose their children if they are numerous and burthensome. However, he argues against that in the next words after this manner: 'Indeed many[m] dislike this rule for a reason not very becoming, they have too great a desire of riches, and too great a dread of poverty.' Then he observes the benefits of a numerous offspring, and says that men beget children not only for themselves, but also for their country; which cannot be upheld and prosper without a succession of men one after another.

CHAP. LX.

PROCLUS.

Proclus, president of the school of Philosophy at Athens, author of a Treatise against the Christians, and many other works.

1. PROCLUS[a] ought to be reckoned among the writers against the christian religion. I shall begin with the account given of him by Suidas in his Lexicon, and then add what may be farther needful.

2. 'Proclus[b] of Lycia,' says Suidas, 'scholar of Syrianus,

[1] Εν δε τῳ περι τȣ γαμȣ και της παιδοποϊας τοπῳ θετεος εστι και ο της πολυτεκνιας λογος. Κατα φυσιν γαρ πως και ακολȣθον τῳ γαμῳ τα παντα, η τα γε πλειστα, των γενομενων ανατρεφειν. Ibid. p. 308.

[m] Αλλ' εοικασιν οἱ πλειȣς απειθειν τη παραινεσει, δι' αιτιαν ου μαλα πρεπωδη· δια γαρ φιλοπλȣτιαν, και το παμμεγα κακον ἡγεισθαι την πενιαν, τȣτο πασχȣσι. Ibid. p. 308.

[a] Cav. Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 552. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 16. Tom. 8. p. 455. &c. et Prolegom. in Procli vitam a Marino scriptam. Vid. et Phot. Cod. 239. p. 982.

[b] Προκλος, ὁ Λυκιος, μαθητης Συριανȣ, ακȣστης δε και Πλȣταρχȣ τȣ Νεστοριȣ, τȣ φιλοσοφȣ· και αυτος φιλοσοφος Πλατονικος. Ουτος προεστη της εν Αθηναις φιλοσοφȣ σχολης· και αυτȣ μαθητης και διαδοχος χρηματιζει Μαρινος ὁ Νεαπολιτης. Εγραψε πανυ πολλα φιλοσοφα τε και γραμματικα· Ὑπομνημα εις ὁλον τον Ὁμηρον· Ὑπομνημα εις τα Ἡσιοδȣ Εργα και Ἡμερας· Περι Χρηστομαθιας βιβλια γ· Περι Αγωγης β——Περι τα Λογια, βιβλια ι. Περι των παρ' Ὁμηρῳ

' a hearer also of the philosopher Plutarch, son of Nestorius, ' was a Platonic philosopher. He presided in the philoso- ' phical school at Athens. Marinus of Neapolis was his ' scholar and successor. He wrote very many books, ' philosophical and grammatical; a Commentary upon all ' Homer; a Commentary upon Hesiod's Works and Days; ' of Theurgy two books; upon the Republic of Plato, four ' books; of Oracles, ten books——[and others, whose titles ' are there mentioned] and eighteen arguments against the ' christians. This is that Proclus who after Porphyry ' moved his impure and petulant tongue against the ' christians. Against him wrote John, called Philoponus, ' who admirably confuted his eighteen arguments, and ' likewise showed his ignorance and unskilfulness in the ' Greek learning, upon which he so much valued himself. ' Proclus also wrote a book concerning the mother of the ' gods, which if any person take into his hands he will see ' that the philosopher did not without divine impulse ex- ' plain the theology of that goddess; so that men need not ' any longer be disturbed about the lamentations which are ' heard in that solemnity.'

This last part of the article Suidas had from Marinus, as we shall see presently.

3. Suidas says he was of Lycia: and Marinus,[c] in his Life of Proclus, says that his father Patricius, and his mother Marcella, were both of Lycia: but that Proclus was born at Byzantium. He lived in the fifth century, being born, as Fabricius[d] has computed, in the year of Christ 412, and dying when he was about seventy-five years of age, in the year 485, I have placed him at the year 464, when he was above forty years of age; at which time it may be reasonably supposed he was settled in his presidentship in the school at[e] Athens, and had been the author of several works.

4. Proclus's book against the christians is not extant by itself; and many learned men have supposed that John

Θεων· Επιχειρηματα κατα Χριστιανων ιη. Ουτος εστι Προκλος, ὁ δευτερος μετα Πορφυριον κατα Χριστιανων την μιαραν και εφιβριστον αυτῳ γλωσσαν κινησας ——Suid.

[c] Marini Proclus. cap. 6. p. 11. edit. Fabric.

[d] Hæc genitura——docet, Proclum, qui Bysantinus fuit, et citra controversiam seculo post Christum natum 5 floruit, natum esse Anno Christi 412, die 8, Februarii——Ex ejusdem iterato testimonio scimus, Proclum vixisse annos quinque et septuaginta, (lunares nempe, quibus usi Græci,) ut adeo mortuus sit Athenis Anno Christi Juliano 485, die 17 Aprilis. Fabric. Prolegom. in Marini Proclum. p. vi. Vid. et Bib. Gr. ubi supr. p. 456.

[e] Athenas autem venit Proclus circa A. D. 463 aut 464, si Lambecii judicio standum sit. Pet. Needham. in Præf. ad Hieroclem. sub fin.

Philoponus's answer to him was also lost: but Fabricius[f] shows this to be a mistake. And he observes likewise, that the eighteen arguments of Proclus are preserved in the eighteen books of Philoponus against him.

It should be also observed, that those eighteen arguments of Proclus were not against the christian religion in general, but only, or chiefly, against that one opinion of the christians, that the world had a beginning.

5. I add nothing farther here; but I intend to make extracts in the next chapter out of the Life of Proclus, written by his scholar Marinus; in which, as seems to me, there are not a few things deserving our notice.

CHAP. LXI.

MARINUS.

Marinus, successor of Proclus in the chair of the school of philosophy at Athens, author of the Life of Proclus. Extracts out of that Life. Where also of Syrianus, predecessor of Proclus.

1. MARINUS, of[a] Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, scholar of Proclus, and his successor in the chair of the school of philosophy at Athens, wrote the Life of Proclus, who died in the year 485, soon after his master's death.[b]

2. In this Life are two passages which have a reference to the christians: if I transcribe them at length there will

[f] Equidem hoc Philoponi adversus Proclum opus non minus quam Procli ipsius argumenta intercidisse putat Caveus, vir doctissimus in Historiâ Literariâ——ratus a Proclo, ad Celsi, Juliani, Porphyrii denique exemplum, ut ex Suidæ verbis male collegit, universam Christianam Religionem illis xviii. argumentis impugnatam fuisse. Enimvero duodeviginti επιχειρηματα directa sunt potissimum adversus unum dogma christianorum de mundo non æterno; et etiamnum extant in Johannis Philoponi libris duodeviginti de æternitate mundi contra Proclum, quod hoc ipsum opus est tantis a Suidâ celebratum laudibus. Fabric. de Procli Scriptis editis, ad calcem Marini Procli, p. 80.

[a] The origin of Marinus shall be more particularly related by and by in an article taken from Damascius, in chap. lxii.

[b] Hinc merito videor mihi colligere hanc vitam a Marino scriptam editamque non diu a Procli obitu, certe anno nondum integro post illum elapso, quia de eclipsi hac, ut futurâ, loquitur. Fabric. not. in Marini Proclum, cap. 37. p. 76.

appear some other things deserving our regard. And afterwards I shall transcribe several other passages.

3. 'If[c] I should allow myself to enlarge here,' says Marinus, 'I might relate very many theurgic operations of this blessed man. One, however, out of innumerable, I shall mention, and it is wonderful to hear. Asclepigenia, daughter of Archiades and Plutarcha, and wife of Theagenes, to whom we are much indebted, when she was but a young maiden, and lived with her parents, was seized with a grievous distemper, incurable by the physicians. Archiades, as all the hopes of his family depended upon her, was much grieved and afflicted. All help from the physicians failing, as in other cases, so now in this also, he applied to the sheet anchor, that is, to the philosopher, as his good saviour, earnestly entreating him to pray for his daughter, whose condition was not unknown to him. He therefore, taking with him Pericles of Lydia, who also was a philosopher, and worthy of that name, went[d] to the temple of Æsculapius, intending there to offer up his prayers to the god for the afflicted young woman. For the city [Athens] was then happy in him, and enjoyed the temple of the saviour entire and undemolished. Whilst he was praying after the ancient manner, the young woman immediately perceived an alteration for the better, and recovered. For the saviour, as being god, healed her easily. The sacred rites being performed, Proclus went to Asclepigenia, and found her freed from her distemper, and in the enjoyment of health. However, this whole affair was transacted privately, without the knowledge of any others, and without giving any occasion to make inquiries. And this was the more easily so transacted, his habitation being near to the temple; which was one of the felicities of this man, that he had a very convenient house, which his father Syrianus, and his grandfather Plutarch, (for so he called[e] them,) had lived in, and which was near to the temple of Æsculapius.'

4. Presently afterwards he speaks of the favours which

[c] Marini Proclus, chap. 29. p. 58, &c.

[d] —— *ανηει εις το Ασκληπειον, προσευξομενος τω Θειω ὑπερ της καμνουσης. Και γαρ ηυτυχει τοτε ἡ πολις τοτε, και ειχεν ετι απορθητον το τε σωτηρος ἱερον. Ευχομενω αυτω τον αρχαιοτερον τροπον, αθροα μεταβολη περι την κορην εφαινετο, και ῥαιωνη εξαιφνης εγιγνετο. Ῥεια γαρ ὁ σωτηρ, ωτε Θεος, ιατο.* Ib. p. 60.

[e] He calls Syrianus his father, as he had been instructed by him; and Plutarch his grandfather, as he had instructed his master. Pater, non qui genuerat, sed qui instituerat; et avus pro magistro præceptoris. Fabric. in

Proclus received from Minerva. 'And,'[f] says he, 'how dear he was to the goddess, president of philosophy, appeared from the great progress which he made in that study, to which he had been directed by the goddess herself. And she also manifested her great regard for him when her image, which had been hitherto placed in the Parthenon, (or temple of Minerva,) was taken away by those who move such things as ought not to be moved: for when that was done a woman of excellent beauty appeared to him in a dream, who bid him presently put his house in order. "For," says she, "the lady Minerva intends to come and live with you." And,' as Marinus goes on to say in the words next following, 'how much he was favoured by the god Æsculapius is evident from what was before related by us: and was farther apparent from the presence of the god with him in his last sickness. For, when he was between sleeping and waking, he saw a dragon creeping about his head, which occasioned some remission of his distemper. By that vision there was an abatement made in his sickness. And it is easy to believe that were it not for his preparedness for death, and his desire of it, he might have recovered if he had been more careful about his health.'

We may suppose that when Marinus speaks of the taking away the statue of Minerva out of her temple, he shows some caution and modesty, out of respect to the times in which he lived, saying in those soft terms, that 'they moved such things as ought not to be moved.' For he must have esteemed it sacrilege, and the utmost profaneness.

5. I have transcribed more of both those passages than might be thought needful: but I was willing to show the credulity of those philosophers, a weakness very common to men of all characters; and therefore we ought to be upon our guard against it, and exercise our reason and our senses; which certainly God has bestowed upon us for some good purposes, beside procuring the immediate comforts of life.

6. I shall add a few more like things for showing how much the thoughts of this great philosopher Proclus, and

loc. [f] *Ὁπως δε αυτος και τῃ φιλοσοφῳ Θεῳ προσφιλης εγενετο, παρεσησε μεν ικανως και αιρεσις τε εν φιλοσοφια βιε, τοιαυτη γενομενη, οιαν ὁ λογος ὑπεδειξε. Σαφως δε και ἡ Θεος εδηλωσε, ἡνικα το αγαλμα αυτης το εν Παρθενωνι τεως ἱδρυμενον ὑπο των τα ακινητα κινουντων μετεφερετο. Εδοκει γαρ τῳ φιλοσοφῳ ονειρ, φοιτην παρ αυτον ευσχημων τις γυνη, και απαγγελλειν, ὁτι χρῃ ταχεως την οικιαν προπαρασκευαζειν, ἡ γαρ κυρια Αθεναις, εφη, παρα σοι μενειν εθελει.* Ibid. cap. 30. p. 62.

of his disciple Marinus, were engaged in these superstitions, and the fables on which they were founded.

7. 'But,' says[g] Marinus, 'if I should go over all the like things, and relate his friendship with Pan, son of Mercury, and the many favours and blessings which he received from this god at Athens; and particularly the many advantages conferred upon him by the mother of the gods, upon which he highly valued himself; I should perhaps seem to the reader to say things very unlikely, and even incredible: for indeed there were very many, and almost innumerable instances of the favour of this goddess toward him, and more than I can myself now recollect. However, if any are desirous to have a full knowledge of them, he may consult his book of the mother of the gods. By which he will perceive that it was not without divine aid that he was able to bring to light all the theology concerning that goddess, and the several things which are mystically said and done by her and Attis. All which he has philosophically explained; so that men need no longer to be disturbed about the lamentations, and other mysteries of that solemnity.'

8. And in a preceding chapter, among other superstitions of Proclus, Marinus informs us that 'once[h] a month he purified himself according to the rites of the mother of the gods.'

Nor can we forbear to recollect here that the mother of the gods was a subject, which employed the fine pen of the emperor Julian,[i] who composed a long Oration to recommend and explain her mysteries.

9. Marinus says, that 'Proclus[k] died in the hundred and twenty-fourth year after the reign of Julian.'

Which shows that the memory of Julian was still dear to the heathen people, of whose reign they were willing to make an epoch.

He was buried in the same sepulchre with his master[l] Syrian.

10. In a place before cited, we saw how Marinus says,[m] that beside other felicities, Proclus had an advantage in the situation of his house, which was near the temple of Æsculapius. And Marinus[n] has several times assured us

[g] Cap. 32. p. 69. [h] Τας δε μητρωακας παρα 'Ρωμαιοις, η και προτερον ποτε παρα Φρυξι, σπεδασθεισας αγιτειας εκαστη μηνος ηγνενεν. Cap. 19. p. 36.

[i] Or. V. ap. Spanhem, p. 158, &c. [k] Ετελευτησε δε τω δ' και κ' και ρ' απο Ιελιανη βασιλειας. Cap. 36. p. 73.

[l] Cap. 36. p. 74. [m] See before, p. 133. [n] Ουδ' αν παλιν την προς των πολλων υμνεμενην ευποτμιαν, ει και αυτη παλιν εκ τυχης αυτω

that Proclus abounded, and even overflowed, in the goods of fortune. This has occasioned Fabricius to refer to a passage in the extracts of Photius from Damascius; which indeed appears to me very curious: where it[o] is said, 'the 'revenues of the school were not then such as they were 'in the time of Plato, as some imagine: for Plato was 'poor, and had only one garden, which was in the academy, 'and a small revenue of three crowns. But in the time of 'Proclus the revenue was a thousand crowns, or more, 'many having left handsome legacies to the school.'

And I shall also place below the note of[p] Fabricius. Undoubtedly such an annual revenue was very comfortable. And I cannot but think that this shows the good temper of the christian magistracy at that time; for Proclus, and the other presidents of the philosophical school at Athens, were heathens. To me it seems also that the large catalogue of the works of Proclus in Suidas, is another argument of the freedom which the Gentile people then enjoyed. Proclus could not have published so many works of philosophy and literature, if the discouragements under which the Gentiles lay had been very strict and rigorous; and I have therefore transcribed above the more of that catalogue, that my readers might be the better sensible of this. And one of those books was against the christians, as others were in favour of the mysteries of Gentilism. This Life of Proclus, written by Marinus, must be reckoned another example of freedom of speech, owing to the privileges which those dissenters and nonconformists then enjoyed.

11. It may be thought that I have already concluded this chapter; nevertheless I have a word or two more to add.

The works of Proclus were very numerous and voluminous, as we have seen. Fabricius[q] has enlarged in his account of them, very much to the satisfaction of learned and curious readers.

ευπαρεσκευαστο, ει τῳ αλλῳ ανθρωπων. Κεχορηγητο γαρ αφθονως ἁπασι τοις εξωθεν λεγομενοις αγαθοις. Cap. 2. p. 3, 4. Vid. et cap. 34. p. 71.

[o] *Ἡ των διαδοχων ϐσια, ϐχ ὡς οἱ πολλοι νομιζϐσι, Πλατωνος ην το ανεκαθεν. Ηενης γαρ ην ο Πλατων, και μονον τον εν ακαδημιᾳ εκεκτητο κηπον, ϐ ἡ προσοδος νομισματων τριων. Ἡ δε της ϐσιας ολης χιλιων η και πλειονων ὑπηρχεν επι Προκλϐ, πολλων των αποθνησκοντων κτηματα τῃ σχολῃ καταλιμπανοντων.* Phot. Cod. 242. p. 1057.

[p] Marinus supra dixerat, Proclum bonis fortunæ undique affluisse et abundâsse. Cui adde quod Photius ex Damascio refert p. 536. reditus scholæ, cui Proclus præfuit, ex variis legatis non mediocriter auctos fuisse, ita ut summâ mille amplius nummûm, hoc est thalerorum, inde quotannis philosophus fieret ditior. Fabric. annot. ad Marini Procl. cap. 29. p. 61.

[q] Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 26. T. viii. p. 455, &c.

In Photius[r] are extracts out of a work of Proclus, entitled Χρηστομαθια, in two books, which is also in the catalogue of Suidas. The work itself is lost. But from the extracts of Photius it appears to have been a work filled with ancient learning. He therein discoursed of the several sorts of poetry. He[s] observed that among epic poets the most excellent were Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus. And he there represented, so far as he could learn, their families, their countries, and works.' Upon which part of Photius's extract I place below an observation of[t] Fabricius.

12. Syrianus likewise, who was of Alexandria, and was master of Proclus, and his predecessor in the school at Athens, was author of divers works. There is a catalogue of them under his name in Suidas; though[u] possibly there may be in it some mistakes. And some things may be ascribed to Syrianus which were written by Proclus. Syrianus is supposed to have died about[v] the year of Christ 450.

It may be thought by some that I have enlarged too much in my account of this life of Proclus by Marinus; nevertheless I have not fully gratified myself: if I had, instead of making extracts, I should have made a translation of the whole work, as I did of Libanius for the temples: it affording, as seems to me, a genuine and curious specimen of heathenish credulity and simplicity. I believe that Marinus was an honest man; at least I see nothing to the contrary. I am glad that he lived so comfortably, though he was not of the prevailing religion.

[r] Cod. 239. p. 981, &c.

[s] Γεγονασι δε τε επες ποιηται, κρατιστος μεν Ὁμηρος, Ἡσιοδος, Πεισανδρος, Πανυασις, Αντιμαχος. Διερχεται δε τουτων, ὡς οἱον τε εστι, γενος τε και πατριδας, και τινας επι μερους [al. επιμετρους] πραξεις. Phot. p. 981. infr. m.

[t] Hinc non temere conjicio brevem vitam Homeri, quam sub Procli nomine edidit Leo Allatius in libro de Homeri vitâ, et V. C. Josua Barnesius præclaræ suæ Homeri editioni præmisit, ex priore Crestomathias hujus libro decerptam esse. Fabr. ut supra, p. 522.

[u] Vide Fabric. ib. p. 450.

[v] ——diem obiit circa annum Christi, ut conjicio, 450. Fabric. ibid. p. 449.

CHAP. LXII.

DAMASCIUS.

I. *His time and works.* II. *Extracts from his works in Photius.* III. *Divers passages from his works in Suidas.*

I. DAMASCIUS is mentioned by Cave in his Historia Literaria of Ecclesiastical Writers. He[a] reckons him among Gentile authors, who in the sixth century had reflected upon the christian religion. He placeth him as flourishing in the year[b] of Christ 540.

The account which Suidas gives of Damascius is to this purpose: 'He[c] was a stoic philosopher of Syria, intimately 'acquainted with Simplicius and Eulalius, who were Phry-'gians. He flourished in the time of Justinian: he wrote 'Commentaries upon Plato, of Principles,[d] and a Philoso-'phic History.'

Suidas says he flourished in the time of Justinian, who[e] reigned from the year 527 to 565. But Damascius himself, in his Life of Isidorus, says, that[f] at that time Theodoric was king of all Italy. Theodoric[g] died in 526. We might therefore, perhaps, place Damascius as flourishing somewhat sooner than Cave has done; and Fabricius says he[h] presided in the school of philosophy at Athens in the time of Theodoric. However,[i] Pagi relies upon Suidas, who placeth him as flourishing in the time of Justinian. And we shall see proofs of it in the chapter of Simplicius which will follow this.

They who desire to know more of Damascius may consult the writers[k] mentioned below.

[a] Scriptores Gentiles Christianam Religionem hoc seculo perstringentes. H. L. T. i. p. 552. [b] Damascius, patriâ Damascenus, sectâ Stoïcus, aliis Peripateticus,——claruit circa ann. 540. Id. ib.

[c] V. Δαμασκιος. p. 506. Kuster. [d] Και περι αρχων. That work is said to be still in several libraries of Europe. Wolfius published from the public library of Hamburg the beginning, and large extracts from it, in his Anecdota Græca, Sacra et Profana. Tom. iii. p. 195. &c.

[e] Vid. Pagi ann. 565. n. iii. [f] Ὁ δε ην Βαλεμερις Θεοδεριχε πατηρ, ος νυν το μειζον εχει κρατος Ιταλιας ἁπασης. ap. Phot. p. 1041. in.

[g] Vide Pagi ann. 526. n. iv. ix. x. et conf. ibid. A. 475. n. vi.

[h] De Damascio hoc Damasceno, qui, regnante in Italiâ Theodorico, Athenis in scholâ Platonicâ floruit, plura Photius,——nec non Suidas. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. xiii. p. 784. [i] Damascius autem Justiniani Imp. temporibus floruit, ut docet Suidas in voce Δαμασκιος, qui hæc ideo scire potuit. Pagi 470. n. iii. [k] Voss. Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 22. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. ix. p. 416, 437. Pagi ann. 470. num. i.

II. Of this author there are large extracts in Photius; and in Suidas, under divers articles of his Lexicon, several passages are quoted from him. I intend first of all to observe some remarkable things in Photius: afterwards I shall put down divers passages collected out of Suidas.

1. In Photius are three articles concerning this author; the first at Code cxxx. the second at clxxxi, the third at ccxlii.

2. In the first Photius says: 'We[1] read the four books 'of Damascius, of which the title of the first is, Concerning 'strange and wonderful things, in three hundred and fifty-'two chapters; the second, Wonderful stories concerning 'dæmons, in two-and-fifty chapters; the third, Won-'derful stories concerning souls which appeared after death, 'in sixty-three chapters; the fourth, Of other wonderful 'things, in a hundred and five chapters. In all which are 'many impossible and incredible things, and foolish and 'ill-contrived stories of falsehoods, and truly worthy of 'the irreligion and impiety of Damascius; who, when the 'light of religion illustrated the whole world, slept in the 'thick darkness of idolatry.' However, of the style, Photius says it is compendious, elegant, and conspicuous, suited to such relations.

3. In the second article Photius gives a general account of the Life of Isidorus. 'We[m] read,' says he, 'the Life of 'the philosopher Isidorus, written by Damascius of Damas-'cus, a large work, dedicated to Theodora, also a zealous 'Greek as to religion, and well instructed in philosophy—— 'descended likewise from ancestors noted for their zeal for 'the impiety of idolatry——As to religion this author is 'altogether impious, and often reviles our holy religion, 'though somewhat cautiously.'

Some of those passages, in the very words of Damascius, would have been entertaining to us now; and could not have perverted any.

[1] Ανεγνωσθησαν Δαμασκιϐ λογοι τεσσαρες, ὠν ο μεν πρωτος επιγραφην εχει περι παραδοξων ποιηματων κεφαλαια τνϐ. Ὁ δε δευτερος, παραδοξων περι δαιμονιων διηγηματων κεφαλαια νϐ. Ὁ δε τριτος περι των μετα θανατον επιφαινομενων ψυχων παραδοξων διηγηματων κεφαλαια ξγ. Ὁ δε τεταρτος—— Εν οἱς ἁπασιν αδυνατα τε και απιθανα, και κακοπλαϗα τερατολογηματα, και μωρα, και ως αληθως αξια της αθεοτητος και δυσσεϐειας Δαμασκιϐ· ος, και τϐ φωτος της ευσεϐειας τον κοσμον πληρωσαντος, αυτος ὑπο βαθει σκοτῳ της ειδωλολατρειας εκαθευδε. κ. λ. Cod. 130. p. 312.

[m] Γραφειν δε τον Ισιδωρϐ βιον προθεμενος, Θεωδωρᾳ τινι το συνταγμα προσπεφωνηκεν, Ἑλληνα μεν και αυτῃ θρησκειαν τιμωσῃ,——Ετι δε την μεν περι τα θεια δοξαν εις ακρον δυσσεϐης——Διο και της ἱερας ἡμων, ει και δειλιωσῃ και λαθραιοτερᾳ κακοφροσυνῃ, ὁμως ϐκ ολιγακις καθυλακτων ευσεϐειας. Cod. 181 p. 408.

Near the end of this article of Photius is an account of our author's masters. 'In rhetoric[n] Theon was his master, 'under whom he studied three years. Afterwards Damascius himself presided in the same school nine years. 'Geometry and arithmetic, and other parts of mathematics, 'he learned from Marinus, and Harmonius son of Hermias 'of Alexandria. Logic he learned from Isidorus, whose 'life he wrote, and whom he highly commends.'

Suidas, as before seen, says, that Damascius wrote a philosophic history. I suppose he means the Life of Isidorus, which, according to Photius, was[o] a large work. Or else this Life of Isidorus was one part of that history. Even the extracts of that Life in Photius are large, and exhibit a great variety of matters.

I shall transcribe below the account which Fabricius has given of this article of[p] Photius.

4. In the third article[q] of Photius concerning this author, are large extracts from his Life of Isidorus the philosopher. Several of which will be transcribed by me.

5. Here[r] is a story concerning the celebrated Alexandrian philosopher Hierocles, and his wife: which I do not take now, because I have made a distinct article of Hierocles, and have placed that story[s] there.

6. He says that[t] 'Marinus, successor of Proclus, came from Neapolis in Palestine, near the mountain Garizin. This writer then blasphemously adds, in which mountain is a most sacred temple of the most high Jupiter, in which

[n] P. 412. [o] —— πολυτικον. p. 408. lin. 35.

[p] Cod. clxxxi. Damascii Damasceni De Vitâ Isidori Philosophi, liber prolixus in capita lx. divisus, variâque refertus jucundâ de aliis etiam illius ætatis philosophis notitiâ, sed jam pridem deperditus, ex quo uberiora excerpta dabit Photius infra Cod. 242. Hoc scriptum Damascius, superstitione Ethnicâ imbutus scriptor, et christiana sacra subinde lacessens, dicavit Theodoræ, eruditæ feminæ, quam ipse et Isidorus instituerant, filiam Cyrinæ et Diogenis, qui patre Eusebio, avo Flaviano natus, (iisdem, quos celebrat Macrobius,) genus referebat ad Lampsigeranum, Monimumque, a quibus et suam Jamblichus duxerat originem. Damascium in oratoriâ facultate per triennium instituerat Theon, in mathematices disciplinis Marinus, in philosophiâ Athenis alter cum Marino Procli successor, Zenodotus, et Alexandriæ Ammonius Hermiæ, Platonem et Ptolomæi astronomica ipsi interpretatus. In dialecticis denique is ipse, cujus vitam describendam suscepit, Isidorus. Fabr. Bib. Gr. Tom. ix. p. 437. [q] Cod. 242. p. 1028, &c. [r] Ibid. p. 1037. infr. m.

[s] See here, p. 129. [t] Οτι ὁ διαδοχος Προκλε, φησιν, ὁ Μαρινος, γενος ην απο της εν Παλαιστινῃ Νεας πολεως προς ορει κατῳκισμενης, τῳ Αργαριζῳ καλεμενῳ. Ειτα βλασφημων ὁ δυσσεβης φησιν ο συγγραφευς, εν ὡ Διος ὑψιστε αγιωτατον ἱερον, ὡ καθιερατο Αβραμος, ο των παλαι Ἑβραιων προγονος, ὡς αυτος ελεγεν ο Μαρινος. Σαμαρειτης ων το απαρχης ο Μαρινος γεγονως, απεταξατο μεν προς την εκεινων δοξαν ἀτε εις καινοτομιαν απο της Αβραμε θυσιας απορῥυεισαν, τα δε Ἑλληνων ηγαπησεν. κ. λ. p. 1056. m.

Abram, the father of the ancient Hebrews, was priest, as Marinus himself says: Marinus, therefore, who was originally a Samaritan, forsook their doctrine, as being a novelty derived from the Abramic religion, and embraced the Greek religion.'

7. Damascius mentions Peter Mongus, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, in this manner: 'But[u] he who was bishop of the prevailing religion, being an impudent and wicked man, behaved thus.' Peter[v] was ordained bishop in the year 477, and died in the year 490; Valesius, in his notes upon Eusebius, has quoted this passage. He has observed divers others in which heathen writers, after the conversion of Constantine, call the christian religion the 'prevailing opi-'nion,' and the christians the 'prevailing[w] party.'

8. Damascius says, that 'Marcellinus,[x] count of Dalmatia, was of the Greek religion:' that is, in the time of the emperor Zeno, near the end of the fifth century.

9. In another place, as observed by Photius, 'Dama-'scius says that[y] Anthemius the Roman emperor was of the 'Greek religion, and of the same opinion with Severus, who 'was an idolater, and whom he appointed consul; and that 'they secretly consulted together about restoring the exe-'crable worship of idolatry.' He says likewise that 'Illus, 'and Leontius whom he set up to be emperor with Zeno, 'were of the same opinion, and had the same design in 'favour of impiety, Pamprepius leading them that way. 'He relates the vain pretences of Pamprepius, and his un-'faithfulness to his friends, and his violent death, in the 'same manner that others do. Pamprepius was an Ægyp-'tian, and by profession a grammarian.'

We might have been well pleased to see Damascius's own words in this place. But we must be content with the extracts in Photius.

Anthemius was emperor from the year 467 to 472. That he was a Gentile there[z] is no proof, but the contrary. Severus[a] was appointed consul at Rome, by Anthemius, in the year 470. 'Damascius[b] in another place tells a silly

[u] Ὁ δε των κρατουντων της πολιτειας ἡγεμων, την δοξαν επισκοπεω ειλιχως, ονομα Πετρος, ανηρ ιταμος ων και περιπονηρος. κ. λ. p. 1057. fin.

[v] Vid. Pagi ann. 477. x. 490. xxiv.

[w] Not. p. 62. ad Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 7.

[x] Ὁ δε Μαρκελλινος της Δαλματων ην χωρας αυτοδεσποτος ἡγεμων, Ἑλλην την δοξαν. p. 1048. in.

[y] P. 1049. infr. m.

[z] Verum consilium de restituendâ idololatriâ, non nisi per calumniam Anthemio adscribi potest, ut liquet ex Annal. Eccl. Pagi ann. 470. num. i.

[a] Coss. Severus et Jordanes ——prior occidentalis, ut liquet ex Damascio in Vitâ Isidori Philosophi, &c. Pagi ibid.

[b] Τουτω τοινυν ὁ ἱππος, ω τα πολλα εχρητο, ψηχομενος

'story of a horse of this Severus, of which he was very fond, 'and which, when stroked, emitted large sparks of fire, 'which also portended his master's consulship.' Illus and Leontius were two great officers, who together began a rebellion against Zeno in the year 482, and were put to death[c] in the year 488, or about that time. As to Pamprepius, we have here a general account of him from Photius. More may be seen of him in an article[d] in Suidas, supposed to be taken from Malchus, mentioned by Photius, Cod. lxxviii. p. 172, a[e] Greek historian and a christian; who wrote an history from the time of Constantine to Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno in the year 491.

10. Before I proceed any farther I shall transcribe here another like passage from these extracts of Photius: 'Damascius,' says[f] Photius, 'reckoning up those who have 'opposed our holy and inviolable faith unwillingly, and as 'it were compelled by the force of truth, writes thus: '"The emperor Julian likewise attempted it, but he did 'not succeed four years. And a good while afterwards 'Lucius, captain of the guard at Byzantium, under the em-'peror Theodosius, attempted the same thing; who intend-'ing to kill the emperor, was got into the palace, and 'after thrice endeavouring to draw his sword, was affrighted 'from executing his design: for at the same time he saw a 'woman of a large and terrible countenance at the back of 'Theodosius, embracing him. After that, the great general 'in the East aimed at the same thing, but was prevented by 'a violent death. For falling from his horse he broke his 'leg, and died by that accident. Then, says he, in our 'time Severianus, our fellow citizen, together with divers 'others: but he narrowly escaped with his life, through the 'unfaithfulness of those who were with him, and perhaps 'of others, and of Americus, who discovered the conspiracy 'to Zeno. And, beside these, Marsus and Illus; of whom 'Marsus died of a distemper in the very insurrection, and 'Illus was apprehended and beheaded; after which his 'head was thrown from a rock into the enemies' camp. 'Ammonius,[g] being a sordid wretch, and aiming at nothing 'but money, came to an agreement with a bishop of the 'prevailing religion."'

σπινθηρας απο σωματος πολλης τε και μεγαλης ηφιει ἑως αυτω το τερας εις την ὑπατικην αρχην εν Ῥωμῃ κατανυσθαι. Ibid. p. 1040. fin.

[c] Vid. Pagi ann 482. n. xviii. et 488. vi.

[d] V. *Παμπρεπιος.*

[e] Vide et Voss. de Histor. Gr. l. ii. cap. 21.

[f] Ibid. p. 1072.

[g] *Ὁ δε Αμμωνιος, αισχροκερδης ων, και παντα ορων εις χρηματισμον οντινασιν, ομολογιας τιθεται προς τον επισκοπευντα τα τηνικαυτα την κρατησαν δοξαν.* Ib. p. 1072.

So writes Damascius; who, as it seems, approved of any attempts against christians, and the christian religion. Upon these stories may be seen some remarks of Cave in his introduction, p. lxv.

11. In another place[h] he just mentions Athanasius also with the same character of 'a bishop of the prevailing religion.' He means Athanasius, who succeeded Peter Mongus at Alexandria, in the year[i] 490.

12. He complains of some who[k] privately broke down and destroyed sacred images.

13. I do not know whether it would be excused, if I should forbear to take notice of some of this writer's stories of incredible things.

He says expressly, that 'in[l] a battle fought near Rome with the Scythians commanded by Attila, in the time of Valentinian, [the Third,] who succeeded Honorius, [in the year 425,] the slaughter on both sides was so great, that none on either side escaped, except the generals, and a few of their attendants. And, which is very strange, he says, when the bodies were fallen, the souls still stood upright, and continued fighting three whole days and nights, nothing inferior to living men, either for the activity of the hands or the fierceness of their minds. The images of the souls therefore were both seen and heard, fighting together, and clashing with their armour.' He moreover endeavours to confirm the truth of this by other relations of a like kind.

Of himself this writer says, that 'sometimes,[m] when he pulls off, or puts on, his clothes, great sparks fly out, and sometimes with a noise; that at other times his clothes are all over of a flame, and yet not hurt.'

He says, that 'Hierius,[n] son of Plutarch, and scholar of Proclus, had seen a human head no larger than a pea: which yet was a complete human head with hair, eyes, a face, and a mouth that had a voice as loud as a thousand men together.'

Certainly the learned heathen sophists and philosophers of that time did not reject the christian religion for want of credulity. They received many incredible things; and yet would not attend to the credible relations in the historical books of the Old and New Testament.

[h] Προς τον επισκοπευντα το τηνικαυτα την κρατεσαν δοξαν Αθανασιον. p. 1060. ver. 20.

[i] Vide Pagi A. D. 490. num. xxiv.

[k] Τινες δε ελαθον το ιερωμα καταξαντες, και διαφθειραντες, κ. λ. p. 1044. sub. in.

[l] P. 1040. m.

[m] P. 1041. in.

[n] Ibid. p. 1045. fin.

III. I now proceed to the passages in Suidas.

1. 'Ammonianus[o] the grammarian was related to Syri-
'anus, whom he resembled in body and mind, being both of
'them tall and handsome. They agreed very much in
'temper and manners. But Syrianus was dearest to God,
'and a philosopher indeed; whilst the other employed his
'time in correcting the Greek poets, and putting out correct
'editions of them. This is Ammonianus who had an ass that
'was studious of wisdom.'

This article is plainly taken from Damascius; as may be collected from Photius's extracts of that author, where a good part of it still appears. There it is thus expressed: 'This[p] is Ammonianus who had an ass, which, as is said, 'when he attended the lectures upon poetry, often neglected 'his food when laid before him, though at the same time he 'was hungry. So much was the ass taken with the love of 'poetry.'

Kuster, in his notes upon Suidas, puts the question whether Damascius wrote this seriously: and thinks he[q] must be reckoned an ass, who believed there ever was such an ass. Nevertheless, I think it cannot be denied that the philosophers of that time delighted in such stories.

2. In the article of Seberianus, or Severianus, is another passage fairly concluded to be taken from Damascius, forasmuch as a part of it is found in Photius's extracts of that[r] author, as Kuster has observed in his notes upon Suidas. It is here said, that 'Severianus was of Damascus, a man 'of a good family, descended from Roman ancestors who 'had lived at Alexandria. He says Severianus was per-
'fectly free from covetousness, but allows that he was of a
'stiff and rigid temper. He[s] was extremely devout, and
'zealous for the Greek religion: unhappy man, not moved
'by sufferings or threatenings——To him the emperor Zeno
'offered the highest government next to himself, if he

[o] Αμμωνιανος, Γραμματικος, κοσμεμενος τῃ συγγενειᾳ Συριανῳ—αλλ' ὁ μεν θεοφιλεστερος ην ὁ Συριανος, και τῳ οντι φιλοσοφος. Ὁ δε ηγαπα την επι ποιητων εξηγησει και διορθωσει της Ἑλληνικης λεξεως καθειμενην τεχνην. Οὑτος ην Αμμωνιανος, ὡ κεκτησθαι συμβεβηκεν ονον σοφιας ακροατην. Suidas.

[p] Ap. Phot. p. 1040. in.

[q] Serione hæc an joco scripsisti, Damascie? Certe asinis accensendum eum puto, qui talem unquam asinum extitisse credat. Kuster.

[r] Ap. Phot. p. 1057.

[s] Ἱερωτατος δ' ην εις ὑπερβολην, και Ἑλλην, και ὑπο πολλων απειλων και φοβων ϗκ ανεδωκεν ὁ αλιτηριος——τουτῳ κατεπηγγειλατο Ζηνων βασιλευς, ει γενοιτο των κρατουντων, την μετα βασιλεια μεγιστην αρχην. Αλλ' ϗδε ως επειθεν, ϗδε εμελλε πεισειν. Και ἡμιν δε ὑπανεγνω την επαγγελλομενην επιστολην, και μη πειθεσαν. Suid. V. Σεβηριανος.

'would be one of the prevailing religion; but neither so 'did he persuade him, nor would he be persuaded: he 'showed us the letter containing those offers; but it did 'not affect him.'

So writes Damascius; and there are other things in that article as it stands in Suidas, which may deserve notice; for I have transcribed but a small part of it: however, as much as is needful for my design.

3. Under the name Hypatia is another passage in Suidas, which with good reason is supposed to be taken from Damascius.

'Hypatia,[t] daughter of Theon the geometrician and 'philosopher of Alexandria, herself a philosopher, and well 'known, wife of Isidorus the philosopher. She flourished 'in the time of Arcadius. [Then he mentions her writings.] 'She was torn to pieces by the Alexandrians, and her body 'with the greatest ignominy was dragged through the 'whole city. This she suffered, because she was envied for 'her excellent wisdom, and especially for her skill in 'astronomy. Her death some ascribed to Cyril, others to 'the seditious and tumultuous temper of the Alexandrians: 'for so they have served several of their own bishops, par- 'ticularly George and Proterius. She was born, bred, and 'educated in Alexandria. Having a genius superior to 'her father, she was not contented with the mathematical 'learning which she had received from him, but studied 'also the other parts of philosophy to good advantage. 'And though a woman, habiting herself in a cloak, she 'went about the city, and publicly explained Plato, Aris- 'totle, and the other philosophers, to all who desired it of 'her. Nor was she learned only. She arrived likewise at 'the highest eminence in virtue, chaste, and always a vir- 'gin; and so very fair and beautiful, that one of her 'scholars fell in love with her. And not being able to 'govern his passion, he made it known to her: [however[u] 'a cure was wrought upon the young man by music, or 'some other method, for it is differently related.] Hypatia 'being such a person, so knowing in words and things, and 'so chaste and discreet in her behaviour, she was beloved 'and admired to a great degree by the whole city in gene- 'ral. And the magistrates of the highest dignity waited 'first upon her at their arrival, as is done at Athens. For 'though the thing itself was lost, the name of philosophy 'still seemed august and venerable to those who possessed

[t] Suid. V. Ὑπατια.

[u] Suid. p. 533.

'the chief posts in the state. It happened that[v] Cyril, 'bishop of the opposite sect, passing by the house of Hypa- 'tia, saw a great crowd at her door, on foot and horse- 'back; some coming, some going, and the house full of 'people. When he asked, what those people were, and 'what was the reason of such a crowd at that house, he was 'answered by his attendants that they were paying their 'respects to the philosopher Hypatia, and that was her 'house. Whereupon he became so possessed with envy 'that he contrived a murder, the most villanous of all mur- 'ders. For, as she was one day coming out of her house, 'she was set upon by a number of brutal wretches, of ac- 'complished wickedness, who, fearing neither the judgment 'of God or men, killed this philosopher, bringing thereby 'the utmost guilt and reproach upon their country. The 'emperor was extremely provoked at this action, and would 'have punished it, if Ædesius[w] had not by bribes corrupted 'those about him. So he pardoned the murderers; but 'brought down vengeance upon himself and his family.'

Other things follow in that article which deserve notice. But I have proposed to take nothing but what relates to Hypatia.

This is the account of Damascius, a learned Gentile. It may not be amiss to see how this story is told by Socrates, a christian, who likewise is earlier, he having written his Ecclesiastical History about the year 440.

Having in some preceding chapters taken notice of a misunderstanding between Orestes governor of Ægypt, and Cyril bishop of Alexandria, he goes on: 'There[x] was a 'woman at Alexandria, by name Hypatia, daughter of Theon 'the philosopher: she was so eminent for learning, that 'she excelled all the philosophers of her time; she had 'succeeded in the Platonic school, and explained all the 'branches of philosophy to those who came to hear her: 'and from all parts such as were studious of philosophy 'resorted to her. And by reason of the authority which 'she had gained by her distinguished knowledge, she often 'had access to the magistrates with singular modesty: nor 'was she ashamed to appear in a public assembly of men, 'forasmuch as all admired and revered her for her uncom- 'mon virtue. Nevertheless envy laid hold of her; for be- 'cause she often was with Orestes, the christian populace

[v] Ἤδη γὰν ποτε συνεβη τον επισκοπεντα την αντικειμενην αἱρεσιν Κυριλλον, παριοντα διὰ τȣ οικȣ της Ὑπατιας, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 534.

[w] Ædesius was a monk at Constantinople, agent for the bishop Cyril of Alexandria.

[x] Socrat. H. E. lib. vii. cap. 15. p. 352.

'admitted a calumny against her, that she was the person 'who obstructed a reconciliation between Orestes and the 'bishop. Some persons therefore of a fierce disposition, 'headed by Peter, a reader, conspired against her. They 'waited for her as she was returning home from some place; 'and pulling her out of her chariot, they dragged her to 'the church called Cæsarium; where they stript her naked, 'and killed her with sharp shells. And when they had 'torn her to pieces, they carried all her members to a place 'called Cinaron, and consumed them with fire. This ac-'tion brought no small disgrace upon Cyril, and the church 'of Alexandria. And indeed,' says Socrates, 'murders 'and fightings, and all such things, are altogether foreign 'to the christian principles. These things were done in the 'fourth year of the episcopate of Cyril, in the tenth consul-'ship of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius, in the 'month of March, in the time of Lent. That is, the year of 'Christ 415.'

This chapter of Socrates is transcribed by Nicephorus[y] almost word for word, with very little alteration.

Synesius, made bishop of Ptolemais in Libya, about the year 410, was her scholar, and ever retained a high respect for her. Several of his letters are sent to her, and inscribed in this manner: 'To[z] the philosopher,' or 'To[a] the philoso-pher Hypatia.' And in one of them, written after he was bishop, he calls her[b] his mother, his sister, his mistress, and his benefactress. In another[c] he says she had a most divine soul. In[d] another to Herculian, he mightily congratulates himself that, 'by a journey with him to Alexandria, he had 'made him know what he could not believe upon the re-'port of fame, till he saw and heard that extraordinary 'person who set open the door of the mysteries of true 'philosophy.'

One thing in the preceding history may create a diffi-culty in the minds of some of my readers. Hypatia is there said to have been always a virgin, and yet she was wife of[e] Isidorus. But those things are not[f] inconsistent; for in those times some people, both christians and others, married

[y] Lib. xiv. cap. 16. p. 469.

[z] Τῃ φιλοσοφῳ. Ep. 15. p. 172.

[a] Τῃ φιλοσοφῳ Ὑπατιᾳ. Ep. 10. p. 170.

[b] —— μητερ, και αδελφη, και διδασκαλε, και δια παντων τουτων ευεργετικη. Ep. 16. p. 173.

[c] —— της θειοτατης σου ψυχης. Ep. 10. p. 170.

[d] Ep. 136. p. 272.

[e] Isidori philosophi conjux, sed ita ut conjugii usu abstineret. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 5. c. 22. § x. T. 8 p. 220.

[f] Hinc erat, cur celeberrima hujus sectæ philosopha, Hypatia, maritum qui-dem haberet Isidorum, at corpus tamen castum et inviolatum servaret. Moshem. Dissertation. sect. 49. p. 214. not. *.

without intending to cohabit together. However, I think that this circumstance of her marriage must be understood to aggravate the indiscretion of the young man, her scholar, who fell in love with her.

Du Pin, having related the story of Hypatia's death, adds: 'It[g] is not Socrates only who relates this history. It is 'also attested by Damascius, who, in the Life of the Philo- 'sopher Isidorus, describes the tragical death of this illus- 'trious lady, and accuseth Cyril of being the author of it. 'But we are not to give credit to that historian. Cyril had 'no hand in that murder. They were some seditious peo- 'ple who laid hold of the occasion of the difference which 'there was between him and Orestes, to commit that assas- 'sination.' So says Du Pin. But does not Socrates deserve some regard, if Damascius be entitled to none?

CHAP. LXIII.

SIMPLICIUS.

His time, history, and works, with remarks; where also of Agathias, and Procopius.

SIMPLICIUS is well known for his Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus, of which there have been several editions in Greek and Latin, and some translations into modern languages, particularly French and English; of him I must give some account. And I think it not improper first to take some notice of Agathias, from whom that account must be taken.

In his Commentary upon Epictetus, Simplicius has an argument against the[a] Manichees; and for that reason may be justly placed among my witnesses to christianity. But if there were no such thing, Simplicius could not be omitted by me, his history being connected with the christian affairs in the time in which he lived.

Agathias[b] has himself informed us who he was. His[c]

[g] St. Cyril. d'Alex. Bibliothéque, Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 41.

[a] In Epictet. cap. 34. p. 163, &c. [b] Vide Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 22. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 5. Tom. vi. p. 260, &c.

[c] *Εμοι Αγαθιας μεν ονομα, Μυρινα δε πατρις, Μεμνονιος πατηρ, τεχνη δε τα 'Ρωμαιων νομιμα, και οι των δικαστηριων αγωνες.* Agath. l. i. p. 3. fin.

native place was Marina in Asia, which was a colony of the ancient Æolians. His father's name was Memnonius, and by profession he was a lawyer; but he has not told us where[d] he pleaded, though we know from himself that[e] for a while he studied the law at Alexandria.

He appears to have been a very ingenious man, author of many short poems,[f] and a history of the reign of the emperor Justinian in five books. It is a kind of supplement to Procopius, who concluded[g] at the twenty-sixth year of Justinian, the year of Christ 552. He did not begin to write his history till[h] after the death of Justinian, in the year 565, and the accession of Justin the younger in the same year. Pagi[i] supposeth him to have finished his work about the year 579; Fabricius[k] says not before the year 593.

Vossius and others have supposed Agathias to have been a Gentile; but[l] Pagi says he was a christian, and Fabricius[m] has shown it more at large.

However, he was a man of candour and moderation. 'The[n] Germans,' he says, 'had a multitude of deities, and 'practised cruel sacrifices, but by conversing with the 'Franks, they were growing more polite. However,' as he adds, 'they who are in error are rather objects of com-'miseration, than of contempt and hatred: for all men aim 'at truth; if they are in error, it is not the fault of their 'will but of their judgment, they being attached to opinions 'once embraced by them.'

And in the introduction to his work, he laments that[o] wars and battles are so much the subjects of poems and histories; 'which,' as he says, 'he cannot ascribe to the

[d] Falluntur qui Smyrnæ causas in foro perorasse Agathiam colligunt ex Suidæ loco, Vulcanius, Vossius, Heidenreichius. Nam licet patronum causarum fuisse certum est, atque ipse non uno in loco hoc tradit, tamen quâ in urbe id fecerit, nunquam declarat, &c. Fabric. ut supr. p. 260. in notis.

[e] Agath. l. ii. p. 48. [f] Agathiæ Historici et Poëtæ eximii, [aliter scholastici,] De Imperio et Rebus gestis Justiniani Imperatoris Libri quinque. [g] Agath. l. i. p. 6. [h] Agath. ib. p. 4.

[i] Ex morte interim Chosroës ab Agathiâ memorata colligo, Agathiam ante currentem annum historiam suam, quam ad usque Christi 559, tantum perduxit, non publicâsse, nec absolvisse. Pagi ann. 579. num. v. conf. eumdem ad ann. 552. n. xiv. xv. [k] —— composuit post Justiniani Augusti, A. C. 566. defuncti fata, neque ante ann. 593. edidit, de ejus Imperio sive de rebus ipso imperante gestis libros v. initio sumpto ab ejus xxvi. Christi 553, ubi desinit Procopius Cæsareensis, usque ad cladem Hunnorum in se ipsos, instigante Justiniano, arma vertentium, anno ejus xxxii. Christi 559. Fabr. T. vi. p. 261. [l] Ann. 379. num. 5.

[m] Ubi supr. p. 261. et in notis. Vid. et Spanheim. Tom. i. p. 1167, 1168.

[n] Agath. l. i. p. 13. m. [o] *Και εν μεση μεν ἡ ποιησις, πληρης δε ξυμπασα ἱστορια πολεμων τε και παραταξεων.* Ag. l. i. p. 6.

'stars, nor to fate, as some do: for if the world were go-
'verned by fate, there would be an end of choice, and there
'would no longer be virtue among men, nor any room for
'instruction or improvement in arts and sciences. Nor are
'wars and contentions agreeable to the mind of God, who is
'supremely good: they must therefore be ascribed to the
'avarice and ambition of men.'

Fabricius has observed, that 'Procopius,[p] predecessor of
'Agathias in the history of Justinian, was a christian, and
'that he did not approve of the fierce contentions which
'there were among christians upon abstruse and difficult
'points; and that he blamed Justinian for his severity
'against heretics, stripping them of their goods, and inflict-
'ing upon them other punishments.' By which we can be assured there have been in all times, among christians, men of learning and good sense, who did what lay in their power to recommend moderation, and secure the peace of the world.

I now proceed to the passage of Agathias, for the sake of which I have given this account of him: divers philosophers are here mentioned, but I aim principally at Simplicius.

'Not[q] long before this,' says Agathias, 'Damascius the
'Syrian, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Her-
'mias and Diogenes of Phœnicia, and Isidorus of Gaza,
'who all were, as I may say, the very top and pinnacle of
'the philosophers of our time, not approving the doctrine
'concerning the deity which prevailed among the Romans,
'and imagining the Persian government to be much better,
'they were disposed to a removal; and besides, not being
'allowed by the Roman laws to act according to their own
'sentiments, they went into that strange country, intending
'to live there for the future. But when they were come
'into Persia, things did not answer their expectations. The

[p] Procopius, ex Cæsareâ Palæstinæ rhetor, sive causarum patronus, ac fortasse sophista, hoc est, eloquentiam professus Constantinopoli. Hunc licet Paganis adscribere non dubitent Eichelius, et Mottanus Vayerus, christianum utique et catholicum fuisse scripta ipsius perspicue testantur: eum vero qui subtiles et acres de religione concertationes neutiquam probaret, nedum eas putaret historiæ ambitiose inserendas esse: quique reprehendat Justinianum, quod hæreticos spoliandos bonis et suppliciis afficiendos duxit. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 248. Vid. et Spanheim. Tom. i. p. 1166.

[q] *Ου πολλω γαρ εμπροσθεν Δαμασκιος ὁ Συρος, και Σιμπλικιος ὁ Κιλιξ, Ευλαμιος τε ὁ Φρυξ, και Πρισκιανος ὁ Λυδος, Ἑρμειας τε, και Διογενης, οἱ εκ Φοινικης, και Ισιδωρος ὁ Γαζαιος· ούτοι δε ἁπαντες, το ακρον αωτον, κατα την ποιησιν, των καθ' ἡμας χρονῳ φιλοσοφησαντων, επειδη αυτες ἡ παρα Ῥωμαιοις κρατεσα επι τῳ κρειττονι δοξα εκ ηρεσκεν, φοντο τε την Περσικην πολιτειαν πολλῳ ειναι αμεινονα——κ. λ.* Agath. l. ii. p. 65, 66.

'king was not such a philosopher, or so wise a man, as he 'had been reported to be. The nobles were proud and ar- 'rogant; and among the common people of Persia, as well 'as among the Romans, fraud and rapine prevailed greatly. 'They were likewise offended at the practice of polygamy; 'which nevertheless did not secure against adultery. Upon 'those accounts these philosophers were filled with much 'concern of mind, and repented of their removal out of 'their own country. The king had a respect for them, 'and was desirous to detain them. Nevertheless they de- 'termined to return home, and there spend the remainder 'of their days, though the greatest honours should be pro- 'posed to them: and this benefit they reaped from their 'extraordinary journey, that henceforward they lived very 'contentedly and comfortably. At that time the Romans 'and Persians made a truce with each other; and one of 'the conditions in that agreement was, that these men, upon 'their return home, should[r] be allowed to live quietly, and 'not be constrained to any thing which they did not ap- 'prove of, nor to alter their opinion concerning the ancient 'religion. Upon this condition Chosroes insisted, and 'would not consent to the truce otherwise.'

I have thought it best to transcribe this paragraph of Agathias at length, in which so eminent a man as Simplicius is concerned. The same is almost word for word in[s] Suidas.

Baronius speaks of this transaction at the year of Christ[t] 554. Fabricius[u] placeth the return of those philosophers at the year 549. Mr. Mosheim[v] seems to incline to the year 533; when according to our best chronologers[w] a truce was concluded with the Persians. However, there was another truce with the Persians afterwards in the[x] year 545 or[y] 546, in the same reign of Justinian, and afterwards[z] in 556.

[r] Ibid. p. 66. [s] V. Πρεσβεις. [t] A. D. 554. n. xiv.

[u] Simplicius——unus ex illis philosophis, qui cum pertinaciter Ethnicismo adhærerent, rebus suis sub Justiniani imperio parum fidentes, profecti sunt cum Areobindo ad regem Persarum Chosroën; sed spe suâ frustrati Athenas reverterunt, postquam in induciis Romanorum cum Persis anno Christi 549 cautum esset, ut illis tuto redire in sedes suas, et arbitratu suo vivere liceret, nec avita sacra mutare a christianis cogerentur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 621.

[v] Ex quâ licet dein redirent provinciâ, postquam pacem cum Persis inierat Imperator, quod an. 533 factum esse nuper contendit vir eruditus Petrus Wesselingius. Observationum Variar. lib. i. cap. 28. p. 120, 121. Moshem. De turbatâ per Platonicos Ecclesiâ. sect. xi. p. 115.

[w] Vide Pagi an. 533. v. Basn. an. 533. i. [x] Pagi 545. v.

[y] Basn. ann. 546. i. [z] Pagi 556. xx. Basn. 556. num. i. ii.

Fabricius has collected from his own writings that[a] Simplicius, who was of Cilicia, was disciple of Ammonius son of Hermias, and of Damascius the Syrian and stoic philosopher, and friend of Eulamius, or Eulalius, the Phrygian.

As therefore I have placed Damascius at the year 540, I place his scholar Simplicius at the year 550. Moreover Fabricius has observed, from a work of Simplicius, that[b] it was written by him after the death of Damascius. In Suidas[c] Damascius is called friend of Simplicius and Eulalius; and undoubtedly they were contemporaries: but we have now found that Simplicius survived Damascius.

Agathias says nothing of the works of Simplicius; but Fabricius has given an account of them. He speaks particularly of these following: A Commentary upon the eight Books of Aristotle's Physics; A Commentary upon the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle: A Commentary upon the four Books of Aristotle concerning the Heavens; A Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus.

Fabricius[d] esteems his works a valuable treasury of ancient philosophy, in which are many fragments of the works of the most ancient philosophers then in being, but now lost. And from the indexes which Fabricius has made of the names of authors quoted by Simplicius, and some of them often, they appear to be very numerous. It is, I think, an evidence that there were then in the possession of some private men large collections of books; or that the learned men of those times had access to some public libraries, which were well stored with the writings of ancient philosophers. The works of Simplicius above mentioned, which still remain, and are but a part of what he wrote, are a proof, that though he was a firm Gentile, and made open profession of Gentilism, he enjoyed, for a good part of his life, peace and quietness in the prosecution of his studies.

[a] Simplicius, patriâ Cilix, Ammonii (Hermiæ) et Damascii Syri Stoïci philosophi discipulus, et Eulamii Phrygis familiaris, &c. Fabr. ib. p. 620.

[b] Damascius itidem ὁ καθηγεμων, et ὁ ἡμετερος Δαμασκιος, a Simplicio appellatur, qui post eum defunctum scripsisse se in Physica Aristotelis innuit. p. 184. Fabr. ib. p. 620.

[c] Δαμασκιος——Σιμπλικιε και Ευλαλιε των Φρυγων ὁμιλητης. V. Damascius.

[d] —— quod ex scriptis ejus etiamnum apparet, quæ ætatem tulerunt, cum non pauciora interciderint. Sed hæc, quæ exstant, tamquam thesaurus quidam veteris philosophiæ, magni merito facienda existimo, tum ob insigne Simplicii ipsius judicium, tum ob fragmenta ex monumentis vetustissimorum philosophorum; quæ, illâ jam ætate raro obvia, servavit, hypomnematisque suis passim intexuit. Ibid. p. 621.

Among all the ancient authors alleged by Simplicius, I see not the names of any writers of our canonical scriptures, except[e] Moses the Jewish lawgiver. Mr. Mosheim says, 'It[f] may be perceived that Simplicius in his Illustration of 'the Aristotelian Philosophy, did sometimes reflect upon 'the christian doctrine.' I have never read that work of Simplicius: Fabricius takes no notice of this particular. If Simplicius did at all reflect upon the christian doctrine, I imagine that it was done indirectly, and that he never mentioned the christians expressly.

Of his Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus, Fabricius says: 'There[g] are extant very few ancient hea- 'then writings, in which the divine providence is better 'asserted, or better precepts delivered for the regulation of 'men's manners.'

I shall here put down the prayer with which Simplicius concludes that Commentary. 'Grant, I beseech thee, O Lord, the father and guide of our reason, that we may be mindful of the dignity which thou hast conferred upon us; and afford us thy assistance that we may act as free beings; that we may be purified from unreasonable passions, and may subdue and govern them; and that by the light of truth our judgment may be so directed, that we may adhere to those things which are really good. Finally, I entreat thee, the Saviour, entirely to remove the mist from the eyes of our mind, that, according to the expression of Homer, we may know both God and man, and what to each is due:' or, in other terms, our duty to God and men.

[e] Moses Judæorum legislator, p. 268. de origine mundi, *μυθικη παραδοσις, απο μυθων Αιγυπτιων ειλυσμενη*. ib. et p. 270. Ap. Fabric. ib. p. 630.

[f] Simplicius in Explanationibus Aristotelis dogmata nostra haud obscure mordet. Moshem. Instit. p. 236.

[g] Commentario autem ejus in Enchiridion Epicteti fateor me ita esse affectum, ut in totâ antiquitate putem exstare paucissima scripta, (de Ethnicis loquor,) quæ vel ad mores formandos saniora præcepta contineat, vel providentiam divinam rectius asserant propugnentque. Fabr. ib. p. 621.

CHAP. LXIV.

A Review of the Jewish and Heathen Testimonies in the several Volumes of this Work.

I ADD no more testimonies. I therefore shall now make a review of all the writers which have been alleged by me as witnesses to the truth of the christian religion.

In the sixth volume, are passages of Josephus, and of the Mishnical and Talmudical writers, and Josippon, bearing witness to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, and to the dispersion of the Jewish people, and therein to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions of those events; which to me appears a demonstrative argument for the truth of the christian religion, as has been particularly shown in the seventh chapter of that part in which[a] is a recollection of the foregoing articles, with reflections upon them.

What[b] they have said of John the Baptist, or of our Saviour Jesus Christ, or of his disciples and followers, has also been taken notice of.

In the latter part of the sixth volume, and in the foregoing parts of the seventh, are heathen writers who lived in several parts of the Roman empire, in the first and second centuries of the Christian æra; all of them men of great note, such as Tacitus, Martial, Juvenal, Suetonius, Epictetus the stoic philosopher, Trajan, the younger Pliny, Adrianus, Bruttius Præsens, Titus Antoninus, Marcus Antoninus, Apuleius of Madaura in Africa, Celsus, Lucian of Samosata, Aristides the sophist, Galen, and divers others; who in their remaining works have borne testimony to the destruction of Jerusalem at the time, and in the circumstances, predicted by our Saviour; to the antiquity and genuineness of the books of the New Testament; to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the founder of the christian religion, in[c] the reign of Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was procurator in Judea, and to many other facts of the evangelical history; to the persecutions endured by the christians in the times of Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, and to the patience and fortitude of the christians under them, and to

[a] See Vol. vi. ch. vii. [b] Ibid. ch. iv. v.
[c] See Tacitus, ib. ch. v. Celsus, Vol. vii. ch. xviii. Lucian. ibid. xix.

the progress of the christian religion, notwithstanding those discouragements; to the innocence and inoffensiveness of their principles, worship, and manners, and to their remarkable mutual love, and readiness to perform good offices to each other, when under difficulties. Adrian's[d] letter to Severianus, his brother-in-law, bears testimony to the great number and influence of the christians in Ægypt in the year 134. His[e] Rescript to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, and Titus Antoninus's[f] edict, and letters to the states of Asia, and to the Larisseans, Thessalonians, Athenians, and other Greeks, are very favourable to the christians. In the letter of Pliny to Trajan, and Trajan's rescript, and in the extracts from the fragments of the work of Celsus, are too many things worthy of observation to be here rehearsed. I must therefore refer my readers to the summaries of those[g] articles, and to the Reflections there made upon them. And if I may here deliver my own opinion, these early testimonies of heathen writers, in the first two centuries, are very material and highly valuable; and as important a part as any, if not the most important part of this work. I would likewise here refer my readers to the chapter[h] entitled, 'the Conclusion of the second Century.'

We now proceed to the testimonies of heathen writers of the third century, and to the conversion of Constantine.

In Diogenes Laertius,[i] about the year 210, is a history which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, when he put the Athenians and their learned philosophers in mind of an altar of theirs with an inscription, 'To the 'unknown God.'

From Lactantius[k] we learn that the great lawyer Domitius Ulpian, about the year 222, in his book, Of the Duty of a Proconsul, made a collection of all the edicts of former emperors against the christians; and, probably, with a design to let the proconsuls see how they might treat the christians: and the connection in Lactantius leads us to think there were in that work of Ulpian not only laws of princes, but also decrees of lawyers, which were prejudicial to the christians. And as was formerly observed, if this work of Ulpian should ever be found, it would be a very great curiosity, and afford us a distinct knowledge of some things which we now know only imperfectly.

In Dion Cassius's noble work, the History of the Romans,

[d] Vol. vii. ch. xi. [e] Ibid. id. [f] Ibid. ch. xiv.
[g] For Pliny and Trajan, see ch. ix. and for Celsus, ch. xviii. sect. 12.
[h] Ibid. ch. xxii. [i] Ibid. ch. xxiv. [k] Ibid. ch. xxvi

published about the year 230, we have seen[l] another valuable testimony to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by Vespasian and Titus. In him also we have seen another testimony[m] to Domitian's persecution of the christians, and several circumstances of it. From him also we learn[n] Nerva's favourable regard to them. And by him, or by Xiphilinus his abridger, we are assured that[o] Marcia, concubine of the emperor Commodus, bore good will to the christians, and did them good offices, she having a great ascendancy over Commodus.

In Amelius,[p] a Platonic philosopher, who wrote about the year 263, we have seen a very distinct and honourable testimony to St. John's gospel.

That eminent critic, Longinus, about the year 264, in his work, Of the Sublime, has[q] made very honourable mention of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, and commends the style in which he represents the creation of the world. There is also a fragment ascribed to him, in which the apostle Paul is mentioned to advantage;[r] but I do not think it genuine.

The saying of[s] Numenius, 'What is Plato but Moses in 'Greek?' is well known, and is recorded by divers ancient writers; but the time of Numenius is uncertain: nor is it clear that he has at all referred to the affairs of the christians, or their scriptures.

In the six writers of the Augustan History, who flourished about the year 306, in their Lives of the several Roman emperors, we have met with divers things concerning the christians deserving of notice.

Spartian, in his Life of the emperor Septimius Severus, has recorded the substance and the time of his edict against the christians more particularly than any of our own writers. 'In[t] his journey through Palestine he enacted several laws: 'he forbade, under a severe penalty, that any should be-'come Jews; he also published a like edict against the chris-'tians:' which determines the beginning of that persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ 202; when he and his son Caracalla were consuls together.

The same writer, in the life of Caracalla, eldest son of Severus, has given an account of[u] some childish behaviour

[l] Ibid. ch. xxvii. [m] Ibid. id. [n] Ibid. id.
[o] Ibid. id. [p] Ibid. ch. xxxiii. [q] Ibid. ch. xxxiv.
[r] Ibid. id. [s] Ibid. ch. xxxv. [t] Ibid. ch. xxiii.
[u] Ibid. id.

of his when seven years of age, which, compared with some things said by Tertullian, leads us to think, that Severus and his family were well acquainted with the christians; to whom also, as we evidently perceive, Severus was favourable in the former part of his reign.

Ælius Lampridius, in his life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, who reigned from the year 218 to 222, lets us know, that that wild[v] emperor 'erected a temple upon mount Palatine, 'near the imperial palace, to the god Elagabalus, intending 'to bring into that temple every object of the veneration of 'the Romans. He said likewise, that the religion of the 'Jews and of the Samaritans, and the devotion of the chris-'tians, must be transferred thither, that the priesthood of 'Elagabalus might comprehend in it the mysteries of all 'religions.' Which manifestly shows that the christian religion was then well known in the world.

The same writer, in his life of Alexander Severus, who reigned thirteen years from March 222 to March 235, says, he[w] maintained the 'privileges of the Jews; he tolerated 'the christians.' He also says that 'this[x] emperor had 'two private chapels, one more honourable than the other; 'and that in the former were placed the deified emperors, 'and also some eminent good men, and among them Abra-'ham, Christ, and Orpheus.' He has several other passages concerning that emperor[y] which are very honourable to the christians, which have been transcribed by us with remarks; and the reader is now referred to them.

Flavius Vopiscus, in his life of the emperor Aurelian, gives an account of a[z] letter of his to the Senate of Rome, probably written in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270 or 271, where the christians are expressly mentioned. And it shows that they and their distinguishing principles, and the worship in their religious assemblies, were well known in the Roman empire, and to men of quality, and of the highest rank, as well as to others.

The emperor Philip, whose reign began in the year 244, has by some been reckoned a christian: that[a] question therefore has been carefully considered by us in its proper place.

Beside all the above-mentioned writers who have occasionally mentioned the christians or their affairs, or who have afforded elucidations to some parts of our scriptures, we have in this period met with three learned men, who exerted their talents, in writing against the christians.

[v] Ibid. ch. xxxviii. [w] Ibid. ch. xxv. [x] Ibid. id.
[y] Ibid. id. [z] Ibid. ch. xxxvi. [a] Ibid. ch. xxix.

One of whom is Porphyry,[b] who flourished about the year 270, a disciple of Plotinus, a man of great abilities, who published against the christians a large work in fifteen books. His objections against christianity were in esteem with Gentile people for a long while; and the christians were not insensible of the importance of his work; as may be concluded from the several answers made to it by Eusebius, and others in great repute for learning, and from the violent, though ill judged attempts of christian magistrates to have them destroyed. His enmity to the christians and their principles was very great. Nevertheless from the remaining fragments of his work against the christians, and from his other writings, we may reap no small benefit.

He[c] appears to have been well acquainted with the books of the Old and New Testament. We have observed in him plain references to the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians; and, in his remarks upon that epistle, probable references to the other epistles of St. Paul. There can be no question made that in his work against the christians many other books of the New Testament were quoted or referred to by him. In[d] a fragment of his work against the christians he has these expressions: 'And now people wonder 'that this distemper has oppressed the city so many years, 'Æsculapius and the other gods no longer conversing with 'men; for since Jesus has been honoured, none have re-'ceived any benefit from the gods.' And again, in[e] his Life of Plotinus, he says there were then 'many christians.' But the work entitled 'The Philosophy of Oracles,' which has been sometimes quoted as his, I reckon to be[f] spurious.

At[g] the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution, about the year 303, as we learn from Lactantius, another work was published against the christians by a learned man, who was by profession a philosopher. It consisted of three books, and therefore must have been a large volume; but we do not know his name, nor much of the contents of his work.

About the same time another work was written against the christians, in two books, by Hierocles,[h] a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence as a magistrate. He was well acquainted with our scriptures, and made many objections against them; thereby bearing testimony to their antiquity, and to the great respect which was shown to them by the christians; for he has referred to both parts

[b] Ibid. ch. xxxvii. [c] Ibid. id. [d] Ibid. where, and in ch. xli. are remarks upon that passage. [e] Ibid. ch. xxxvii. [f] Ibid. id. [g] Ibid. ch. xxxix. See also ch. xli. [h] Ibid. ch. xxxix. See also ch. xli.

of the New Testament, the gospels and the epistles. He mentions[i] Peter and Paul by name, and casts reflections upon them. He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles; but in order to overthrow the argument which the christians formed from them in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up Apollonius Tyanæus as a rival, or superior to him; but it was a vain effort, as we have largely shown.

In that volume is an account of all the persecutions endured by the christians from the year of our Lord 202, when the emperor Severus published his edict against the christians, to the end of Dioclesian's persecution, in the year 313; when[k] Constantine and Licinius published an edict in favour of the christians, and gave leave to them, and to all men in general, to worship God in the way most agreeable to their own judgment. After which[l] we have made some remarks upon the state of christianity under heathen emperors. And it was shown that during that time christianity was always in a state of persecution, and that nevertheless it greatly prevailed; which is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

We now proceed to the Testimonies of Heathen Writers in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the christian æra.

The first witness here alleged is Chalcidius,[m] a Platonic philosopher, about the year 330, who bears testimony to the appearance of an extraordinary star at the time of our Saviour's nativity; thereby plainly confirming the history which is in the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

Alexander of Lycopolis in Egypt,[n] about the year 350, speaks honourably of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his religion, or the christian philosophy as he calls it; and which he commends, as 'plain and simple, and designed to reform 'the manners of men of all ranks.' And he has some references to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

Praxagoras[o] an Athenian, about the year 350, published several works of history, and wrote also the history of Constantine the Great, in two books, and gives that emperor a great character.

Bemarchius[p] of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, sophist, about the same time wrote the history of Constantine, in ten books.

[i] Ibid. ch. xxxix. [k] Ibid. ch. xl. [l] Ibid. ch. xli.
[m] Ibid. ch. xlii. [n] Ibid. ch. xliii. [o] Ibid. ch. xliv.
[p] Ibid. ch. xlv.

Nothing of that history now remains, but it was a large work; and there is reason to believe that it was favourable to that emperor.

Next follows the emperor[q] Julian, who succeeded Constantius in the year 361. In writing his history we have endeavoured to exhibit the most material and remarkable parts of it; his conduct in early life, and after his accession to the empire; his behaviour toward the christians, and his regard for the Jewish people: and we persuade ourselves that we have represented his character impartially. We have also made large extracts[r] out of his work against the christians, and out[s] of his orations and epistles.

In his work against the christians he[t] has borne a valuable testimony to the history, and to the books, of the New Testament. He allows that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, at the time of a taxing made in Judea by Cyrenius; that the christian religion had its rise, and began to be propagated in the times of the Roman emperors Tiberius and Claudius. He bears witness to the genuineness and authenticity of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles; and he so quotes them as to intimate that these were the only historical books, received by christians as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allows the early date of the gospels, and even argues for it. He quotes, or plainly refers to the Acts of the Apostles, as already said, to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, to the Corinthians, and to the Galatians. He does not deny the miracles of Jesus Christ, but allows him to have 'healed the blind, and the 'lame, and dæmoniacs, and to have rebuked the winds, 'and to have walked upon the waves of the sea.' He endeavours indeed to diminish those works, but in vain. The consequence is undeniable. Such works are good proofs of a divine mission. He endeavours also to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus; and yet acknowledgeth that there were 'multitudes of such men in 'Greece and Italy,' before St. John wrote his gospel. He likewise affects to diminish the quality of the early believers; and yet he acknowledgeth that beside men-servants, and maid-servants, Cornelius, a Roman centurion at Cæsarea, and Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jesus, before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often speaks with great indignation

[q] Ibid. ch. xlvi.
[r] Ibid. ib.
[s] Ibid. ib.
[t] Ibid. ib.

of Peter and Paul, those two great apostles of Jesus, and successful preachers of his gospel. So that, upon the whole, he has undesignedly borne witness to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Testament. He aimed to overthrow the christian religion, but has confirmed it. His arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest christian.

There follow in this volume testimonies of Himerius, Themistius, Libanius, Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Vegetius, Eunapius, Claudian, Macrobius, Rutilius, Olympiodorus, Zosimus, Hierocles of Alexandria, Proclus, Marinus, Damascius, Simplicius, men of great note in their times: some in the fourth, others in the fifth, and some in the sixth century; sophists, historians, poets, philosophers, and some senators and magistrates; all of some use to us, none of whom could be omitted in a collection of ancient testimonies to the truth of the christian religion.

To be a little more particular in rehearsing the testimonies of some of those eminent men last mentioned.

Themistius[u] has a good argument for 'allowing to all men 'full liberty to worship the Deity according to their own 'sentiments.' The principles of toleration were agreeable to the judgment of the emperor Jovian. Themistius applauds him for it; and supports that determination by divers reasons and considerations of no small weight. Libanius[v] pleads the cause of Gentilism with great freedom in the presence of Theodosius himself. In Ammianus Marcellinus[w] are many passages deserving attentive regard, too many to be brought up here in a general review. Eunapius,[x] a zealous Gentile, has entertained us with many curious histories of learned sophists and philosophers, and honourable magistrates, all zealous likewise for Gentilism, though not without some marks of candour and moderation. In all which we have seen the true spirit, and the genuine principles of Gentilism. Claudian[y] bears witness to the memorable victory of Theodosius over Arbogastes and Eugenius in the year 394. Macrobius,[z] at about the year 400, bears testimony to Herod's slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, soon after the nativity of our Saviour. Rutilius,[a] at the year 418, ridicules monkery, and laments the progress of the christian religion. In[b] Zosimus, about the year 425, we have seen many invectives against Constantine and Theodosius, which have given us occasion to set some things in a clearer light. He also

[u] Ibid. ch. xlviii. [v] Ibid. ch. xlix. [w] Ibid. ch. li.
[x] Ibid. ch. liii. [y] Ibid. ch. liv. [z] Ibid. ch. lv.
[a] Ibid. ch. lvi. [b] Ibid. ch. lviii.

loudly complains of the progress of the christian religion: at the same time he is himself so superstitious, and so credulous in receiving and recording silly fables, and fictions, as to expose rather than recommend the ancient religion to which he adhered.

But among all the testimonies to christianity which we have met with in the first ages, none are more valuable and important than the testimonies of those learned philosophers who wrote against us. All know whom I mean: Celsus in the second century; Porphyry and Hierocles, and the anonymous philosopher of Lactantius in the third, and Julian in the fourth century. These may be seemingly against us, but are really for us: they are not come down to us entire; but we have large and numerous fragments of some of them; which bear a fuller and more valuable testimony to the books of the New Testament, and to the facts of the evangelical history, and to the affairs of christians, than all our other witnesses besides. They proposed to overthrow the arguments for christianity. They aimed to bring back to Gentilism those who had forsaken it, and to put a stop to the progress of christianity, by the farther addition of new converts; but in those designs they had very little success in their own times. And their works, composed and published in the early days of christianity, are now a testimony in our favour, and will be of use in the defence of christianity to the latest ages.

One thing more which may be taken notice of is this: That the remains of our ancient adversaries confirm the present prevailing sentiments of christians concerning those books of the New Testament which we call canonical, and are in the greatest authority with us. For their writings show that those very books, and not any others, now generally called apocryphal, are the books which always were in the highest repute with christians, and were then the rule of their faith, as they now are of ours.

THE STATE OF GENTILISM UNDER CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

Sect. I. *Imperial laws concerning Gentile people and their worship.* II. *A consultation and divination of heathen people in the time of Valens, about the year* 373. III. *The petition of the Roman senate to Valentinian the younger in the year* 384, *that the Altar of Victory which had been removed by Gratian might be restored.* IV. *The correspondence between Maximus of Madaura and Augustine in the year* 390. V. *The demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other temples in Egypt, and some other temples elsewhere, in the year* 391. VI. *A pretended heathen oracle in the year* 398 *foretelling the period of the christian religion.* VII. *The demolition of the temple of the goddess Cœlestis at Carthage in the year* 399. VIII. *An image of Hercules destroyed by the christians at Suffecta in Africa in the year* 399. IX. *A disturbance at Calama in Numidia in the year* 408. X. *The overthrow of Radagaisus the Goth in the year* 405. XI. *Rome besieged, taken, and sacked by Alaric the Goth in the year* 410. XII. *The correspondence between Augustine and Volusian in the year* 412. XIII. *The correspondence between the people of Madaura and Augustine:* time uncertain. XIV. *The correspondence between Augustine and Longinian:* time uncertain. XV. *Observations of Orosius and Augustine upon the treatment given to the Gentiles by christian magistrates.* XVI. *Concluding observations upon the State of Gentilism, under christian emperors.*

SECTION I.

IMPERIAL LAWS CONCERNING GENTILE PEOPLE AND THEIR WORSHIP.

I. *Laws of Constantine.* II. *Laws of his sons Constans and Constantius.* III. *Julian.* IV. *Laws of Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.* V. *Laws of Theodosius I. and his successors.*

I. THAT is a necessary article in this work. And in showing what it was, I presume it will be proper to begin with

the laws and edicts of christian emperors concerning Gentile people and their worship. In doing this I shall have assistance not only from the Theodosian code, and James Gothofred's Annotations upon it, but also from divers modern writers of ecclesiastical history. Cave in particular, at the beginning of his second volume of the Lives of the Primitive Fathers, has a long introduction concerning the state of paganism in the reign of Constantine, and under the reigns of the succeeding emperors, till the end of the reign of Theodosius the First, or the Great, and his sons Arcadius and Honorius, and then of Theodosius the younger. Of this I shall make good use, not neglecting the observations which may be found in other writers who have treated of the same argument.

Near the conclusion of the seventh volume I made some observations upon the State of Christianity under Gentile emperors:[a] wherein it was shown, that all along, during that time, christianity had been in a state of persecution. We shall now be able to judge whether under christian emperors Gentilism was not all along in a state of persecution; however, I would hope not so severe and rigorous as that of the christians in the foregoing period of near three hundred years.

Here the thing to be first taken notice of is the law or edict of Constantine and Licinius in the year 313, giving liberty to all men, christians and others, to follow that way of worship which should be most agreeable to them: which was transcribed by us at length formerly.[b] The substance of which may be reckoned to be comprised in these words, a part of it: 'These[c] things we have thought proper to sig-'nify to you, in order to your perceiving that we have 'given free and full liberty to those same christians to fol-'low their own religion. And you may perceive that as 'we have granted full liberty to them, so in like manner we 'have granted the same liberty to others, to observe their 'own institution and religion. For, as is manifest, this is 'suitable to the tranquillity of our times, that every one 'should have liberty to choose and follow the worship of that 'Deity which he approves. This we have determined, that 'it may appear we do not forbid or restrain any religion, or 'way of worship whatever.'

In order to form a right judgment of the conduct of Constantine in the treatment given by him to Gentile people, it will be of use to us to distinguish his reign into two peri-

[a] Vol. vii. ch. xli. sect. ii. [b] Ch. xl. sect. x. [c] Ibid.

ods, the first preceding the final defeat and death of Licinius, the other after those events.

In the year 313 those two emperors were at Milan, when Constantine gave to Licinius his sister Constantia in marriage. At the same place, and in the same year, was published the edict above mentioned. In that law, as has been often observed already, Licinius joined with Constantine. But their friendship did not last long without interruption. In the year 314[d] broke out a war betwixt them, which was concluded in the same year. Afterwards there was another war between them, which began in the year 323, and was concluded in the year 324, when Licinius was reduced to a private condition. And though his life was then granted him, at the request and intercession of Constantia, he was put to death in the year 324 or 325. From that time Constantine was sole emperor both of the East and the West till the time of his death, on the day of Pentecost, May 22, in the year 337.

About the year 319 arose a great coldness between Constantine and Licinius; and from that time Licinius began to treat the christians and their ministers very hardly, till he proceeded to an open persecution of them: of which, accounts may be seen in Eusebius.[e] Insomuch that as that historian says: 'If[f] you divide the Roman empire into two parts, that 'in the East was covered with thick darkness, whilst that 'in the West enjoyed a bright day.' A war between the two emperors then became unavoidable.

I formerly cited three laws of Constantine relating to soothsayers[g] enacted in the year 319 and 321, forbidding them to go to private houses, and appointing that all divinations should be made in the temples, or at public altars only, and requiring that the result of those consultations should be sent to him if they related to the public. It may be allowed that those laws laid some restraints upon the practice of soothsaying; but I do not think that they were any infringement of the edict of liberty to all, before taken notice of. A heathen emperor might publish such laws for his own safety, or for the security of the public.[h]

[d] Et tamen primum illud bellum anno 314 et inchoatum et absolutum. Persecutio anno 319 a Licinio excitari cœpta; ultimumque Constantini cum Licinio bellum non nisi anno 323 motum, ac subsequenti continuatum. Pagi ann. 316. n. vi. Vid. et 317. iv. et. vi. 318. ii. Conf. Basn. ann. 319. ii. iii. iv.

[e] H. E. l. 10. cap. 8. De V. C. l. i. cap. 49—56.

[f] De V. C. l. i. cap. 49. p. 432. D.

[g] See before, p. 99.

[h] Sed et contra Tiberius, ut memorat Suetonius, l. 3. cap. 63, haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli vetuit. Publice igitur permisit. Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. Tom. 3. p. 115.

Eusebius speaking of things, when Constantine was in possession of the whole empire: 'And now,'[i] says he, 'after 'that, the emperor proceeding to act with great vigour, gave 'the government of the provinces chiefly to christians. 'And when any Gentiles[k] were made governors, they were 'prohibited to sacrifice. Which law comprehended not 'only presidents of provinces, but also higher officers, and 'even the Prætorian præfects. If they were christians, they 'were required to act according to their principles. If 'they were otherwise disposed, still the practice of idola-'trous rites was forbidden.'

Eusebius goes on to say in the very next chapter: 'And[l] 'soon after that were two laws published at one and the same 'time, one prohibiting the detestable rites of idolatry hither-'to practised in cities and country places: and that for the 'future none should erect statues to the gods, nor perform 'the vain arts of divination, nor offer up any sacrifices.[m] 'The other law was for enlarging christian oratories and 'churches, or for rebuilding them more grand and splendid.'

The first of those two laws, as I apprehend, must be explained with some restrictions. Constantine, I presume, did not now absolutely forbid divination. What Eusebius says here must be understood agreeably to the laws relating to soothsayers before cited. He forbade private but not public divination. Nor is it to be supposed that sacrifices were universally forbidden, and every where. They were allowed of at Rome and Alexandria long after this, as appears from Libanius's oration for the temples in the time of Theodosius, as is also observed by Valesius in his annotations upon this chapter of Eusebius.[n] Cave expresseth himself differently: I cannot say that he is in the right; but I shall place below what he says.[o] However, there is

[i] De Vitâ Constantin. l. 2. cap. 44. p. 464.

[k] 'Οσοι δ' ἑλληνιζειν εδοκεν, τετοις θυειν απειρητο.

[l] Cap. 45. p. 464. —— [m] μητε μην θυειν καθολε μηδενα.

[n] —— μητε μην θυειν καθολε μηδενα.] De privatis sacrificiis hæc Eusebii verba intelligenda sunt. Nam Constantinus Magnus lege latâ vetuit, ne quis Gentilium privatim domi sacrificaret, ut docet lex prima codice Theodos. de Paganis. Itaque aruspices sacrificii causâ domum evocare prohibuerat. Hi enim victimarum exta inspiciebant. Publica vero templa adire sacrificandi causâ, ibique aruspicum operâ uti non vetuit Constantinus, ut testatur lex primâ codice Theod. de Maleficis. Vide Libanium in oratione pro templis, p. 10. et quæ ibi notavit Gothofredus. Vales. in loc.

[o] 'In short by several laws he forbade to offer sacrifices, or to erect any 'images to the gods, or to consult their priests and oracles, or to exercise any 'of their mysterious rites. And though Libanius more than once affirms, '[pro templis, p. 9, 20, 21, 22.] that their temples were left open, and sa-'crifices permitted at Rome and Alexandria, yet was it no otherwise than as

another way of solving this difficulty. Constantine may have forbid sacrificing every where; but at the accession of Julian his laws were abrogated, by which means the Gentiles obtained the liberty of sacrificing; which may have continued at Rome and Alexandria till the time of Libanius.

Afterwards, still lower in the life of Constantine, comparing him with former emperors, Eusebius says: 'They[p] 'commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned; he 'demolished them to the foundation, especially such as 'were most respected by superstitious people.'

And in some following chapters[q] Eusebius has given a particular account of the demolishing several heathen temples by Constantine's order, beside depriving many others of their richest and most respected ornaments; as a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at Aphæa in Phœnicia. Eusebius says it was a kind of school for lewdness, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modest people came; the emperor ordered it to be totally demolished; which was done by the soldiers. A temple of Æsculapius, at Ægis in Cilicia, was in like manner destroyed by the military power at the emperor's command. Eusebius does not say that any lewdness was practised there. But that temple was the means of seducing many people, and it was much respected by the philosophers. Beside these, another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdness, was destroyed at Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and a spacious church was erected in the room of it.

Theodoret, reflecting upon the conduct of the several Roman christian emperors to his own time, says: 'That the 'excellent Constantine[r] absolutely forbade sacrificing to 'dæmons; nevertheless he did not demolish their temples, 'he only ordered them to be shut up:' which, from what we have seen, appears to be not very accurate. Eunapius says: 'That[s] Constantine in the time of his reign destroy-'ed the most magnificent temples, and erected christian 'structures in their room.' The general account of Con-

'they could do it by stealth, or by connivance, not by any public allowance, 'or constitution of the empire,' &c. Cave, Introd. p. xv.

[p] —— Ὁ δε εκ βαθρων καθυρει τυτων αυτων τα μαλιστα παρα τοις δεισιδαιμοσι πολλυ αξια. De V. C. l. 3. c. i. p. 483. B.

[q] De V. C. l. 3. cap. 55—58.

[r] —— και την οικυμενην ετι μεμηνιαν ὁρων. το μεν δαιμοσι θυειν πανταπασιν ,απηγορευτε, τυς δε τυτων ναυς ου κατελυσιεν, αλλ' αβατυς ειναι προσεταξε. Theod. l. 5. c. 21. p. 226.

[s] Κωνσταντινος γαρ εβασιλευσε, τα τε των ἱερων επιφανεστατα κατασρεφων, και τα των χριστιανων ανεγειρων οικηματα. Eunap. Vit. Ædes. p. 33.

stantine's conduct in this matter, in Jerom's Chronicle, at the year 333, or thereabout, and after the dedication of the city of Constantinople, is, 'that by an edict[t] of Constantine 'the temples of the Gentiles were thrown down.' Orosius, after mentioning the building of the city of Constantinople, says, that 'Constantine[u] then appointed by an edict, 'that the temples of the Pagans should be shut up, but 'without putting any of them to death.'

This may suffice for an account of the treatment given by Constantine to Gentile people. It appears hence very plainly that this first christian emperor did not strictly observe his edict, published in the year 313. All men were not permitted to follow that way of worship which they approved. Some things, just taken notice of, must be reckoned inconsistent with that edict of general toleration. And some reflections were made upon it by us formerly:[v] adding also the judgments of divers learned and judicious writers, to which I now only refer; for hereafter may be another occasion to observe upon the treatment given to Gentiles, not only by Constantine, but also by succeeding christian emperors. For the present I add nothing more here, beside an observation of Mr Mosheim: 'After the final defeat of 'Licinius,[w] Constantine was sole emperor to the time of his 'death. And according to the utmost of his power, by 'various methods, by laws, institutions, rewards, and en- 'couragements, he endeavoured to root out the ancient re- 'ligions, and to promote the christian doctrine. The em- 'peror appears to have been fully convinced by the wars 'and intrigues of Licinius, that neither he nor the Roman 'empire could be safe, so long as the ancient superstition 'subsisted. Henceforward, therefore, he openly opposed 'the gods, and their worship, as dangerous to the public 'welfare.' We now proceed.

II. The second section in Cave's introduction[x] is thus entitled: 'The condition of the Gentiles under the reign of 'Constantine Junior, Constantius, and Constans.'

[t] Edicto Constantini Gentilium templa eversa. Chr. p. 181.

[u] Tum deinde primus Constantinus justo ordine et pio vicem vertit edicto, siquidem statuit, citra ullam hominum cædem Paganorum templa claudi. Oros. l. 7. c. 28. p. 540.

[v] Vol. iv. p. 48—52.

[w] Post hanc de Licinio victoriam, solus regnabat ad obitum Constantinus, et, quantum poterat, consiliis, institutis, præmiis nitebatur, ut veteres religiones sensim destrueret, christianaque sacra per orbem Romanum proferret. Intelligebat sine dubio Imperator ex Licinii bellis et machinationibus, neque se, neque Romanorum imperium, salvâ veteri superstitione, salvum esse posse; atque hinc ab eo tempore aperte deos, eorumque religionem, tamquam reipublicæ noxiam oppugnabat. Moshem. Inst. p. 146.

[x] Introd. p. xviii.

Constantine [y] died in the year 337, and was succeeded by his sons, between whom the whole empire was divided. Constantine the eldest had Britain, Spain, Gaul, and part of Africa. Constans the youngest had Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, and the parts that border upon the Euxine sea, and the remainder of Africa. Constantius, the second son, had Mysia, Thrace, Asia, the East, and Egypt. Constantine had reigned scarcely three years, when quarrelling with his brother Constans about the division of the empire, he marched with his army as far as Aquileia to encounter him, where he was slain near the end of April in the year 340. In the year 350 Constans was killed by the procurement of the usurper Magnentius, who in the year 353 was overthrown by Constantius, and then killed by himself, to prevent falling alive into Constantius's power, and to avoid a lingering death, after he had reigned three years and a half. Constantius died in the year 361, and was succeeded by Julian.

Now therefore we are to recite the laws of Constantine's sons, relating to the Gentile religion.

1. The first is a law of Constans,[z] with whom Constantius is to be supposed to have joined in the year 341, directed to Madalian, vice-prætorian præfect.

'Let superstition cease; let the madness of sacrificing be 'abolished. For whoever shall presume contrary to the 'constitution of our father, a prince of blessed memory, and 'contrary to this command of our clemency, to offer sacri-'fices, let a proper and convenient punishment be inflicted, 'and execution presently done upon him.'

Here is a reference to some law of Constantine against sacrifices which is not extant. But we may depend upon the truth of what is here said, as it is agreeable to what is said by Eusebius, and Theodoret before quoted, as well as other christian writers, that Constantine did forbid sacrificing. But as the law is not extant, we cannot say exactly what it was, and how it was conceived. It is here enacted, that they who act contrary to this law, 'should undergo a 'proper and convenient punishment, and that execution 'should be presently done.' But it is not said what punishment, whether that of death or some other.

[y] Ibid. p. xix.

[z] Constantis Imp. Lex adversus sacrificia. Ad Madalianum agentem vicem. PF. P. Cesset superstitio. Sacrificiorum aboleatur insania. Nam quicumque contra legem Dei principis parentis nostri, et hanc nostræ mansuetudinis jussionem, ausus fuerit sacrificare, competens in eum vindicta, et præsens, sententia exseratur. Ap. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 2. Tom. 6. p. 261.

2. This law is followed by another law [a] of Constans in the next year, 342, directed to Catulinus, præfect of the city, against demolishing temples, which stood without the walls of the city of Rome.

'Although all superstition ought to be utterly rooted up, 'yet our pleasure is, that the temples without the walls 'should not be destroyed nor defaced. For upon some of 'them is founded the origin of the Circensian, and other 'sports and games, which ought not to be suppressed, that 'the Roman people may still partake in the ancient so-'lemnities and entertainments.'

Some may be apt to think it to be herein implied, that temples in the city might be destroyed, and that the law is designed for the security of such only as were without the walls. Nevertheless the law is not so understood by learned men. 'Of those within the walls,' says Cave, 'there seems 'to have been no question, they being spared, as highly con-'ducing to the splendour and ornament of the city.' So likewise says [b] Gothofred.

Many of the public festivals were in honour of the gods, and they were annually celebrated in memory of the origin, or dedication, of the temples consecrated to them, as is observed by [c] Lactantius. The emperor therefore, it seems, was willing that the people should enjoy their usual diversions and entertainments, but without superstition.

It has been observed by Cave [d] and other learned men, that, encouraged by these laws, Julius Firmicus Maternus wrote about this time, [that is, between the years 340 and 350,] his book De Errore profanarum Religionum, which he dedicated to the two brother emperors; wherein, after having exposed the follies and absurdities of paganism, he addresseth those emperors that they would go on to make a perfect reformation, and by severe laws cut off what did

[a] Constantis Imp. Lex de templis extra muros Urbis Romæ positis non exscindendis. Ad Catulinum. P. U. Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen volumus, ut ædes templorum, quæ extra muros sunt positæ, intactæ incorruptæque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis, vel ludorum, vel Circensium, vel Agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus Populo Romano præbeatur priscarum solennitas voluptatum, l. 3. ubi supr. p. 261.

[b] De templis igitur extramuranis tantum specie hujus legis 3 quærebatur, utrum hæc saltem demolienda essent. Nam de intramuranis quæsitum non fuit; nempe quod in his decor civitatis consisteret. Gothof. Ib. p. 263.

[c] Nam ludorum celebrationes Deorum festa sunt; siquidem ob natales eorum, vel templorum novorum dedicationes sunt instituti. Lact. l. 6. c. 20.

[d] As before, p. xx.

yet remain, that the Roman world might be no longer infected with such pernicious errors and impieties.[e]

From some things in that work of Julius Firmicus it may be concluded, that[f] before that time many temples had been destroyed.

3. The fourth law in the title of the Theodosian Code concerning pagans and sacrifices, and temples, and the first law of Constantius relating thereto, is directed 'to[g] Taurus, 'præfect of the Prætorium, for shutting up the temples, 'and for prohibiting sacrifices.'

'We ordain that in all places, and in all cities, temples be 'immediately shut up, and that all men being forbidden to 'enter therein, all occasion of offending may be taken away 'from desperate men. Our pleasure likewise is that all ab-'stain from sacrifices: if any transgress they are to be put to 'death, and their estates are to be confiscated to the treasury. 'In like manner are to be punished governors of provinces, 'if they neglect to punish such transgressors.'

This law is placed by Gothofred in the year 353.

Agreeable to this Sozomen says: that 'not[h] only Con-'stantine, but his sons likewise forbade sacrifices, and or-'dered the temples to be shut up every where in the cities, 'and in country places:' probably referring to this law.

Gothofred thinks that[i] as this law was directed to Taurus, who was præfect of the Prætorium for Italy, it should be understood to reach no farther: but that does not appear clear to me: for about this time some temples were destroyed in other places and countries. Nor is it, I think, very likely that Sozomen should take such particular notice of a law, which had no effect out of Italy.

[e] An Account of that work of J. Firmicus, with divers observations upon it, may be seen. Vol. iv. ch. lxxviii. [f] Post excidia templorum in majus Dei estis virtute provecti. J. F. p. 463. edit. Gronov. And see in this work, Vol. iv. ch. lxxviii. [g] Constantii prima hoc titulo Lex de Templis occludendis, et sacrificiis prohibendis. Ad Taurum. PF. P. Placuit, omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et, accessu vetitis omnibus, licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore sternatur. Facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari; et similiter adfligi rectores provinciarum, si facinora vindicare neglexerint. Cod. The. l. 16. Tit. x. l. 4. Tom. 6. p. 263.

[h] ——ναεις δε τες πανταχη κειμενες εν πολεσι και αγροις κεκλεισθαι προσεταξαν. Soz. l. 3. c. 17. p. 329. B.

[i] Atqui hæc lex data est ad Taurum PP. Italiæ scilicet, et ad Italiæ præfecturam pertinet: omnia, scilicet, loca atque urbes hac lege sunt, quæ per eam præfecturam, non omnia, quæ Romano Imperio gubernantur, quod non nemo prodidit. Nempe ad inscriptiones suas coarctandæ sunt ita, et ex iis explicandæ leges——Quamquam non nego, hoc ipsum per Ægyptum a Constantio factum. Goth. in l. 5. p. 264.

4. The [k] second law of Constantius of this kind, and also to be placed in the year 353, is directed to Cerealis, præfect of the city.

'Let nocturnal sacrifices be abolished which had been 'allowed by Magnentius.'

This law undoubtedly was issued soon after the death of Magnentius, who, as is supposed, had relaxed the rigour of the laws against the Gentiles: now therefore nocturnal sacrifices were prohibited at Rome.

Gothofred is of opinion that [l] this law was enacted at the request of Cerealis, who was a zealous christian, as he collects from some things said of him by Jerom.

5. The third law of Constantius is against sacrifices, and the worship of images, supposed to be published in the year 356.

'We [m] appoint capital punishment to such as are con- 'victed of performing sacrifices or worshipping images.'

6. In another book and title of the Code we find [n] three laws of the same emperor published in the year 356 or 357, with the penalty of death against all who consulted any of the masters of divination, who are here reckoned up under their several titles of haruspices, mathematicians, chaldæans, harioli, augures, vates, magicians.

These laws, as is supposed, were occasioned by some inquiries of pagans, inconsistent with the public quiet, and the safety of the prince.

These are laws of Constantine's sons and successors; and it must be allowed that there is in them a good deal of severity.

III. We now come in course to the reign of Julian: but his history has been already written by us, in which we have

[k] Constantii secunda adversus nocturna sacrificia Romæ. Ad Cerealem P. U.

Aboleantur sacrificia nocturna; et nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur. Eod. Tit. l. 5. p. 265.

[l] Illud ultimum notari cupio, datam hanc legem ad Cerealem Præfectum Urbis, proculdubio ad ejus suggestionem, quem christianæ religioni addictissimum fuisse credere licet. Sane id satis indicant ea quæ de Cereali hoc memorat Hieronymus, ep. 16. Tom. i. ambitiosius petente Marcellam viduam in uxorem. Gothof. ib. p. 266. [m] Pœnæ capitis subjugari præcipimus eos, quos operam sacrificiis dare, vel colere simulacra constiterit. Eod. Tit. l. 6. p. 266. [n] Nemo haruspicem consulat, aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. Augurum et vatum prava confessio conticescat. Chaldæi ac magi, et cæteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. Etenim supplicium capitis foret gladio ultore prostratus, quicumque jussis obsequium denegaverit. Cod. Theod. lib. 9. Tit. xvi. de Maleficiis. l. 4. Vid. et l. 5. et l. 6. Tom. 3. p. 119—124.

sufficiently shown his zeal for Gentilism, and the treatment given by him to the Christians.

And I suppose that at his accession all the laws of preceding Christian emperors against Gentilism, and its rites, were made void, and abrogated; and that they remained without force, unless they were renewed, or revived by imperial authority.

IV. The fourth section in Cave's introduction is thus entitled: 'In what case Gentilism stood under the reigns of Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens.'

Here it is observable that Gothofred,[o] in the title of Pagans, sacrifices, and temples, puts not down any laws of these three emperors, nor of Gratian, against Gentilism. And, including Julian, this he computes to be the space of five and twenty years from Constantius to Theodosius.

Those emperors were Christians, and they encouraged their people in the profession of the christian religion, and protected them in the enjoyment of the privileges conferred upon them by Constantine. And Sozomen says, particularly of Jovian, that he[p] recommended to all his 'subjects 'throughout the empire the christian religion, as the only 'true religion. And he wrote letters to the governors of 'the provinces, that they should give them full liberty to 'frequent the churches, and worship God devoutly there.' But, as it seems, there were now no new laws issued against Gentile people, and their sacrifices.

In proof of this Gothofred observes several things: one thing alleged by him, is a paragraph of Symmachus, in his petition to the younger Valentinian, where he says: 'Cer-'tainly[q] if we reckon up the princes of each sect, and of 'each opinion, one of your near ancestors [meaning Julian] 'favoured the rites of our fathers: another still nearer in 'time, [meaning Valentinian the first] did not receive them.

[o] Ad Theodosii Magni constitutiones, quæ sex numero hoc titulo occurrunt, puta 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, a Constantio Imp. magno principum et annorum hiatu, [25 sc.] nunc provehimur; nullis Juliani, Joviani, Valentiniani, Valentis, Gratiani, adversus Paganos et sacrificia hunc in titulum relatis—— Hujus vero rei causa hæc est: 'Quia' (verba sunt Symmachi in Relatione ad Valentinianum, hanc in rem singularia:) 'si numerentur hi' (quos modo dixi) 'Principes utriusque sectæ, utriusque sententiæ, proximus eorum cæremonias 'patrum,' (id est, Gentilium) coluit, recentior non removit. Dissimulationem ideo et conniventiam horum posteriorum principum Symmachus laudat; memorat et Ambrosius, lib. 1. et 2. adversus Symmachum. Gothof. ibid. i. T. 6. p. 267.

[p] ——εγραψε τοις ηγεμενοις των εθνων, εν ταις εκκλησιαις αθροιζεσθαι, και το θειον επιμελως θεραπευει και μονην ειναι σεβας τοις αρχομενοις την των χριστιανων πιστιν. Soz. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 640.

[q] See before, note [o].

'If the piety of the former does not afford an example to be 'imitated, however, still let the connivance of the latter be 'of some weight.'

But to be somewhat more particular:

Jovian published a law of universal toleration, for which he was commended by Themistius, as we saw some while[r] ago.

Of Valentinian, Ammianus[s] says, as we have also seen[t] already, 'that he was remarkable for the moderation of his 'government, and that he stood neuter among all the di-'versities of religion, and was troublesome to none. He 'did not require any to follow either this or that; nor did 'he strive by edicts to bend the necks of his subjects to his 'own way of worship, but left things untouched in the con-'dition in which he found them.' A strong testimony of moderation!

And in a law against soothsaying, published by him in the year 371: 'he[u] forbids it no otherwise than as it might 'be hurtful, and openly declares that from the beginning of 'his government, it had been his maxim to let all men fol-'low that way of worship which was best approved by 'them.' Which law conspires completely with the testimony of Ammianus just mentioned, and abundantly confirms it.

And we may here recollect what we formerly saw in[v] Zosimus, 'that Valentinian had forbid nocturnal sacrifices, 'with a view of preventing those enormities which are some-'times committed in those seasons; but upon the remon-'strance of Prætextatus,' as he says, 'the emperor was 'persuaded to let that law lie dormant, as to Greece at 'least.'

And agreeably to our present argument, Cave[w] says: 'the Gentiles for the main had enjoyed the peaceable exer-'cise of their religion for many years, having met with little 'or no interruption in it since the times of Constantius. 'And for the first two years of Theodosius, almost wholly 'taken up with wars, their temples were open, and they had 'the freedom of their rites and ceremonies.'

[r] See before, vol. viii. ch. xlviii. sect. ii. [s] Amm. l. 30. cap. ix. p. 660.

[t] See vol. viii. ch. li. sect. ii. 16. [u] Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum causis habere consortium judico; neque ipsam, aut aliquam præterea concessam a majoribus religionem, genus arbitror esse criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ, quibus 'unicuique, quod animo 'imbibisset, colendi libera facultas' tributa est. Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus. Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 16. De Maleficiis et Mathematicis, &c. l. ix. T. 3. p. 128. [v] See before, p. 109.

[w] See his Introduction, as before, p. lix. where he also refers to Zosimus, l. 4. p. 455.

It may be also not improper to put down here the general observations of Pagi upon this period, and the state of Gentilism at this time. 'During[x] the reign of Constantine,' says he, 'the Gentiles had liberty, either in whole, or in 'part, to celebrate publicly the rites and solemnities of their 'religion. And upon the restoration of the christian reli-'gion after Julian, in the time of Valentinian the elder, the 'Pagans enjoyed great liberty. They still had their own 'opinion, their own rites, their temples, and the solemnities 'belonging to them. And in the beginning of the reign of 'Theodosius, for some while they enjoyed the privilege of 'sacrificing, till the year 391, in which Valentinian the 'younger, with the advice of Theodosius, forbade at Rome 'and Italy the offering of victims and sacrifices, entrance 'into temples, and the worship of images: as may be seen 'in the eleventh law in the Theodosian Code concerning 'Pagans, which was issued at Milan.'

So Pagi. But instead of the eleventh law in that title, I suppose he meant the tenth: for the eleventh law in that title relates to Egypt.

V. We are now in the next place to observe the laws of Theodosius, and succeeding emperors against the Gentiles.

1. In the year 381 was issued a law of Theodosius, with the joint authority of Gratian, and the younger Valentinian, against apostates, 'that[y] they who apostatized from christi-'anity to Paganism should lose the power of making a will.'

This, as Gothofred[z] says, is the first law of the kind that ever was enacted by a christian emperor. However, this law[a] was afterwards ratified, and followed by other laws of

[x] Imperante Constantino Magno, licuit adhuc Gentilibus sua solennia vel in totum vel in partem publice agitare. Reparatâ dein post Julianum Apostatam christianiâ religione sub Valentiniano seniore, sua quoque Paganis sententia, sui ritus, templaque, et templorum solennia relicta fuere. Theodosio demum imperante, et sacrificia aliquamdiu exercere licuit, ad annum Christi 391, quo Valentinianus junior Theodosii M. consilio Romæ et in Italiâ sacrificia hostiarum seu victimarum, templorumque ingressum et simulacrorum cultum prohibuit, lege xi. Cod. Theod. de Paganis, eo anno Mediolani emissâ, et in Annalibus a Baronio memoratâ. Pagi ann. 386. num. vii.

[y] His qui ex christianis Pagani facti sunt, eripiatur facultas jusque testandi. Omne defuncti, si quod est testamentum, submotâ conditione rescindatur. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. De Apostatis, l. 1. Tom. 6. p. 203.

[z] Inquies, nullæne ergo ante Theodosium Magnum in hoc genus apostatarum, qui ex christianis Pagani facti fuissent, ab Imperatoribus constitutiones promulgatæ fuerunt? Nullæ, inquam, mihi occurrunt. Et Theodosius Magnus, ni fallor, primus Imperatorum christianorum eos constitutionibus insectatus est, &c. Goth. Tom. 6. p. 203.

[a] Vid. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. de Apostatis, l. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Theodosius the Great, Valentinian the younger, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius the second, with the addition of other clauses, so that the friends and kindred of apostates might have no benefit of inheritance.

2. In the same year with the first law before mentioned, [that is, in the year 381,] and by the same authority of Gratian, Valentinian the younger, and Theodosius, was enacted 'a law [b] forbidding all sacrifices in the way of divi-'nation, either by day or by night, either in the temples or 'elsewhere, upon the pain of proscription. And it is there 'added: "that God is to be worshipped with pure and 'chaste prayers, not with profane charms and incantations."'

It is allowed [c] by Cave, and other learned men, that by this law no other sacrifices are forbidden, but such as were performed in the way of divination, and for discovering futurities, and especially such as related to the state, and public affairs.

However, upon occasion of this, and perhaps some other like subsequent laws, Zosimus complained that 'the [d] tem-'ples in the city and the country were attacked, and that 'men might no longer lift up their eyes to heaven, or pay 'their devotions to the things therein, without danger of 'their heads.'

3. In the year 382 was published another law of Theodosius, concerning [e] a magnificent 'temple in the province of 'Osrhoene, or Edessa, as is supposed, which was adorned 'with many statues, and of curious workmanship, allowing 'that it should be open, and be frequented, provided no 'sacrifices were performed there.'

It is supposed that [f] this temple had been shut up, but now, at the earnest request of some, and for avoiding too much offence, it was allowed to stand open.

[b] Si quis vetitis sacrificiis, diurnis nocturnisque, velut væsanus ac sacrilegus incertorum consultorum, inmiserit, fanumque sibi aut templum ad hujusmodi sceleris excusationem adsumendum crediderit, vel pulsaverit adeundum, proscriptioni se noverit subjugandum; cum nos justâ institutione moneamus, castis Deum precibus, non diris carminibus profanandum. lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 7. Tom. 6. p. 266.

[c] Introduction. p. lx.

[d] Vid. Zos. l. 4. p. 758.

[e] Ædem olim frequentiæ dedicatam, cœtui etiam, populoque communem, in quâ simulchra feruntur posita, artis pretio quam divinitate metienda, jugiter patere, publici consilii auctoritate decernimus——Experientia tua, omni votorum celebritate servatâ, auctoritate nostri ita patere templum permittat oraculis, ne illic prohibitorum usus sacrificiorum, hujus occasionis aditus permissus esse credatur. Lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 8. Tom. 6. p. 268.

[f] De quo tamen in consilio ejus [nempe Theodosii] dubitatum fuerat: nonnullis contendentibus, occludi oportere, duobus argumentis——Verum contra contendentibus, aliis, ac nominatim Gentilibus, quorum magnus tum in Palatio seu comitatu Theodosii Magni numerus erat. Goth. T. 6. p. 268.

However, this temple, as it seems, had been destroyed before Libanius composed his oration for the temples. It is supposed that [g] he complains of it in one part of his oration.

4. In the year 385 was [h] published another law of Theodosius, 'forbidding sacrifices, especially such as were made 'in the way of divination, and for discovering futurities, 'upon pain of death.'

This law is addressed to Cynegius, præfect of the Prætorium in the East. And it must be understood to prohibit sacrifices in Egypt, at least in the way of divination.

Libanius may refer to this law, when he says in the above-mentioned oration, that sacrifices were forbidden, but not incense; which was done soon after this, in a law published in the year 392, as we shall see presently.

5. In the year 391 'was [i] published a law of Theodosius, 'in which all sacrifices of innocent victims, and access to 'the temples, and the worship of senseless images, are pro-'hibited.'

This law was particularly designed for Rome and Italy. This is the law to which Pagi referred in the paragraph cited from him some while ago. It is allowed by Gothofred [k] also, that all these things are here absolutely forbidden by this law of Theodosius, and the younger Valentinian. And [l] it is considered by him, as well as by Pagi, as the first law of the kind since Constantius.

6. In the same year, 391, a like [m] law was published by Theodosius for Egypt, 'forbidding sacrifices and access to

[g] Vide pro Templis. Or. p. 27, &c.

[h] Si quis mortalium ita faciendi sacrificii sumat audaciam, ut inspectione jecoris, extorumque præsagio vanæ spem promissionis accipiat, vel, quod est deterius, futura exsecrabili consultatione cognoscat. Acerbioris etenim imminebit supplicii cruciatus eis, qui, contra vetitum, præsentium vel futurorum explorare tentaverint veritatem. Lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 9. T. 6. p. 270.

[i] Nemo se hostiis polluat, nemo insontem victimam cædat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perlustret, et mortali opere formata simulacra suspiciat; ne divinis atque humanis sanctionibus reus fiat. Ibid. l. x. T. 6. p. 27.

[k] Sacrificia hostiarum seu victimarum, templorumque ingressus, simulacrorum denique cultus hac constitutione, anno D. 391, prorsus inhibentur, Goth. T. 6. p. 272.

[l] Ergo hâc primum post Constantinum, Constantem, et Constantium, Valentiniani Jun. constitutione sacrificia Romæ atque in Italiâ prohibita. Quæ paullo ante hanc legem Romæ stetisse Libanius diserte testatur in oratione, quam edidi, *ὑπερ των ἱερων*, quæ scripta est A. D. 387. [forte 391.] Goth. ibid

[m] Theodosii M. quinta hoc titulo lex per Egyptum: Quo sacrificia, aditusque templorum interdicuntur. Euagrio PF. Aug. et Romano Com. Egypt. Nulli sacrificandi tribuatur potestas: nemo templa circumeat: nemo delubra suscipiat; interclusos sibi nostræ legis obstaculo profanos aditus recognoscant; adeo ut, si quis vel de Diis aliquid, contra vetitum, sacrisque molietur nullis exuendum se indulgentiis recognoscat, &c. Eod. Tit. l. xi. T. 6. p. 272.

temples.' The execution of this law is referred to Euagrius præfect, and Romanus count of Egypt. Soon after which followed the demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

7. In the year 392 was published a severe law of Theodosius, directed to Rufinus, præfect of the Prætorium, forbidding to men of all ranks every kind of heathenish worship.

'Let[n] no man, of what order, rank, or quality soever he 'may be——presume in any place, or any city, to offer but 'an harmless sacrifice to senseless images, or pay any adora- 'tion to his genius, or household gods, by offerings of wine, 'setting up lights, burning frankincense, hanging up gar- 'lands to them. And if any man shall dare to offer a sacri- 'fice, or consult the reeking entrails, let it be lawful for 'any one to accuse him, and being found guilty, let him 'receive sentence accordingly, as in cases of high treason, 'although it should appear that he did not herein consult 'any thing against the life of his prince, or make any in- 'quiries at all about it. For it is enough to aggravate the 'greatness of his crime, that he would rescind the laws of

[n] Nullus omnino, ex quolibet genere, ordine hominum, dignitatum, vel in potestate positus, vel honore perfunctus, sive potens sorte nascendi seu humilis genere, conditione, fortunâ, in nullo penitus loco, in nullâ urbe, sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam cædat, vel secretiore piaculo, Larem, ignem, Genium, Penates nidore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat thura, serta suspendat. II. Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit, aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum majestatis reus, licitâ cunctis accusatione, delatus, excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem Principum, aut de salute quæsierit. Sufficit enim ad criminis molem, naturæ ipsius leges velle rescindere, illicita perscrutari, occulta recludere, interdicta tentare, finem quærere salutis alienæ, spem alieni interitûs polliceri. III. Si quis vero mortali opere facta, et ævum passura simulacra imposito thure venerabitur, ac (ridiculo exemplo metuens subito quæ ipse simulaverit) vel redimitâ vittis arbore, vel erectâ effossis arâ cespitibus vanas imagines, humiliore licet muneris præmio tamen plenâ religionis injuriâ, honorare tentaverit, is, utpote violatæ religionis reus, eâ, domo seu possessione mulctabitur, in quâ eum gentilitiâ constiterit superstitione famulatum. Namque omnia loca, quæ thuris constiterit vapore fumâsse, (si tamen ea in jure fuisse thurificantium probabuntur,) fisco nostro adsocianda censemus. IV. Sin vero in templis fanisve publicis, aut in ædibus, agrisve alienis, tale quispiam sacrificandi genus exercere tentaverit, si ignorante domino usurpata constiterit, xxv. librarum auri mulctæ nomine cogetur inferre; conniventem vero huic sceleri par ac sacrificantem pœna retinebit. Quod quidem ita per Judices ac Defensores, et Curiales singularum urbium, volumus custodiri ut illico per hos comperta in judicium deferantur: per illos delata plectantur. Si quid autem ii tegendum gratiâ, aut incuriâ prætermittendum esse crediderint, commotioni judiciariæ subjacebunt. Illi vero moniti, si vindictam dissimulatione distulerint, xxx. librarum auri dispendio mulctabuntur: Officiis quoque eorum damno parili subjugandis Dat. vi. Id. Nov. CP. Arcadio A. II. et Rufino Coss. [392.] Eod. Tit. l. xii. T. 6. p. 273, 274.

'nature, search into things unlawful, disclose what is secret, 'attempt what is prohibited, inquire into another's fate, and 'give hopes of his death or ruin. But if any man shall burn 'incense to a corruptible image, the work of men's hands, 'and by a ridiculous example honour that which himself has 'just now framed, and shall by crowning the stock with 'garlands, or by erecting an altar of turfs, do what he can, 'though but in a mean way, yet a way highly injurious to 'religion, to pay worship to senseless images: let him, as a 'person guilty of the violation of religion, be punished with 'the loss of that house or field wherein it shall be proved 'that he practised such pagan superstition. For it is our 'judgment that all places wherein it shall appear that in-'cense has been burned (provided they be legally proved 'to be the persons that did it) ought to be confiscated to 'our treasury. But if it shall so happen that the place 'where such a kind of sacrifice has been performed be a 'public temple, or consecrated chapel, or another man's 'house or ground, if it appear that it was done without the 'knowledge of the owner, let him be fined in the sum of 'xxv. pounds of gold: and let him that connives at it, and 'conceals it, be fined in the same sum with him who sacri-'ficeth. And our pleasure is, that this be so observed by 'the judges, defensors, and curiales of every city, that the 'officers having discovered any fact, shall immediately bring 'it before the judges: and they shall forthwith see to the 'execution of the penalty. But if the defensors and curiales 'shall conceal any thing through favour, or carelessness, 'they shall be punished by the judges: and if the judges, 'after information received from the officers, shall take no 'notice of it, or defer punishment, they shall be fined in 'the sum of xxx. pounds of gold: and their officers shall 'be liable to the same penalty.' 'Given at Constan-'tinople, the eighth day of November: Arcadius being 'the second time, and Rufinus consuls:' that is, in the year 392.

That is a prolix edict; I once intended to abridge it, and make remarks: but now I have transcribed it at length, almost entire, that my readers may themselves make remarks. This law of Theodosius is inserted at length in an English version by Cave in his [o] Introduction: of which version I also made some use.

8. In the year 399 was published by Arcadius a law for destroying temples in country places.

[o] P. lxvii. lxviii.

'If[p] there are any temples in the fields, let them be de-
'stroyed without noise and tumult. For these being thrown
'down, and taken away, all occasion of superstition will be
'removed.'

I do not take all the imperial laws issued about this time, relating to Gentile worship. I omit several.

9. By a law of Theodosius the younger, in the year 316: 'They[q] who are polluted with the profane error of Gentilism 'are excluded from military power, and judicial authority.'

10. In the year 423 is a law of the same Theodosius to this purpose: 'Let[r] the laws already enacted have their full 'force upon the Pagans that remain: though we rather think 'that there are none left.'

11. Again, in the same year: 'If[s] any of the Pagans that 'remain are found offering execrable sacrifices to dæmons, 'let them be punished with banishment and confiscation of 'goods, though they ought to suffer capital punishment.'

12. In the year 326 was promulgated another law of the same Theodosius, and very severe: 'forbidding[t] all Pagan 'oblations and sacrifices, ordering their chapels, temples, 'and consecrated places, if any yet remained, to be destroyed 'by the authority of the magistrate: or that they should be 'expiated by placing in them the venerable sign of the 'christian religion. And if any are convicted before a 'competent judge of having sacrificed contrary to this law, 'they are to suffer death.'

Theodoret, who lived in the time of this emperor, and concluded his history at the year of Christ 429, says, that 'he[u] commanded all the temples of idols which yet re-'remained to be destroyed to the foundation, that they who

[p] Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turbâ ac tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis atque sublatis, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur. Eod. Tit. l. 16. Tom. 6. p. 283.

[q] Qui profano Pagani ritûs errore seu crimine polluuntur hoc est Gentiles, nec ad militiam admittantur, nec administratoris vel judicis honore decorentur. Eod. Tit. l. 21. T. 6. p. 293.

[r] Paganos, qui supersunt, quamquam jam nullos esse credamus, promulgatarum legum jamdudum præscripta compescant. Eod. Tit. l. 22. T. 6. p. 294.

[s] Paganos, qui supersunt, si aliquando in exsectandis dæmonum sacrificiis fuerint comprehensi, quamvis capitali pœnâ subdi debuerint, bonorum proscriptione et exilio coerceri. Eod. Tit. l. 23. T. 6. p. 294.

[t] Omnibus sceleratæ mentis Paganæ exsecrandis hostiarum immolationibus, damandisque sacrificiis, caterisque antiquarum sanctionum auctoritate prohibitis, interdicimus. Cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratuum destrui, conlocationeque venerandæ christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus; scientibus universis, si quem huic legi apud competentem judicem idoneis probationibus inlusisse constiterit, eum morte esse mulctandum. Eod. Tit. l. 25. T. 6. p. 296.

[u] Ταυτα δε ἑνεκα και αυτα των ειδωλικων σηκων τα λειπομενα, εκ βαθρων ανασπασθηναι προσεταξεν, ὡστε τας μεθ' ἡμας εσομενας μηδε ιχνος της προτερας ἑξαπατης θεασασθαι. Theod. l. 5. cap. 37. p. 243.

'shall live after us may not see so much as the traces of the 'former ancient error.'

13. Nevertheless after all, Gentilism still subsisted, though their temples, for the most part, had been long since shut up, or destroyed. For there is a severe law of Valentinian the third, and Marcian, in the year 451: 'forbidding [v] all hea-'then sacrifices, and oblations of frankincense and wine, and 'adorning images with garlands, and all the rites of the an-'cient superstition in general.' I put below [w] Pagi's observations upon this law.

I recite here no more laws of christian emperors relating to Gentilism. It is a dull part of my work: but I thought it incumbent on me not to omit it entirely, that my readers may be able to judge for themselves concerning this point, as well as others. Some more like laws may come before us hereafter, and be mentioned occasionally.

And now some will be disposed to make observations upon what we have just seen.

1. The period of twenty years, or five-and-twenty years, as it is sometimes called by learned men, from the death of Constantius, to the accession of Theodosius, or thereabout, when the Gentiles were treated with much mildness, and few laws were issued against them, is remarkable.

2. Possibly we here see the ground of the great animosity of Zosimus, and other Gentile writers, against Constantine and Theodosius above all other christian emperors. Constantine was the first of the Roman emperors who forsook Gentilism, and embraced christianity. And in the latter part of his reign divers heathen temples were destroyed, and sacrifices were forbidden: which law against sacrificing subsisted in force under his sons; who likewise issued divers severe laws against the Gentiles. And again, after the interval of the reign of Julian, and a season of great mildness and moderation under his immediate successors, in the reign of Theodosius, old laws against Gentilism were revived, and more added to them. And the conduct of Theodosius was imitated by his sons, and their successors after them. These things may have occasioned the great animosity of Gentile writers against the two fore-mentioned emperors.

5. I think it must be allowed that the laws against Gen-

[v] Ap. Baron. ann. 451. num. 161, 162. [w] Denique Gentilismi reliquiæ in totum suppressæ anno 451 edicto Valentiniani III. et Marciani, ut legere est eo anno in Annalibus numero ult. Pagi ann. 389. xv.

tilism which I have just rehearsed, were not rigorously executed. But of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

SECTION II.

A CONSULTATION AND DIVINATION OF HEATHEN PEOPLE IN THE TIME OF VALENS, ABOUT THE YEAR 373.

I. *An account of it from Ammianus and other writers.* II. *Remarks upon their accounts, and a vindication of Valens from the charge of excessive cruelty.* III. *The history and character of the philosopher Maximus, favourite of the emperor Julian, who now suffered death.*

I. In the year [a] 373 or [b] 374, whilst Valens was at Antioch, a discovery was made of a consultation which some Gentiles had together, for finding out the name of the person who should succeed the emperor: there are accounts of it in several of our ecclesiastical historians, and in divers heathen authors, particularly Ammianus Marcellinus, who is the fullest of all, and was then in the East, and possibly at Antioch.

'When [c] the affair was brought before Modestus, præfect 'of the prætorium, Palladius being put upon the rack,' as Ammianus says, 'declared that Fidustius, who had been in 'the office of a president, and Pergamius and Irenæus, had 'tried by secret arts to find out the name of him who was to 'succeed Valens in the empire. Fidustius happened to be

[a] Pagi ann. 370. n. xxxi. Vid. et 371. iii. 372. vi. Basn. ann. 373. n. ii.

[b] Tillem. Valens. art. xiv. xv.

[c] ——et Antiochiam Imperator Romanus ingressus. Qui dum ibi moratur, securus interim hostium externorum, intestinis pene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet series relata gestorum ——Jussusque Palladius docere fidenter quæ noverat, rudentem explicuit immensum; adfirmans, Fidustium Præsidialem, et cum Irenæo Pergamium nomen imperaturi post Valentem detestandis præsagiis didicisse secretim. Et correptus Fidustius illico (namque aderat forte) occulteque inductus, viso indice, nullâ infitiatione adumbrare jam publicata conatus, rei totius calamitosum aperit textum; absolute confessus, se cum Hilario et Patritio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio consuluisse futuro: motasque secretis artibus sortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consultoribus luctuosos exitus prædixisse. Atque cunctantibus, quisnam eâ tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis omnibus excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et erat reverà ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus, &c. Ammian. l. 29. cap. i. ii. p. 596, 597. ed. Gronov. 4to. 1693.

'present; and being laid hold of he did not deny the 'charge, but confessed that he, with Hilary and Patritius, 'was well skilled in the art of divination: moreover Hilary 'had a military post at court, and had inquired after a suc- 'cessor in the empire. They soon discovered that he would 'be an excellent prince, and that his name was Theodorus, 'meaning him who was then second in the secretaries' office; 'and was a person of a good family, well educated, and 'commendable for many virtues.'

The confessions made by Patritius and Hilary, upon farther examination, are particularly related by Ammianus after this manner:

'A[d] tripod made of laurel was artificially prepared, and 'consecrated with certain prescribed secret charms and in- 'vocations. It was then placed in the middle of a room, 'perfumed with Arabian spices. The charger upon which 'it was set had upon its utmost brim the four-and-twenty 'letters of the alphabet, neatly engraved, and set at due 'distances from each other: then a person, clad in linen 'vestments, with linen socks upon his feet, and a suitable 'covering upon his head, came in with laurel branches in 'his hands, and after some mystic charms performed, shaked 'a ring hanging at a curtain about the edge of the charger, 'which jumping up and down fell upon such and such let-

[d] Inducti itaque Patritius et Hilarius, ordinemque explicare jussi gestorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, inlato tripode quo utebantur, adacti ad summas angustias, aperiunt negotii fidem ab ipsis exordiis replicatam. Et prior Hilarius: Construximus, inquit, magnifici judices, ad cortinæ similitudinem Delphicæ diris auspiciis de laureis virgulis infaustam hanc mensulam quam videtis: et imprecationibus carminum secretorum, choragiisque multis ac diuturnis ritualiter consecratam movimus tandem. Movendi autem, quoties super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis. Collocabatur in medio domûs emaculata odoribus Arabibus undique lance rotundâ pure superpositâ, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefactâ; cujus in ambitu rotunditatis extremo elementorum viginti quatuor scriptiles formæ incitæ perite, disjungebantur spatiis examinare dimensis. Hac linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque itidem linteis soccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felicis arboris gestans litato conceptis carminibus numine præscitiorum auctore, cæremoniali scientiâ superstitit: cortinulis, pensilem annulum librans, sartum ex Carpathio filo perquam levi mysticis disciplinis initiatum; qui per intervalla distincta retinentibus singulis literis incidens saltuatim, heroas efficit versus interrogantibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos; quales leguntur Pythici, vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. Ibi tum quærentibus nobis, qui præsenti succedet imperio, quoniam omni ex parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et adsiliens annulus duas perstrinxerat syllabas ΘΕΟ, cum adjectione literæ postremâ, exclamavit præsentium quidam, Theodorum præscribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra negotio est exploratum. Satis enim apud nos constabat, hunc esse qui poscebatur. Cumque totius rei notitiam ita signate super oculis judicum subjecisset, adjecit benevole, id Theodorum penitus ignorare. Ammian. ibid. p. 601, 602.

'ters of the alphabet where it seemed to stay; the priest 'also then composing certain heroic verses in answer to the 'interrogatories that had been proposed. The letters which 'the ring pointed out in this case were four; ΘΕΟΔ, which 'being put together composed these two syllables, THEOD, 'whereupon one that stood by presently cried out that the 'oracle plainly intended Theodorus. Nor did we make 'any farther inquiries, being all well satisfied that he was 'the person intended.'

Ammianus then adds, that 'when the whole affair had 'been thus distinctly laid before the judges, the deponent 'Hilary subjoined that Theodorus himself had no concern 'in it, being totally ignorant of this proceeding.'

I have taken [e] Cave's translation of this deposition, making but little alteration in it. The words of Ammianus are at the bottom of the page, to be read by such as are so disposed. An exact literal translation would be very difficult. But certainly this history is very curious, and well deserving to be attended to.

Zonaras [f] gives a different account of the method of divination now made use of, He says, that 'the four-and-'twenty letters of the alphabet were written upon the ground, 'and at each one was placed a grain of wheat or barley: 'then after some mystic forms, a cock was let out which 'picked up such grains as lay at those four letters.' But it is much more reasonable to rely upon Ammianus, who was contemporary, and likely to be well informed. His account also is agreeable to that in [g] Sozomen, and [h] Zosimus, who have both mentioned the tripod.

All the ancient writers who speak of this transaction, represent the public executions made upon this occasion as very severe and cruel. Ammianus has mentioned several of the sufferers. 'Eutropius, [i] proconsul of Asia, was

[e] See his Introduction, as before, p. liv.

[f] Zon. Ann. T. 3. p. 28.

[g] Sozom. l. 6. cap. 35. p. 693. C.

[h] Zos. p. 743. in.

[i] Quibus post hæc cognita sequestratis, Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tunc obtinens potestate, ut factionis conscius arcessitus in crimen, abscessit innocuus——His accessit philosophus Simonides, adolescens ille quidem, verum nostrâ memoriâ severissimus. Qui cum audîsse negotium per Fidustium deferretur, et causam non ex veritate, sed ex unius nutu pensari vidisset didicisse se dixit prædicta, et commissa pro firmitate animi tacuisse——Ducti universi flebiliter jugulantur, præter Simonidem, quem solum sævus ille sententiæ lator efferatus ob constantiam gravem jussit flammis exuri. Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans rabidam, ridens solitas momentorum ruinas, immobilis conflagravit; Peregrinum illum imitatus, Protea cognomine, philosophum clarum, qui, cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiæ quinquennali certamine sub Græciæ conspectu totius, adscenso rogo, quem ipse construxit, flammis absumtus est. Et post hunc diebus secutis omnium

'accused as an accomplice, but at length was acquitted.— 'The person next mentioned by Ammianus is Simonides, 'whom he calls a philosopher. He says he was a young 'man of strict virtue: when he was accused he acknow- 'ledged that he had been acquainted with the consultation, 'but did not think himself obliged to betray a secret with 'which he had been entrusted: however, he was condemned 'to be burnt alive: whose fortitude in undergoing that 'death is here extolled and celebrated by Ammianus, in a 'high degree. And he is compared to Peregrinus, a well- 'known philosopher, who had burnt himself at the Olympic 'games in the sight of all Greece. After him many others 'were put to death in a cruel manner, and in different ways. 'And heaps of books were brought forth and consumed in 'the fire, which had been sought for, and collected from 'many houses, as illicit: though many of them were works 'relating to the liberal sciences, and others were law-books; 'but they were brought out and burnt in public view, in 'the presence of the judges, to mollify the resentment of 'people at so numerous executions. And not long after, 'the philosopher Maximus, who was so celebrated for his 'learning, by whom the emperor Julian had been instruct- 'ed, and from whom he had received much improvement, 'was accused of having been acquainted with the above- 'mentioned oracle: which he did not deny, but said he did 'not think himself obliged to divulge it. However, he had

fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recensere est arduum——Deinde congesti innumeri codices, acervi voluminum multi conspectu judicum concremati sunt, ex domibus eruti variis, uti illiciti, ad leniendam cæsorum invidiam; cum essent plerique liberalium disciplinarum indices variarum, et juris. Neque ita multo post Maximus ille philosophus, vir ingenti nomine doctrinarum, cujus ex uberrimis sermonibus ad sapientiam copiosus Julianus extitit Imperator, oraculi supra dicti versus vidisse insimulatus, seque comperisse adsensus, sed reticendâ professionis consideratione non effudisse, verum ultro prædixisse, consultores ipsos suppliciis pœnalibus perituros; Ephesum ad genuinam patriam ductus, ibique capite truncatus, sensit, docente periculo postremo, quæsitoris iniquitatem omnibus esse criminibus graviorem. Constrictus etiam Diogenes laqueis impiæ falsitatis, vir nobili prosapiâ editus, ingenio, facundiâ forensi, suavitateque præstans, dudum Bithyniæ rector, ut opimum patrimonium ejus diriperetur, capitali est pœnâ adfectus. Ecce autem Alypius quoque ex Vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo jucundæ post otiosum et repositam vitam [quoniam hucusque injustitia tetenderat manus) in squalore maximo volutatus, ut veneficii reus citatus est, cum Hierocle filio, adolescente indolis bonæ, urgente Diogene quodam et vili et solo, omnique laniena excruciato, ut verba placentia Principi, vel potius arcessitori, loquerctur: quo, cum pœnis non sufficerent, vivo exusto, ipse quoque Alypius post multationem bonorum exsulare præceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem, casu quodam prospero revocatum excepit. Ammian. l. 29. c. i p. 604, 605.

'told the persons concerned, that they would all suffer ex-
'quisite punishments. He was sent to Ephesus, his native
'place, and was there beheaded; and now found, by his own
'experience, what it is to fall into the hands of an unjust
'judge. Diogenes was falsely accused, who some while
'before had been governor of Bithynia. He was a man of
'a noble family, ingenious, skilful in the law, a good
'pleader, and of a mild temper: he was condemned to
'die for the sake of his great estate. Then Alypius,
'vicar of Britain, who had now lived long in a private
'station, and was a man of an amiable character, was taken
'up, and with his son Hierocles, a youth of an excellent dis-
'position, was accused of magical practices. But it was
'upon the sole testimony of one Diogenes, a very mean per-
'son. However Alypius, after having been first deprived
'of his estate, was only banished: the son, when they were
'having him out to death, was happily saved.' So writes Ammianus.

Zosimus likewise has briefly given an account of the consultation with the tripod, which pointed out Theodorus as successor to Valens. 'The cause,' he says, 'was brought
'before Modestus, præfect of the prætorium.[k] Many were
'accused; the prisons were full; and great numbers of
'people fled from their habitations. The emperor was
'greatly provoked; he became suspicious of all who pro-
'fessed philosophy, or were at all distinguished for litera-
'ture, or had places at court. At this time was put to
'death that great philosopher Maximus, as also Hilary of
'Phrygia, as having given a clearer explication of an obscure
'oracle; Simonides, Patritius of Lydia, Andronicus of
'Caria: who were all eminent for learning, and suffered
'rather through envy, than for any just accusation brought
'against them.'

Eunapius likewise complains of the great numbers of men who were then put to death promiscuously, innocent and guilty: and among them the great philosopher Maximus, who had been told of the consultation, and did not divulge it. 'But[l] at the same time that he was informed of it, he
'told them that they had thereby ruined him. He foretold
'also the death of the conspirators, and many others, and
'also the death of the emperor himself, and that it should
'be in an uncommon manner, and without burial: all which
'came to pass. As for Maximus he was sent for, and brought
'to Antioch, where the emperor was. But not thinking fit

[k] Zos. l. 4. p. 743, 744

[l] Eunap. de Vitâ Maximi, p. 88.

'to punish him there, they sent him to Ephesus, where 'was Festus, the governor of Asia, a man of a most cruel 'disposition, who after executing many others, guilty and 'innocent, put to death also the great Maximus.'

Of this also Libanius complains, saying they[m] would not wait for the death of Maximus till distemper put an end to his life.

Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, having given an account of this convention and divination, says: 'And[n] the 'emperor neglecting the precepts of christianity, for which 'he professed great zeal, put many to death, whom he sus- 'pected of a design to seize the empire. And now were 'destroyed many who went by the name of Theodorus, The- 'odotus, Theodosius, Theodulus, and others, whose names 'had a like beginning: among them was one Theodosiolus, 'a worthy man of good family in Spain: and at that time 'many changed their names, and rejected the names given 'them by their parents, because of the imminent danger 'they were in.'

Tillemont, giving an account of this transaction, remarks upon Socrates after this manner: 'Socrates[o] says that this 'was the occasion of the death of Theodosiolus, or Theodo- 'sius, a nobleman of Spain, and a man of virtue. It is hard 'to believe that he did not intend the count Theodosius, 'unjustly executed at Carthage in the year 376. It was 'indeed for other reasons: but the people, who are always 'making conjectures, and oftentimes wrong, may have be- 'lieved that it was for having aspired to empire, and because 'of his name; which would be sufficient ground for adding 'afterwards all the rest.' Valesius himself,[p] in his notes upon Socrates, has the same thought: though he does not make it out so clearly as Tillemont. Pagi[q] was of the same opinion, and has showed it as clearly as Tillemont; and therefore he also may be consulted.

Sozomen, giving an account of the same consultation, and the great displeasure of the emperor thereupon, says, 'that[r] throughout the whole empire almost all who were

[m] ——δεισαντα μετα ταυτα ὑστερον, μη φθαση τον εκεινε σιδηρον η νοσος απενεγκασα τον Μαξιμον. Liban. de Vitâ suâ, p. 52.

[n] Socrat. l. 4. cap. 19.

[o] Tillem. Valens, art. xv. p. 183, 184.

[p] Quisnam sit hic Theodosius, incertum est. Neque enim Theodosium illum existimo, Theodosii Imperatoris patrem, de quo Ammianus Marcellinus loquitur passim in libris suis——Verba tamen illa, quæ, addit Socrates, ανηρ γενναιος εκ των ευπατριδων Ἰσπανιας, optime illi conveniunt. Vales. in Socratis locum.

[q] A. D. 373. num. v.

[r] Παραπλησιως δε δια την αυτην αιτιαν διεφθαρησαν και οἱ ανα πασαν την αρχομενην λαμπρως φιλοσοφουντες. κ. λ. Sozom l. 6. cap. 35. p. 694. A.

'eminent for philosophy were destroyed, and not only they, 'but many other men of letters likewise; so that it was 'dangerous for any to wear a fringed garment. And such 'was the madness of the emperor, that he seemed to think 'he could kill his successor; and therefore not only they 'were put to death who had consulted the oracle, but they 'also about whom the consultation was made; insomuch 'that, as is said, he spared not those whose names began 'with those four letters, ΘΕΟΔ, of which there were many 'others, and men of great eminence in the empire.'

Sozomen therefore speaks not quite so positively as Socrates, and yet allows himself to harangue upon it: but the truth of this I suppose may be called in question. Tillemont observes, and, as seems to me, both candidly and judiciously, that 'since[s] neither Ammianus nor Zosimus 'accuse Valens of so unreasonable and odious a cruelty, 'there is at least reason to doubt whether he was guilty 'of it.'

And again, afterwards: 'If[t] indeed he did put to death 'several persons because they bore the name of Theodorus, 'or other names resembling it, nothing is more unjust, nor 'less reasonable.' I would add, that not only Ammianus and Zosimus, but Eunapius also, and Libanius, are silent about this particular. And farther, among the many persons whom they or others mention, as put to death or as accused upon this occasion, there is not one whose name begins with these letters, excepting only Theodorus himself, the principal person[u] concerned: there is no ground therefore for the observation of Sozomen, and divers others of late times, who have ridiculed Valens as if he aimed to kill his successor.

II. I have already enlarged in this history, and, as some may think, to prolixity: and yet it remains that I make some farther remarks upon what appears to me a very curious relation; and I the rather think myself obliged to it, because it is placed by me in 'The State of Gentilism under Christian Emperors.' And I have here an opportunity to show the temper and principles of Gentile people at this time; and particularly the principles of their learned men, as well as others.

1. In the first place, then, it seems to me somewhat strange that neither Ammianus, nor Zosimus, nor any other ancient writer, should exactly mention the place or the time of this

[s] L'Emp. Valens, art. xv. p. 183. [t] Ibid. p. 386.

[u] There is one exception only, which is Theodosiolus, by mistake mentioned by Socrates, as has been shown.

consultation, which made so much noise in the world. Valens, as is observed by several of those writers, was at Antioch when the discovery was made; and there the criminals were tried before Modestus, and other magistrates; but none have said that the consultation was at Antioch, or at some other place not far from it. Nor is the time exactly mentioned; possibly, it was not long before the discovery: and yet it seems to have been known to several before the judicial proceedings were begun, or any inquiries made about it by the magistrates.

I. To me it seems, that the cruelty of the proceedings upon this occasion has been much aggravated.

(1.) There is no ground, as has been already shown, to charge Valens with having put to death many persons, whose names began with those two syllables, Theod. That therefore is an unjust aggravation, without reason, made by Socrates, and Sozomen, and other ecclesiastical historians who have followed them. Sozomen's expressions likewise must be reckoned hyperbolical, if not extravagant, when he says, that 'at [v] that time almost all the Greek philosophers 'were taken off.' And again, that 'almost [w] all throughout 'the whole empire who were eminent for philosophy were 'destroyed.' Whereas, I presume, these executions were confined to that part of the empire which was under Valens.

But when I speak of aggravations of the cruelty of these proceedings, I chiefly intend Ammianus Marcellinus, from whom we have the most particular account of this transaction. Ammianus is generally a fair and impartial historian: but here, as seems to me, he [x] has not acted up to that character. I shall therefore observe several things said by him, and refer my observations to the consideration of my readers.

(2.) Ammianus enlargeth mightily in the commendation of Theodorus. 'For [y] when the persons present at the con-

[v] Των δε Ἑλληνιστων μικρα παντες κατ' εκεινο καιρα διεφθαρησαν. Soz. l. 6. c. 35. p. 693. C. [w] Ibid. p. 694. A. et vide supr. not. [s].

[x] Tillemont seems to have been sensible of this. I put down what he says in his own words, and in his own language. Amien, qui, ce semble, étoit alors à Antioche, ou au moins en l'Orient, le décrit fort amplement, rendant les plus odieuses qu'il peut et les informations qu'on fit pour découvrir les coupables, et la punition, tant de Théodore que de ses compagnons. L'Emp. Valens, art. xiv. p. 180.

[y] Atque cunctantibus, quisnam eâ tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et reverâ erat ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliâ natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiæ rudimentis, modestiâ, prudentiâ, humanitate, gratiâ, literis ornatissimus, semper officio locoque, quem retinebat, superior videbatur, altis

'sultation considered with themselves who should be the 'person intended by the letters Theod, they were,' as he says, 'soon led to think it must be Theodorus, who was the 'second in the secretaries' office, a man of a distinguished ex- 'cellence, as indeed he was, being of a good family in Gaul, 'well educated from his childhood; modest, prudent, hu- 'mane, agreeable, learned; who always appeared superior 'to the post in which he was: acceptable to all men, high 'and low; careful of his words, and never exceeding be- 'yond truth and reason.'

This high character of Theodorus was the first thing that led me to suspect Ammianus of partiality, and awakened my attention to other things in this narrative.

For Ammianus himself has acknowledged that this[z] Theodorus had formed designs upon the empire: it appeared from letters written by him to Hilary above mentioned. Ammianus also acknowledgeth that[a] designs had been at several times entered into against the emperor's life, and that it had been more than once in imminent danger from conspiracies.

Moreover Zosimus says, 'That Theodorus[b] was indeed of a good family and well educated, but he was yet young; 'and being in the heat of youth was easily misled by flat- 'terers.' He adds, that 'he suffered the just punishment of 'his rashness.' However, it must be owned that[c] Sozomen gives Theodorus the character of a worthy man, though a Gentile.

(3.) Ammianus is the principal historian of this transaction. Let me then observe farther, that, according to him, all who suffered now were men of excellent characters, or, if I may say so, more than excellent, even extraordinary:

humilibusque juxta acceptus. Solusque pene omnium erat, cujus linguam non infrenem, sed dispicientem quæ loqueretur, nullius claudebat periculis latus. Amm. l. 29. c. i. p. 597. [z] Deinde hæc eadem Euserio sub cruentâ quæsitione confesso; confutabant Theodorum literæ suæ, per ambages obliquas ad Hilarium scriptæ; quibus, spe jam firmâ conceptâ ex vatibus, de re non cunctabatur, sed tempus patrandæ cupidinis quæritabat. Ib. p. 603. [a] Et quia fallere non minus videtur qui gesta præterit sciens, quam ille qui nunquam facta fingit; non abnuimus (neque enim ambigitur) salutem Valentis et antea sæpius per occultas coitiones, et tunc in extrema demersam; ferrumque ad jugulum ejus prope adactum a militaribus, fato reflectente depulsum, quem lacrymosis in Thraciâ discriminibus destinarat. Id. l. 29. c. i. p. 598. [b] Ἦν τις Θεοδωρος τοις βασιλικοις υπογραφευσιν εναριθμεμενος. Τετον ευ μεν γεγονοτα τε και τραφεντα, νεον δε ετι και τῳ της ἡλικιας θερμῳ ῥᾳδιως κολακων θωπειαις επι τα χειρονα σαλευομενον——Και αυτος μεν αξιαν εδιδε της εγχειρησεως δικην. Zos. l. 4. p. 742, 743. [c] ——ανδρα των εν ταις βασιλειοις επισημως στρατευομενον, Ἑλληνιστην και ελλογιμον. Soz. p. 673. D.

such are Theodorus, Simonides, Maximus, Diogenes, formerly governor of Bithynia, Alypius and his son Hierocles. The accusers, according to him, are mean people: and the judges are all severe and cruel. Are not these strong symptoms of partiality?

Simonides, the only person condemned to be burnt alive, is greatly commended by Ammianus, as a philosopher, and a young man of singular virtue. [His accessit philosophus Simonides, adolescens ille quidem, verum nostra memoria severissimus.] And his fortitude is greatly extolled.

(4.) Then he says, 'numerous books, and heaps of volumes, were burnt in the presence of the judges, as illicit, 'which had been brought up together from many houses, 'the more to mollify the resentment of the people against so 'numerous executions; when at the same time,' as he says, 'a great part of them were law books, and systems of liberal 'arts and sciences.' Which, as seems to me, are the expressions of a man determined to give an invidious turn to the transactions of which he is writing. For, I pray, was any thing more natural, after such a consultation as Ammianus has himself described, than to give orders for inquiries after books containing mystic arts and incantations? It is very likely that there should be an order of court for producing such books, and with threatenings of punishment in case of concealment. Such an order might occasion the producing a large number of volumes capable of making several large heaps, to be consumed in the presence of the judges. For, I presume, there were many such books in the possession of heathen people; and there was no need to join with them volumes of liberal arts and sciences, and to make a large heap and a good show. Chrysostom,[d] who was a young man at this time, has told a story representing the great danger which all were in, who then concealed any books of this sort.

(5.) I cannot but think likewise, that the cruelty of Festus then proconsul of Asia, by whose order Maximus was beheaded, is much aggravated upon this occasion; for Ammianus himself has acknowledged, that[e] when governor of Syria he gave proofs of mildness and lenity; though he

[d] Chrys. in Act. Aph. hom. 38. Tom. 9. p. 293. Bened.

[e] Festus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fatis, ad Orientem transgressus est: ibique administratâ Syriâ, Magisterioque Memoriæ peracto, bona lenitudinis et reverentiæ reliquit exempla. Unde regere Asiam proconsulari potestate exorsus, velificatione tranquillâ, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam. Ammian. l. 29. c. ii. p. 613.

will have it that afterwards he was altered and acted very differently.

Before we proceed I must take notice that we have in the Latin tongue,[f] 'a Breviary of the History of the Roman 'people by Sextus Rufus,' who is supposed by divers learned men[g] to be Rufus Festus, who was proconsul of Asia in the year 374. The argument for that opinion is so well expressed in a note of Valesius upon[h] Ammianus, that I have placed a large part of it below. He had passed through divers offices, till he arrived at that high station of proconsul of Asia, as is observed by the same[i] Valesius, in another note upon Ammianus.

This Breviary, in manuscripts and editions, is inscribed to Valentinian: but it is now the general opinion of learned men that it should be said Valens, and written after his war with the Goths, near the end of the year 369, at the soonest.

I see not in this Breviary any marks of a disposition to cruelty. And it seems to me that all the bitter reflections upon Festus, as a cruel man, which are in Ammianus, and Zosimus, and other heathen writers, are owing to the part which he acted as a magistrate in the condemnation of Maximus and others, who had exposed themselves to the just displeasure of the emperor.

(6.) I must observe farther, that neither Ammianus, nor any other historians of this transaction, have complained of the executions of the wives or children of any of those who were now put to death.

Chrysostom[k] speaks of the widow of one Theodorus, who for a while was favoured by his prince, and then rebelled against him, and was beheaded. It is true she was poor;

[f] Sexti Rufi V. C. Dictatoris, Magistri militum, Rerum gestarum Pop Rom. ad Valentinianum Augustum. Tom. i. p. 637, &c. Sylburg.

[g] Vide Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. c. viii. et ix. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 610, 611. Tillem. Valens art. viii. et Cellarius. p. 556. ex edit. Havercamp.

[h] Hic est, ut opinor, Rufus Festus V. Cl. qui Breviarium scripsit ad Valentem Aug. non autem ad Valentinianum, ut habent vulgatæ editiones, et scripti codices. Annon enim hæc libri ejus clausula Valentem respicit? 'Ut ad hanc ingentem de Gothis, etiam Babylonicæ tibi palma pacis accedat.' Accedit, quod, in duobus MSS. antiquissimis, Festi Dictatoris Breviarium exaratum est, ut in notis ad Victoris Epitomen testatus est Andreas Schottus. Est autem dictator, qui ad memoriam dictat, qui et *αντιγραφευς* Græce dicitur, ut notatum est a Cl. Salmasio ad Vopiscum in Caro. Cum igitur Marcellinus Festum magistrum fuisse memoriæ prodat, et reliqua egregie conveniunt, nihil vetat, quo minus hunc Festum eumdem cum historico esse credamus. Vales. ad Ammian. l. 29. c. ii. not.[l] p. 812.

[i] Sic in lib. 29, Festus quidam ex advocato consularis Syriæ, ex consulari magister memoriæ, deinde Proconsul Asiæ fuisse dicitur. Idem. ad Ammian. l. 20. cap. x. not.[r] p. 276.

[k] Chr. ad viduam juniorem. T. i. p. 343.

but she was still living: that she was the widow of Theodorus, the principal in this conspiracy, is the opinion of[l] Valesius and[m] Tillemont, and appears to me very probable. And the same Theodorus had a son[n] named Icarius, who[o] was count of the East in the time of the emperor Theodosius: who therefore was not involved in his father's danger, and I suppose he was still a heathen.

The only person whose son was accused, as mentioned by Ammianus, is Alypius: nevertheless he was not involved in his father's guilt. They were both accused: Alypius, after confiscation of his estate, was banished; and his son, Hierocles, when led to execution, was happily saved, as Ammianus observes, without saying how. The means of his escape is supposed to be related by Chrysostom, though he does not mention him by name. In an oration, or homily, showing the power of the united prayers of many, he allegeth this example: 'Ten[p] years ago,' says he, 'some were apprehended, as endeavouring to set up a tyranny, as you well know: at that time a person in the magistracy was convicted as an accomplice in the conspiracy; and when they were dragging him away to be put to death, the whole city ran to the Hippodromus, and gathering together a great number of artificers and others, they rescue a man not at all deserving of pardon. Thus,' says Chrysostom, 'when you are desirous to appease the displeasure of an earthly prince, you can join together with your wives and children:' and what follows.

The person here intended is supposed to be Hierocles, son of Alypius. And it is observable that Chrysostom, who cannot be supposed to have been partial to Valens, says, 'he was not worthy of pardon.'

These observations I ought to submit to the judgment of candid and inquisitive readers. But to me it has appeared, that in the accounts of this transaction, there are many aggravations of the severity of the proceedings upon this occasion. Theodorus, as Ammianus acknowledgeth, was convicted of a design to subvert the government of Valens. I presume that none of those who were concerned in the consultation of the oracle were innocent: yea, as seems to me, they were guilty of treason: for[q] such it must be to make

[l] Annot. ad Ammian. l. 29. c. i. p. 597. not. g.

[m] L'Emp. Valens. art. xiv. et not. xiv.

[n] Δεσα δε ἡμιν αρχοντα αγαθον αντι κακε τον Θεοδωρε τε ου δικαιως αποθανοντος. Liban. de Vitâ suâ. p. 69. A.

[o] See Tillemont, Valens, art. xiv. et Theodos, i. art. xvi.

[p] De Incompreh. Dei Nat. hom. 3. T. i. p. 470. Bened.

[q] Majestatis crimen contrahit, quisquis super Principis genesi vel fato scrutatur, ut de Lepidâ ait C. Tacitus Annal. 3. c. 22. cui inter

inquiries by divination concerning the life and death of princes. And were not they who were acquainted with this consultation, obliged to discover it to the magistrates? If they did not, might they not be reasonably considered as accomplices? Zosimus says, that [r] 'Hilary of Phrygia suffered for having given an explication of an obscure oracle:' that is, he had been consulted about this oracle, to know whether indeed it intimated that Theodorus was to succeed Valens in the empire: and as he did not make a discovery of this, I suppose the judges were of opinion he had forfeited his life: the capital sentence pronounced upon him therefore was legal. This likewise was the case of Maximus. They [s] who had been concerned in the consultation, being desirous of some farther elucidations upon the answer received, went to Maximus, persuaded of his ability to give them satisfaction; and as Maximus did not disclose the consultation to the magistrates, he might, I suppose, be reckoned an accomplice, and be judged legally obnoxious to punishment.

Zosimus complains grievously that the great philosopher Maximus, and several others eminent for learning, were put to death; and truly it is a sad case: but what shall we say? If learned men are guilty of treason, they expose themselves to public resentment, and may justly suffer. Nothing can save them but mercy; which I wish they had experienced, or at least some of them, particularly Maximus: as he had been spared so long, and had now survived his great master ten years or more, and was now of a great age; I cannot but wish that his fault had been connived at, though the sentence pronounced upon him was just.

Some innocent men may have suffered upon this occasion: but many must have been guilty. Nor can it be thought very strange that heathen writers would show some favour to their friends. Libanius [t] says that Theodorus was unjustly put to death: and yet Ammianus has acknow-

alia crimina hoc quoque objectum fuit, quod per Chaldæos in domum Cæsaris quæsivisset. Rationem reddit Tertullianus, Apologet. c. 35. 'Cur opus 'est perscrutari super Cæsaris salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversum illam cogi-'tatur, vel optatur, aut post illam speratur, et sustinetur.' Unde Paulus J. C. Sent. lib. v. Tit. 21, 'Qui de salute Principis, vel summâ Reipublicæ, ma-'thematicos, hariolos, haruspices, vaticinatores consulit, cum eo qui respond-'erit, capite punitur.' Lindenburg. annot. ad Ammian. l. 29. c. 2. not. [s] p. 613.

[r] ——— ὡς δη χρησμον τινα λοξον, εις το σαφεστερον ἑρμηνευσας. Zos. l. 4. p. 744. in.

[s] Χρησμω τινος εκπεσοντος ασαφεστερον τον χρησμον επι τον Μαξιμον ανηνεγκαν, το μεν πραγμα ωχ ὁμολογησαντες· ὡς δ' εν αυτῳ χρησαντος, τι σαφεστερον βουλομενοι μαθειν. Eunap. Maxim. p. 87.

[t] See before, note [n]. p. 193.

ledged his guilt; and Zosimus allows that he suffered the just punishment of his rashness, as doth also[u] the younger Victor.

And when Libanius says that[v] Valens hoped to have had him also accused as one of the conspirators, I take it to be a mere flourish; he was willing to make a merit of some danger with the rest of his friends, though really he was safe enough. So likewise was Ammianus, I believe, though zealous for the rites of Gentilism: and in like manner many others, who approved themselves by their conduct to be quiet and peaceable subjects, and had neither been concerned in this traitorous consultation, nor had been advised with about it, and still concealed it.

3. I have still one observation more to be mentioned here, and suited to the point we are considering, 'the State of Gentilism under christian Emperors,' which is this: that such consultations by way of divination, for discovering beforehand changes in the empire, or the name of the person who should succeed the reigning prince, must have tended to alienate the minds of christian princes from heathen people, and induce them to lessen their privileges as such, and lay restraints upon their worship.

Sozomen, beginning his account of this transaction which has occasioned all these observations, says: 'At[w] that time 'almost all the Greek philosophers were destroyed. For 'some who were eminent for philosophy, being uneasy at 'the great progress of christianity, were desirous to know 'who should succeed Valens in the empire: for this end 'they tried all sorts of divination, and constructed a wooden 'tripod, which they consecrated with solemn rites of invo-'cation.'

Sozomen's conjecture concerning the occasion of this consultation must be allowed to be very probable. Indeed I do not believe that the heathen people, after the conversion of Constantine, were so good subjects as the primitive christians, who had lived and suffered so much under heathen emperors before that period. Ammianus, beside what he says of this particular transaction, acknowledgeth that the life of Valens had been in danger several times.

[u] Quâ cognitione principii deceptus Theodorus, cum sibi imperium præsumeret, scelestæ cupidinis supplicia persolvit. Victor. Epit. cap. 48.

[v] Δοξα τε ην παρα τῳ Βαλεντι, φθονε την δοξαν πεποιηκοτος, παντως εις ελεγχον με πεσειν δι' ένος γε τετων ὑπο την βασανον αγομενων. κ. λ. De Vitâ sua, p. 56.

[w] ——Τινες γαρ των αλλων, οἱ εν φιλοσοφιᾳ προεχειν ενομιζοντο, προς την επιδοσιν τε χριστιανισμε δυσφορεντες, εβελευσαντο μαθειν τον εφεξης Ουαλεντι Ρωμαιων ηγησομενον, μαντειαις τε παντοδαπαις περι τετε εχρησαντο. κ. λ. Soz. l. 6. c. 35. p. 693.

The conduct of heathen people at this time may be reckoned the more unreasonable, because Valens has been supposed to be very favourable to them. 'As[x] Theodoret says, Valens allowed all others to worship in their own way. He waged war with none but those who held the apostolical (meaning the homoüsian) doctrine. During the whole time of that reign the fire burned upon the altars. The Gentiles offered incense and sacrifices to their idols, and held their feasts publicly in the market-places. They who were initiated in the rites of Bacchus ran about, covered in goat-skins, tearing dogs to pieces, with the wild fury usual in the solemnities of Bacchus.'

Undoubtedly, at that season, the Gentiles enjoyed a good deal of liberty, as was shown by us[y] not long ago; though they were laid under some restraints.

Our writers of Universal History, speaking of Valens, say, 'All[z] the ecclesiastical writers agree that he allowed to the many sects which then prevailed, nay, even to the Jews and Pagans, the free exercise of their religion: but persecuted the catholics with the utmost cruelty.'

III. I have done with this Consultation. But before I proceed to any other article, I think it not improper to insert here the history of the philosopher Maximus. I have said little of him in my chapter of Julian: but he may not be omitted. A man who was so favoured by Julian, and so highly esteemed afterwards by heathen people, must have a place in this work.

We have lately seen with what tokens of high respect he is mentioned by Ammianus, whom we have placed at the year 380, though his work was not finished till some while afterwards. Eunapius, when he gives the account of their going to Maximus for an explication of the oracular answer which they had received, speaks[a] of him as an oracle, and more than an oracle, and better acquainted with the mind of the gods than the oracle itself. And proceeding to relate his death, he says: 'They[b] sent for him to come to Antioch, where the emperor was: but he so clearly showed the falsehood of the things laid to his charge, and how every thing foretold by him had come to pass, that they were

[x] Ὁ δε Ουαλης πασι μεν τοις αλλοις επετρεψε θρησκευειν ἡ βουλοιντο, και τα θρησκευομενα θεραπευειν. κ. λ. Theod. l. 8. c. 21. p. 226.

[y] See p. 174, 175.

[z] Vol. xvi. p. 350.

[a] Eunap. Max. p. 87, 88.

[b] ——αισχυνθεντες δε αυτε φονον, ὡς παντα επι της κρισεως ηλεχθη, και ὁτι κατεγνω των εγχειρησαντων, και ὁτι προειπεν ακριβως ἁπαντα, καθαπερ εν τῳ Μαξιμε σωματι, θεον τινα κολαζοντες——πολλες μεν γαρ προκατακοψας αιτιες και αναιτιες, και τον μεγαν Μαξιμον αυτοις επεσφαξε. Eunap. Max. p. 88, 89.

'ashamed to put him to death there; thinking it no less a 'crime than to kill the deity, who dwelt in him. They 'therefore sent him to Festus, the cruel governor of Asia, 'who readily obeyed their orders, putting to death guilty 'and innocent, and among them the great Maximus.' Such is the way in which these writers speak of Maximus.

Maximus now suffered death in the year 374. He had met with a great difficulty not long after the death of Julian. The reign of Jovian was short: he therefore had no leisure to prosecute the friends or ministers of Julian. But upon the accession of Valentinian, and then of his brother Valens, the two philosophers Priscus and Maximus were sent for to come to Constantinople. Against [c] Priscus no accusations were received. After examination he was allowed to be a good and innocent man, and as such was honourably dismissed to go and live in Greece.

'But against Maximus,' as [d] Zosimus says, 'Valentinian 'was much provoked, he having represented him to Julian, 'not only as zealous for christianity, but likewise injurious 'to the rites of Gentilism.' Eunapius says, that 'Maximus [e] 'was then imprisoned, and grievously racked, with a view 'of extorting from him a large sum of money, which he was 'supposed to have hoarded up. But at length he was dis-'missed with a fine only, which he should pay hereafter. 'The torture inflicted on him was so grievous, that,' as Eunapius says, 'Maximus sent his wife to procure some poison, 'that he might put an end to his life; but when it was 'brought, he declined taking it. However, his wife took 'a part of it, and died, and was buried by her friends.' After that, as I suppose, Maximus lived quietly, till the time of the consultation above mentioned.

That Maximus was in great favour with Julian, all know. The account which Eunapius gives of his going to court upon the accession of that emperor is to this purpose: 'Soon [f] after his arrival at Constantinople, and after the 'death of Constantius, Julian sent a messenger with letters 'to Maximus and Chrysanthius, inviting them to come to 'him. They thought proper to ask counsel of the gods. 'But the tokens which they received were discouraging; 'whereupon Chrysanthius plainly told Maximus: "there 'can be no thoughts of going to seek preferment. We must 'stay where we are; perhaps it may be needful for us

[c] Αλλ' ὁ μεν Πρισκος εδεν ὑποσας κακον, αλλα και προσμαρτυρηθεις αγαθος ειναι, και γεγενησθαι κατα τον καιρον εκεινον, επανηλθεν εις την Ἑλλαδα. Eunap. Max. p. 82.

[d] Zos. l. 4. p. 735. in. See above, p. 109.

[e] Vita Max. p. 83, 84.

[f] Eunap. Max. p. 77—79.

'to hide ourselves." On the contrary, Maximus urged, 'We[g] are not to content ourselves with a single refusal; 'we ought rather to force the gods, till they give us a fa- 'vourable answer, suited to our wishes. Chrysanthius re- 'plied, that he dared not to disobey the first admonitions 'which had been received, and went away. Maximus[h] 'renewed his inquiries till he obtained such an answer as 'he wanted.'

'And then he set out for Constantinople. And all the 'people of Asia, magistrates, and men of every rank, ac- 'companied him with their good wishes and acclamations. 'The women were as assiduous in their respects to his wife, 'entreating to be remembered by her: with all which she 'seemed much pleased, and highly exalted. Thus Maxi- 'mus went to court with the good wishes of all Asia.'

'Maximus,'[i] as Eunapius owns, 'had not been long at 'court, before he appeared much elevated in mind by his 'exaltation. His dress was more costly and splendid than 'became a philosopher! He became difficult of access, and 'did many things of himself without the knowledge of the 'emperor.'

Upon this account my readers may now make such remarks as they see good: only remembering that it is not the account of a christian, but of Eunapius, a zealous Greek, and great admirer of Maximus. To me it appears highly probable that a man, who went to court with such a temper as Maximus did, must have been guilty of many things whilst he was there which were offensive and disagreeable. And if Maximus had been taken off by Jovian, or Valentinian, soon after the death of Julian, I believe it would not have been reckoned a very extraordinary proceeding, but agreeable to the political maxims, which have often prevailed in the courts of princes. But Maximus was then spared: and there appears to have been a judgment of equity, and mildness; for soon after the accession of Valentinian, Priscus and Maximus were sent for, as we have seen; and after examination it was allowed that Priscus, though he also had been a favourite of Julian, had done nothing amiss, and was honourably dismissed; which showed a disposition in the reigning prince to judge equitably.

[g] ——μη παντως εικειν τοις πρωτως απαντησασιν, αλλ' εκβιαζεσθαι την τε θειαν φυσιν, αχρις αν επικλινοις προς τον θεραπευοντα. Ibid. p. 78.

[h] Ὁ μεν Μαξιμος επεμεινεν ἁπαντα πραττων, εστε ετυχεν ὡν αβελετο, και κατεπεθυμει· ὁ δε Χρυσανθιος ακινητοτερος επεμεινε ανδριαντος——p. 78.

[i] Εντανθα ὁ μεν Μαξιμος βαρυς ην ηδη περι τα βασιλεια, τολην τε ἀβροτεραν η κατα φιλοσοφον περιχεομενος, και προς εντευξεις ων χαλεπωτερος και δυσχερεστερος· ὁ δε βασιλευς ηγνοει τα πραττομενα. Ibid. p. 79.

And, if Maximus had been as innocent, he might and would have been dismissed, and set at liberty in like manner.

And though his conduct, when at court in the time of Julian, had not been unexceptionable, nor now, afterwards, in the time of the above-mentioned consultation, but justly liable to censure and punishment, I cannot but wish he had been spared; I think he might have been despised and slighted; which would have been more honourable to a christian prince than an act of strict justice.

I beg leave to conclude with this observation: That though Maximus was greatly respected, and much admired by the emperor Julian, and many learned heathens, as a great philosopher, and was also reputed to have commerce with the gods, I do not think he was a wise man.

SECTION III.

THE PETITION OF THE ROMAN SENATE TO VALENTINIAN THE YOUNGER, IN THE YEAR 384, THAT THE ALTAR OF VICTORY WHICH HAD BEEN REMOVED BY GRATIAN MIGHT BE RESTORED

I. *The history of this Altar in ancient times, and of the several removals of it by christian emperors.* II. *A translation of the petition presented by Symmachus in the name of the senate.* III. *The answers, made by Ambrose of Milan, and Prudentius.* IV. *Two questions relating to this matter considered.* V. *The history and character of Symmachus.*

I. THERE was at Rome, in the senate house, or at the entrance into it, an[a] altar of Victory. It was portable, and wherever the senate assembled, there it was[b] placed. We meet with some accounts of this altar in ancient times. By Suetonius we are informed that[c] the senate the more to

[a] Cave says it was placed upon a triumphal chariot, and stood in the entrance or portico of the capitol. Introd. p. xxii.

[b] Ex Suetonio colligimus——Victoriæ simulacrum in senatu positum fuisse. Quod transferebatur in quamcumque ædem pro ratione loci, in quo habitus senatus. Chamillard ad Prudent. l. i. p. 533.

[c] Senatus, et in funere ornando, et in memoriâ honorandâ, eo studio certatim progressus est, ut inter alia complura censuerint quidem funus triumphali portâ ducendum, præcedente Victoriâ, quæ est in curiâ. Sueton. lib. 2. c. 101.

adorn the funeral of Augustus, ordered that the image of Victory, which stood in the senate house should be carried in procession before the body. It is mentioned also by Lampridius [d] in his life of Alexander Severus, and by Herodian [e] in his History of Antonius Heliogabalus.

The emperor Constantius,[f] when he was at Rome in the year 356 or 357, ordered this altar of Victory to be removed. But that order was not long in force. The altar was restored by Julian in 361, or 362. Here it continued a good while. For we know not of any order about it in the reign of Valentinian the first, who died in 375. He did not think of it, or from a principle of moderation he tolerated it, and was unwilling to disoblige his Gentile subjects.

In the year 382, Gratian ordered the altar of Victory to be removed, and seized the lands allotted to maintain the priests and the sacrifices. This [g] law of Gratian is referred to by Honorius, and confirmed by him. Gratian likewise abrogated the privileges of the vestal virgins, which were very considerable. Hereupon the senate sent a deputation to the emperor, but were not admitted into his presence: complaints of which we shall see presently. But in the year 384, not long after the death of Gratian, the senate sent another deputation, with Symmachus præfect of the city at their head, to Valentinian the second, or the younger, who was not then more than fourteen years of age. The address or petition presented at that time will be recited by us by and by at length. It is addressed [h] to Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, according to the Roman custom: but it was intended for Valentinian, and is addressed to him in particular, as we shall see presently.

As soon as Ambrose, bishop of Milan, heard of this deputation, he wrote a letter to the emperor, containing such advice as appeared proper at that time, and suited to fortify his resolutions. Afterwards he procured a copy of the petition, and answered it more fully; this we know from the

[d] Mater ejus, pridie quam pareret, somniavit, se purpureum dracunculum parere. Pater eâdem nocte in somniis vidit, alis se Victoriæ, quæ in senatu, ad cœlum vehi. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. c. 14. p. 899.

[e] Herod. lib. v. p. 567. [f] Constantius augustæ memoriæ, nondum sacris initiatus mysteriis, contaminari se putavit, si aram illam videret. Jussit auferri, non jussit reponi. Ambros. ep. 18. num. 32. p. 841. Seu de non restituendâ arâ Victoriæ libellus 2. ap. Symmachum, p. 329.

[g] Omnia etiam loca, quæ sacris error veterum deputavit, secundum Divi Gratiani constituta, nostræ rei jubemus sociari, &c. [Dat. Ann. 415.] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. x. l. 20. T. 6. p. 290. [h] D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. Arcod. semper. Aug. &c. ap. Symm. l. x. ep. 54.

introduction [i] to the second book, or argument of Ambrose, of which we shall take particular notice hereafter. It is also mentioned by Paulinus [k] in his Life of that bishop.

In the year 388,[l] as is supposed, there was another attempt made by the Gentiles for restoring the altar of Victory, or at least the revenues which Gratian had taken away. A part of the senate, as [m] Ambrose says, by their deputies made this demand of Theodosius, then at Milan. Symmachus now also lent them a helping hand, and [n] in a panegyric on Theodosius dexterously insinuated a request to that purpose. But the emperor, as is said, was so provoked, that he presently ordered him to come down, and to be that instant put into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him under severe penalties to come any more within a hundred miles of Rome; but it was not long before he was pardoned.

Afterwards, when Theodosius was gone back to Constantinople, the senate sent another request in favour of this altar, to Valentinian, then in Gaul, but without effect. We are assured of this from [o] Ambrose. This must have been in the year 392, and the beginning of it, and not long before the death of Valentinian.

And in the same year 392, after the death of Valentinian,[p]

[i] Cum vir clarissimus, Præfectus Urbis Symmachus, ad clementiam tuam retulisset, ut ara, quæ de urbis Romæ curiâ sublata fuerat, redderetur loco—— eodem quo comperi puncto, libellum obtuli——quo licet comprehenderim, quæ suggestioni necessaria viderentur, poposci tamen exemplum mihi relationis dari. Ambr. Ep. 18. p. 833.

[k] Sed egresso Theodosio de Italiâ, et Constantinopoli constituto, Valentiniano intra Gallias posito, directa legatio est sub nomine Senatûs a Symmacho tunc Præfecto Urbis, de repetendâ Arâ Victoriæ, et sumptibus cæremoniarum. Sed ubi comperit sacerdos, misso libello ad Imperatorem postulavit, ut ad se relationis exemplaria dirigerentur, quibus ipse pro partibus suis responsurus esset. Quâ relatione acceptâ, præclarissimum libellum conscripsit, ut contra nihil unquam audiret Symmachus, vir eloquentissimus, respondere. Vit. Ambr. num. 26. p. vii.

[l] Vide Baron. ann. 388. n. 93. Tillem. L'Emp. Théodos. art. 46. Ancient Univ. Hist. Vol. xvi. p. 424.

[m] Postea etiam clementissimo imperatori Theodosio coram intimavi, atque in os dicere non dubitavi, cui intimatâ Senatûs legatione hujusmodi, licet non totus Senatus poposcerit, insinuationi meæ tantam adsentionem detulit—— &c. Ambr. ad Eugen. ep. 57 p. 1011. in.

[n] Cui [Theodosio] Symmachus ille, mirabili eloquio et scientiâ præditus, tamen Paganus, præconio laudum in consistorio recitato, subtili arte quâ valuit, aram Victoriæ in Senatu restitui, christiano, ut noverat, Principi, intimavit. Quem statim a suis aspectibus pulsum, in centesimo lapide, rhedæ non stratæ impositum eâ die manere præcepit. Prosper. de Promiss. l. 3. cap. 38.

[o] Iterum Valentiniano, augustæ memoriæ principi, legatio a Senatu missa intra Gallias, nihil extorqueri potuit: et certe aberam, nec aliquid tunc ad ipsum scripseram. Ambr. ibid. p. 104.

[p] Vide Baron. ann. 392. ii. iii. Pagi ann. 392. ii.

Eugenius restored the altar of Victory. This also is particularly mentioned by Paulinus in the words next following the quotation before made from[q] him. Moreover we have a letter of Ambrose to Eugenius, where he gives him the title of emperor and Augustus, and reproves him for issuing such an order, contrary to his profession as a christian: though,[r] as it seems, that order was not granted till after divers reiterated requests. And indeed Rufinus, who also was contemporary, informs us, that[s] the expectations of Gentile people were greatly raised at that time, and victims were then multiplied at Rome, and all kinds of divination were practised; and Flavianus, then præfect of Rome, and reckoned very skilful in those rites, encouraged Eugenius with strong assurances of success and victory.

The altar of Victory, undoubtedly, was not restored by Valentinian. Ambrose's intercessions must have prevailed against it, if the emperor had been disposed to it, which I do not think he was. Nor can it be thought that Theodosius allowed it to remain there after it had been set up by Eugenius. Nevertheless Pyrrho, from some lines of Claudian upon the[t] sixth consulship of Honorius, in the year 404, describing the rejoicings after the victory obtained over Alaric at Pollentia, is much inclined to think that[u] the

[q] Sed postquam augustæ memoriæ Valentinianus in Viennensi civitate—— vitam finivit: Eugenius suscepit imperium, qui ubi imperare cœpit, non multo post, petentibus Flaviano tunc præfecto, et Arbogaste comite, aram Victoriæ, et sumtus cæremoniarum, quod Valentinianus augustæ memoriæ, adhuc in junioribus annis constitutus, petentibus denegaverat, oblitus fidei suæ, concessit. De Vitâ Ambros. ubi supra. [r] Te imperante, petierunt legati, ut templis redderes; non fecisti. Iterum alteri postulaverunt; renisus es: et postea ipsis, qui petierunt, donandum putâsti. Ad Eugen. Ep. 57. n. 6. p. 1011. [s] At Pagani, qui errores suos novis semper erroribus animant, innovare sacrificia, et Romam funestis victimis cruentare, inspicere exta pecudum, et ex fibrarum præscientiâ securam Eugenio victoriam nuntiare: superstitiosius hæc agente, et cum omni animositate Flaviano tunc præfecto, cujus assertionibus (magna enim erat ejus in sapientiâ prærogativa) Eugenium victorem fore pro certo præsumserant, &c. Rufin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23.

[t] ——Agnoscunt proceres, habituque Gabino
Principis et ducibus circumstipata togatis
Jure paludatæ jam curia militat aulæ.
Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis,
Romanæ tutela togæ; quæ divite pompâ
Patritii reverenda fovet sacraria cœtûs,
Castrorumque eadem comes indefessa tuorum,
Nunc tandem fruitur votis atque omne futurum
Te Romæ seseque tibi promittit in ævum.
Claudian. Carm. 28. ver. 594—601.

[u] Hinc patet, Victoriæ simulacrum aut non sublatum, ut suadebat Ambrosius, aut statim repositum. Pyrrho, ad ver. 597.

altar of Victory was not removed, as Ambrose desired, or else was restored afterwards: but I do not think those lines can be reckoned a good proof of this; for by Victory may be there meant the goddess Victory, who was worshipped in many temples, not the image of Victory standing in the senate house.

II. Having now, as I presume, said what may be sufficient in the way of preface, I proceed to allege the petition itself, which was presented to Valentinian in the year 384, in the name of the senate, by Symmachus: which I shall translate entire from the beginning to the end, placing also the original at the bottom of the pages; all may be sensible that such performances are attended with some difficulty; but Cave [v] has already published an English translation, from which I have had some assistance.

'To [w] our lords the emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius, 'and Arcadius, Symmachus, præfect of the city.

'As [x] soon as the most illustrious, and your ever loyal 'senate had taken cognizance that the vices of the times 'were subdued by the laws, and that the infamy of late ages 'had been expiated by the piety of our present princes, 'they, following so good an example, have laid hold of this 'occasion to express their long suppressed grief, and again 'to employ me as the messenger of their complaints. For 'though they were by bad men denied the privilege of an 'audience, they are persuaded that the present emperors 'will do them justice.

'I therefore in a double capacity, as your præfect, en-'trusted with the public concerns, and as deputy of the 'citizens of Rome, recommend their request. In this we 'are all agreed, forasmuch as men are at length grown so 'wise as not to espouse the factions of courtiers, when they 'are divided only about their own private interests. For

[v] See the life of St. Ambrose, p. 377, &c. among the lives of the most eminent fathers of the church, who flourished in the fourth century.

[w] D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. et Arcad. semper Augg. Symmachus Præf. Urbis. Ap. Symm. l. x. ep. 54. p. 287, &c. et ap. Ambros. Tom. 2. p. 828, &c. edit. Bened.

[x] Ubi primum Senatus amplissimus, semperque vester, subacta legibus vitia cognovit, et a Principibus piis vidit purgari famam proximorum temporum; boni seculi auctoritatem secutus, evomuit diu pressum dolorem, atque iterum me querelarum suarum jussit esse legatum. Cui ideo Divi Principis denegata est ab improbis audientia, quia non erat justitia defutura, domini imperatores, Valentiniane, Theodosi, et Arcadi inclyti, victores ac triumphatores, semper augusti.

2. Gemino igitur functus officio, et, ut Præfectus vester, gesta publica prosequor, et, ut legatus, civium mandata commendo. Nulla est hic dissensio voluntatum; quia jam credere homines desierunt aulicorum se studio præstare, si discrepent. Amari, coli, diligi, majus imperio est. Quis ferat, obfuisse Rei-

'to be loved, to be honoured, to be respected, is more de-
'sirable than any grandeur. And who can bear to think
'that private quarrels should obstruct the interests of the
'commonwealth? The senate justly disdains those men,
'who prefer the gratification of their own ambition to the
'honour of their prince.

'Indeed our great concern is to behave as the guardians
'of your safety and credit. For when we keep and defend
'institutions of our ancestors, the laws and appointments,
'and as it were the fate of our country, what do we but
'advance the glory of the times? which is never greater
'than when you think nothing lawful to be done, which is
'contrary to the customs of our forefathers. We therefore
'request that state of religion may be restored which for
'long time has been profitable to the republic. Certainly,
'if we reckon up the princes of each persuasion, one of
'your near ancestors favoured the rites of our fathers,
'[meaning Julian,] another, still nearer in time, [Valentinian
'the first,] did not remove them. If therefore the piety of
'the more ancient does not make out a sufficient example,
'let the connivance of the latest be attended to.' Meaning, probably, Valentinian the first, and Valens.

'Who is there so much a friend to the barbarians as not
'to desire that the altar of Victory may be restored? We
'are careful for posterity, and would dread all prognostics
'of calamities. If the Deity is not duly reverenced, yet let
'the appearance of religion be preserved. Your majesties
'are already very much, and will be more, indebted to Vic-
'tory. Let them slight this power, who have no benefit by
'it. Do not you despise a patronage which may produce
'triumphs. This power is desirable to all. Let not any
'man deny that to be fit to be worshipped, whose favour he
'professeth to wish for. And if the Deity is not duly

publicæ privata certamina? Merito illos Senatus insequitur, qui potentiam suam famæ principis prætulerunt.

3. Noster autem labor pro clementiâ vestrâ ducit excubias. Cui enim magis commodat, quod instituta majorum, quod patriæ jura et fata defendimus, quam temporum gloriæ? quæ tum est major, cum vobis contra morem parentum intelligitis nil licere. Repetimus igitur religionum statum, qui reipublicæ diu profuit. Certe numerentur Principes utriusque sectæ, utriusque sententiæ. Proximus eorum cæremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removit. Si exemplum non facit religio veterum, faciat dissimulatio proximorum.

4. Quis ita familiaris est barbaris, ut aram Victoriæ non requirat? Cauti in posterum sumus, et tristium rerum ostenta vitamus. Reddatur tantum nomini honor, qui numini denegatus est. Multa Victoriæ debet æternitas vestra, et adhuc plura debebit. Aversentur hanc potestatem, quibus nihil profuit. Vos amicum triumphis patrocinium nolite deserere. Cunctis potentia ista votiva est. Nemo colendam negat, quam profitetur optandam.

'respected, let the ornaments of the senate-house be left 'untouched.

'We beg of you, that we may be permitted, now we 'are old, to leave to posterity those things in which we 'were educated when young. The affection for custom is 'very great. The proceeding of the blessed Constantius 'was deservedly of short duration. And all such proceed-'ings are to be avoided which you know to have been soon 'disliked. We aim to perpetuate your renown and credit, 'and desire that nothing may be done which posterity shall 'judge needful to be reformed.

'And (if this altar be removed) where shall we swear 'to observe your laws and ordinances? What will then 'remain to awe the profligate, and terrify them from per-'jury? It is true, God is every where. Nor is there any 'place where the perfidious can be safe. Nevertheless the 'outward solemnity of religion is of great use to restrain 'men from evil. That altar is the band of unity to all, and 'the pledge of fidelity to every individual. Nor is there 'any thing which so effectually secures authority to our de-'terminations, as that all the proceedings are managed by 'senators sworn at this altar. Shall this seat be open to be 'profaned by perjuries? And shall that be approved by 'our excellent princes, whose persons and government are 'secured by the public oath of their people?

'But it will be said: It is nothing more than was done 'by the blessed Constantius. Let us rather imitate the 'other actions of that prince, who never would have at-'tempted such a thing, if any one before him had so mistaken 'in the measures of government. For miscarriages of for-'mer princes are lessons of instruction to their successors:

5. Quod si numinis [al. hujus ominis] non esset justa curatio, saltem ornamentis Curiæ debuit abstineri. Præstate, oro vos, ut ea, quæ pueri suscepimus, senes posteris relinquamus. Consuetudinis amor magnus est. Merito Divi Constantii factum diu non stetit. Omnia vobis exempla vitanda sunt, quæ mox remota didicistis. Æternitatem curamus famæ et nominis vestri, ne quid futura ætas inveniat corrigendum.

6. Ubi in leges vestras et verba jurabimus? Quâ religione mens falsa terrebitur, ne in testimoniis mentiatur? Omnia quidem Deo plana sunt, nec ullus perfidis tutus est locus: sed plurimum valet ad metum delinquendi, etiam præsentiâ religionis urgeri. Illa ara concordiam tenet omnium; illa ara fidem convenit singulorum. Neque aliud magis auctoritatem facit sententiis nostris, quam quod omnia quasi juratus noster ordo decernit. Patebit ergo sedes profana perjuriis, et hoc inclyti Principes probabile judicabunt, qui sacramento publico tuti sunt?

7. Sed divus Constantius idem fecisse dicitur. Cætera potius illius Principis æmulemur; qui nihil tale esset aggressus, si quis ante se alius deviâsset. Corrigit enim sequentem lapsus prioris; et de reprehensione antecedentis exempli nascitur emendatio. Fas fuit, ut parens ille clementiæ vestræ in re ad-

'and any one easily amends when he has been warned by 'the evil example of those who went before him. That prince, 'your majesty's predecessor, was not aware of the discon- 'tent which would be occasioned by that innovation. But 'will that defence be of any advantage to us, if we should 'imitate what we know to have been disliked?

'Let your august majesties take pattern from other ac- 'tions of the same prince, which are more worthy to be 'imitated. He did not diminish the privileges of the sacred 'virgins: he conferred the priesthood upon the nobility: 'and he allowed out of the treasury the expenses of the 'Roman sacrifices, and other religious observances. And 'when he was at Rome, being attended by the senate 'through the streets[y] of the immortal city, he cast his eyes, 'with a pleased countenance, upon the temples, read in their 'frontispiece the names of the gods to whom they were 'dedicated, made inquiries after the original of the temples, 'and admired the munificence of the founders. And though 'he was of another religion, he never thought of abolishing 'the religion of the empire. For every man has his own 'rites, and his own manner of worship. The supreme Deity, 'who governs the world, has assigned different guardians 'to every city. As to every man is given a soul at his birth, 'so has every nation a particular genius allotted to it.

'To these considerations ought to be added the utility of 'religion. For since all reasonings are obscure and uncer- 'tain, whence can we better derive the knowledge of the 'Deity, than from the remembrance and documents of for- 'mer prosperity? If then antiquity be sufficient to give au- 'thority to religion, we ought to preserve that faith which

huc novâ non caveret invidiam. Num potest etiam nobis eadem defensio convenire, si imitemur quod meminimus improbatum?

8. Accipiat æternitas vestra alia ejusdem Principis facta, quæ in usum dignius trahat. Nil ille decerpsit sacrarum virginum privilegiis, replevit [al. decrevit] nobilibus sacerdotia, Romanis cæremoniis non negavit impensas: et per omnes vias æternæ Urbis lætum secutus Senatum, vidit placido ore delubra, legit inscripta fastigiis Deûm nomina, percontatus est templorum origines, miratus est conditores. Cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur, has servavit Imperio. Suus enim cuique mos, suus cuique ritus est. Varios custodes urbibus cunctis mens divina distribuit. Ut animæ nascentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividuntur. Accedit utilitas, quæ maxime homini Deos adserit. Nam cum ratio omnis in operto sit, unde rectius quam de memoriâ atque documentis rerum secundarum cognitio venit numinum? Jam si longa ætas auctoritatem religioni facit, servanda est tot seculis fides, et sequendi sunt nobis parentes, qui secuti sunt feliciter suos.

[y] They who are curious, may compare this with Ammianus's account of the visit made by Constantius at Rome in the year 356, or 357. Ammian. l. 16. cap. x.

'has subsisted for so many ages, and to follow our parents, 'who have happily followed theirs.

'Let us imagine Rome herself to be now present, and plead- 'ing her cause with you in this manner: O you best of princes, 'the fathers of your country, revere my great age, to which 'these rites of religion have brought me, and let me still 'follow the ancient observances. Nor do I repent of so do- 'ing. Let me live in my own way. I am free, and have 'a right to do so. This way of worship has brought all 'the world into obedience to my laws. These rites drove 'Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls from the capitol. 'And have I lived so long to be corrected in old age? 'Let me know what this new institution is. Sure I am, to 'reclaim old age is an unseasonable and dishonourable un- 'dertaking.

'We therefore ask of you security for the gods of our 'country, which have been long worshipped by us. It is 'but reasonable to think, that whatever Deity men adore, it 'is but one only. We look up to the same stars, the heaven 'is common to all, and the same world encloseth us. What 'matters it in what method men inquire after truth? it is 'not one path only that leads to so great a secret. But it 'will be said that these are the discourses of men who are 'much at leisure. No, it is not so; we do not aim to enter 'into dispute, we only tender requests.

'Consider what benefit has accrued to your treasury, by 'taking away the privileges of the vestal virgins. Under 'the most liberal emperors that is denied, which the most 'parsimonious allowed. The honour is the chief reward of 'their chastity. As their fillets are the ornament of their 'head, so one of the ensigns of their priesthood is to be ex-

9. Romam nunc putemus assistere, atque his vobiscum agere sermonibus: optimi Principes, patres patriæ, reveremini annos meos, in quos me pius ritus adduxit. Utar cæremoniis avitis; neque enim me pœnitet. Vivam more meo, quia libera sum. Hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit. Hæc sacra Annibalem a mœnibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt. Ad hoc ergo servata sum, ut longæva reprehendar? Videro, quale sit quod instituendum putatur. Sera tamen et contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.

10. Ergo Diis patriis, Diis indigetibus pacem rogamus. Æquum est, quidquid omnes colunt, unum putari. Eadem spectamus astra; commune cœlum est; idem nos mundus involvit. Quid interest, quâ quisque prudentiâ verum inquirat? uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum. Sed hæc otiosorum disputatio est. Nunc preces, non certamina offerimus.

11. Quanto commodo sacri ærarii vestri Vestalium Virginum prærogativa detracta est? Sub largissimis Imperatoribus denegatur quod parcissimi præstiterunt. Honor solus est in illo velut stipendio castitatis. Ut vittæ earum capiti decus faciunt, ita insigne ducitur sacerdotii, vacare muneribus. Nudum quodammodo nomen immunitatis requirunt, quoniam paupertate a dispendio tutæ

'empt from all offices; which exemption is little more than 'a name, since their poverty excuseth them from great ex-'penses.

'But possibly it will be said, that they advance their 'reputation, who lessen their revenue. For virginity con-'secrated to the public good, gains in merit as it loseth in 'its reward.

'But let not such saving methods be practised to increase 'your revenue which shall rob it of its glory. The trea-'sury of good princes is not to be augmented by the ruins 'of the priests, but by the spoils of enemies. Nor would 'the greatest gain make amends for the envy with which 'it would be attended. But because covetousness is a 'fault to which you are strangers, this makes their case the 'more deplorable, who have lost their former subsistences. 'But whatever is alienated under those princes who have 'conquered the love of riches, and never practised rapine 'and extortion, only turns to the detriment of him who is 'the loser, without gratifying the appetite of him who seiz-'eth it.

'And now the treasury detains also those lands which 'were given to the vestals and their officers, by the will of 'our dying progenitors. But let me beseech you, and the 'ministers of your justice, that they may enjoy the private 'legacies bequeathed to the holy uses of the city. Let men 'then securely make their last wills, and let them be as-'sured that they have not to do with covetous princes, but 'with such as will ratify what they bequeath. Let it be a 'pleasure to you to make the world thus happy. This one 'thing creates disquiet to all dying persons. And does not 'the religion of the Romans come under the protection of 'the Roman laws? By what name shall we call an aliena-'tion of rights which no laws or circumstances of things

sunt. Itaque amplius laudi earum tribuunt qui aliquid rei detrahunt. Siquidem saluti publicæ dicata virginitas crescit merito, cum caret præmio.

12. Absint ab ærarii vestri puritate ista compendia. Fiscus bonorum Principum non sacerdotum damnis, sed hostium spoliis augeatur. Ullumne lucrum compensat invidiam? At quia avaritia in vestros mores non cadit, hoc miseriores sunt, quibus subsidia vetera decerpta sunt. Etenim sub Imperatoribus, qui alieno abstinent, qui resistunt cupiditati, ad solam detrahitur amittentis injuriam, quod desiderium non movet auferentis.

13. Agros etiam virginibus et ministris deficientium voluntate legatos fiscus retentat. Oro vos, justitiæ sacerdotes ut urbis vestræ sacris reddatur privata successio. Dictent testamenta securi, et sciant, sub Principibus non avaris stabile esse quod scripserint. Delectet vos ista felicitas generis humani. Cœpit causæ hujus exemplum solicitare morientes. Ergo Romanæ religiones ad Romana jura non pertinent? Quod nomen accipiet ablatio facultatum, quas nulla lex, nullus casus fecit caducas? Capiunt legata liberti; servis testamen-

'ever justified? Freed-men receive legacies: nor are slaves 'deprived of the privilege of receiving what is left by wills. 'They are only the noble vestals, and the attendants on the 'sacred rites upon which the public welfare depends, who 'are deprived of the privilege of receiving estates, legally 'bequeathed to them. What avails it to vow virginity for 'the safety of the republic, and to call in the aid of heaven 'to perpetuate your empire, to assist your armies and le-'gions with friendly powers, to offer up ardent and effectual 'prayers for the welfare of all, and at the same time to be 'denied the privileges common to all? Would it not at this 'rate be better to serve men than the gods? Thus we in-'jure the commonwealth, which has no interest to be un-'grateful.

'Let no man think that I am pleading the cause of reli-'gion only; to such actions as these are owing all the ca-'lamities which have befallen mankind. Our ancestors 'honoured the vestal virgins, and the ministers of the gods, 'with laws providing for them a competent maintenance, 'and suitable privileges. And those donations continued 'inviolable to the time of some degenerate bankers, who 'have converted the revenues of sacred chastity into a sti-'pend for the vilest porters. Immediately there followed a 'general famine, and all the countries were disappointed 'in the hopes of a plentiful harvest. The fault was not in 'the ground; nor do we charge it upon the stars; nor did 'rust consume the grain, nor did weeds choak it: it was 'the sacrilege that made the year barren: and how could 'men expect bread when religion was robbed of its due?

'Verily if there be any other instance of such a calamity, 'let us impute this great famine to the vicissitudes of the

torum justa commoda non negantur. Tantum nobiles virgines, et fatalium sacrorum ministri, excluduntur prædiis hæreditate quæsitis. Quid juvat, salutis publicæ castum corpus dicare, et Imperii æternitatem cœlestibus fulcire præsidiis; armis vestris, aquilis vestris amicas applicare virtutes, pro omnibus efficacia vota suscipere et jus cum omnibus non habere? Itane melior est servitus quæ hominibus impenditur? Rempublicam lædimus, cui nunquam expedit ut ingrata sit.

14. Nemo me putet solum causam religionis tueri. Ex hujusmodi facinoribus orta sunt cuncta humani generis incommoda. Honoraverat lex parentum Vestales virgines ac ministros deorum victu modico, justisque privilegiis. Stetit hujus muneris integritas usque ad degeneres trapezitas, qui ad mercedem vilium bajulorum sacræ castitatis alimenta verterunt. Secuta est fames publica, et spem provinciarum omnium messis ægra decepit. Non sunt hæc vitia terrarum. Nihil imputamus astris. Nec rubigo segetibus obfuit, nec avena fruges necavit. Sacrilegio annus exaruit. Necesse enim fuit perire omnibus, quod religionibus negabatur.

15. Certe si est hujus mali exemplum, imputemus tantam famem vicibus annorum. Gravis hanc sterilitatem aura constrinxit. Silvestribus arbustis

'seasons. There was a dry wind which produced barren-'ness, and men now eat the buds of trees; and the poorer 'sort of country people are again reduced to feed upon 'acorns. Did our forefathers ever lie under such a calami-'ty, when the ministers of religion were maintained by an 'honourable allowance out of the public treasury? When 'were men compelled to shake the oak for food, or to sustain 'themselves with the roots of herbs? When did it happen 'that the wants of one country were unsupplied by the 'plenty of another, whilst the allowed provision of corn was 'distributed in common to the people, and to the sacred 'virgins? For the provisions made for the priests were a 'primary cause of the fertility of the earth; and what was 'given to them was rather a benefit than an expense. Can 'it be doubted whether what was bestowed upon them was 'for the benefit of all, when the taking it away has been 'avenged by scarcity to all?

'But it will be said there is no reason that the expenses 'of another religion should be borne by the public. Let 'not such thoughts find place in the minds of our excellent 'princes, that what has been given to some to hold in com-'mon, may be justly seized by the treasury: for since the 'republic consists of single persons, whatever proceeds 'from it is the property of individuals. You, as we ac-'knowledge, govern all things: nevertheless you give 'every man his due, and justice sways with you more than 'licentiousness. Do but consult your own generous minds, 'and you will not think that those things belong to the pub-'lic, which you have already appropriated to the use of 'others.

'Whatever revenues have been once devoted to the honour

vita producitur, et rursus ad Dodonæas arbores plebis rusticæ inopia convolavit. Quid tale proavi pertulerunt quum religionum ministros honor publicus pasceret? Quando in usus hominum concussa quercus? Quando vulsæ sunt herbarum radices? Quando alternos regionum defectus deseruit fecunditas mutua, quum populo et virginibus sacris communis esset annona? Commendabat enim terrarum proventus victus antistitum, et remedium magis quam largitas erat. An dubium est semper pro copiâ omnium datum quod nunc inopia omnium vindicavit?

16. Dicet aliquis sumptum publicum denegatum alienæ religionis impendiis. Absit a bonis Principibus ista sententia, ut quod de communi quibusdam tributum est, in jure fisci esse videatur. Nam cum respublica de singulis constet, quod ab eâ proficiscitur, fit rursus proprium singulorum. Omnia regitis; sed suum cuique servatis; plusque apud vos justitia quam licentia valet. Consulite certe munificentiam vestram, an hæc publica velit existimari, quæ in alios transtulistis. Semel honori Urbis delata compendia desinunt esse tribuentium. Et quod a principio beneficium fuit, usu atque ætate fit debitum. Inanem igitur metum divino animo vestro tentat incutere, si quis asserit conscientiam vos habere præbentium, nisi detrahentium subieritis invidiam.

'of the city, cease thenceforward to belong to the donors. 'And what was originally a largess, by custom and use be- 'comes a debt. That man therefore endeavours to disturb 'your sacred minds with vain fears, who insinuates that you 'become accessary with the donors, unless you incur the 'envy of cancelling such grants.

'May all the unknown guardians of all sects, and more 'especially those powers which in times past were so pro- 'pitious to your ancestors, defend you; and may they be 'worshipped by us! We ask for no other state of religion, 'than that which secured the empire to your blessed father, '[Valentinian the first,] and gave him the happiness of a 'legitimate issue to succeed him. That elder blessed prince 'looks down from heaven, and beholds the tears of the 'priests, and considers the breach of their privileges, which 'he kept inviolable, as a reflection upon himself.

'Show also this respect to your blessed brother, [Gratian,] 'and rectify that which was done rather by the counsels of 'others than his own. Cover an action which he was not 'aware was so displeasing to the senate: for it now appears 'that the deputation sent by us was debarred access to him, 'that the sense of the public might not come to his know- 'ledge. It will be to the honour of past times, that you 'make no scruple to abolish that which has been shown to 'be no act of that prince.'

That is the petition of the senate, presented to the younger Valentinian by Symmachus. I have translated it entire. It is my province to collect and transcribe heathen authors, and let my readers see what they say favourable to us, or against us. Here Symmachus pleads the cause of Gentilism. We may be assured that here are the best arguments that could be alleged. Symmachus was a man of great abilities; he exerts himself to the utmost; and he speaks with great freedom; nothing to the advantage of his cause is suppressed: he speaks in the name of the senate and of Rome itself; and is under no restraints either of fear or favour.

17. Faveant clementiæ vestræ sectarum omnium arcana præsidia, et hæc maxime, quæ majores vestros aliquando juverunt, vos defendant, a nobis colantur. Eum religionum statum petimus, qui Divo parenti culminis vestri servavit imperium, qui fortunato Principi legitimos suffecit hæredes. Spectat senior ille divus ex arce sidereâ lacrymas sacerdotum, et se culpatum putat more violato, quem ipse servavit.

18. Præstate etiam Divo fratri vestro alieni consilii correctionem. Tegite factum, quod Senatui displicuisse nescivit. Siquidem constat ideo exclusam legationem, ne ad eum judicium publicum perveniret. Pro æstimatione est temporum superiorum, ut non dubitetis abolere, quod probatum est Principis non fuisse.

III. I do not think it needful to be so particular in my accounts of what was said by Ambrose, or others, in the way of confutation, or to induce the emperor not to comply with the demands of the senate; but I shall take some notice of it.

I begin with an account of the second letter of Ambrose, sent to Valentinian.

'Three[z] things,' says Ambrose, 'the most excellent præ-'fect of the city has insisted on in his address, and which he 'thinks of great weight: that Rome desires the privilege of 'her old way of worship; that the usual allowances ought 'to be made to her priests and vestal virgins; and that, 'when those allowances were taken away, a general famine 'presently ensued.'

Ambrose's answer is prolix and verbose. I must contract it; and yet I will allege something relating to these three articles.

With regard to the first he says, 'It[a] is never too late 'to be wise. It is no reproach to any age to repent and re-'form, to amend faults, or correct errors.' He likewise observes, 'that[b] Rome did not in late times worship the 'same gods which she worshipped at the beginning; for 'they had multiplied their gods, and adopted the deities of 'the nations, which had been conquered by them; and had 'received rites to which they had been long strangers.'

'With[c] regard to the vestal virgins, of which they 'boasted so much, they were no more than seven. Great 'honours and privileges had been conferred upon them.

[z] Tria igitur in relatione suâ vir clarissimus, Præfectus Urbis Symmachus, proposuit, quæ valida putavit. Quod Roma veteres, ut ait, suos cultus requirat; et quod Sacerdotibus suis, virginibusque Vestalibus emolumenta tribuenda sint; et quod emolumentis Sacerdotum negatis, fames secuta publica sit. Ambros. Libellus secundus contra Relationem Symmachi. Apud. Symm. p. 322. et Ambrosii Epistola 18. p. 833. edit. Bened.

[a] Non erubesco cum toto orbe longæva converti. Verum certe est quia nulla ætas ad perdiscendum sera est. Erubescat senectus, quæ emendare se non potest. Non annorum canities est laudanda, sed morum . nullus pudor est ad meliora transire. Ap. Symm. p. 323. ap. Ambros. p. 834.

[b] Si ritus veteres delectabant, cur in alienos eadem Roma successit?—— Quid (quod de ipso respondeam quod queruntur) captarum simulacra urbium, victosque deos et peregrinos ritus sacrorum, alienæ superstitionis æmuli receperunt. Ap. Symm. p. 328. ap. Ambros. p. 840.

[c] 'Habeant,' inquit 'Vestales virgines immunitatem suam'——Quot tamen illis virgines præmia promissa fecerunt? Vix septem Vestales capiuntur puellæ. En totus numerus, quem infulæ vittati capitis, purpuratarum vestium murices, pompa lecticæ ministrorum circumfusa comitatu, privilegia maxima, lucra ingentia, præscripta denique pudicitiæ tempora coëgerunt. Non est virginitas, quæ pretio emitur, non virtutis studio possidetur, &c. Ap. Symm. p. 324, 325. ap. Ambr. p. 836

'But virginity, which must be paid for and rewarded, is of 'little value. Virgins were numerous among the christi- 'ans, more than could be rewarded with great privileges: 'nor did they desire any such thing.'

Nor had the heathen people, he thinks, any good reason to complain of withdrawing the ancient allowances from the priests: for by[d] imperial laws,[e] not long since published, christian ministers were forbidden to receive legacies from rich widows and others; referring to a law of Valentinian and Valens made in the year 370: of[f] which Jerom also takes notice. This therefore had been done before the law of Gratian relating to heathen priests; which law likewise, as I imagine, seized[g] only the lands which had been settled upon the priests, and did not deprive them of the privilege of receiving presents and legacies of moveable goods.

What is said by Symmachus of the famine in the year 383, Ambrose treats as a trifling argument. There[h] is no reason, he thinks, to consider that as a judgment of heaven which may be imputed only to the vicissitude of seasons, which has been common in all times; and now plenty was returned, though the altar of Victory was not restored, nor had the laws which had seized the lands of the priests been abrogated. He says, moreover, that the famine in the year 383 was not general; there was enough and abundance in Gaul, and Pannonia, and other countries subject to the Roman empire.

So argues Ambrose.

Prudentius likewise wrote two books entitled, Against Symmachus, or Against the Oration of Symmachus. They

[d] Sacerdotibus suis et ministris quæruntur alimenta publica non præberi. Quantus hinc verborum tumultus increpitat? Contra, nobis etiam privatæ successionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur, et nemo conqueritur. Non enim putamus injuriam, quia dispendium non dolemus, &c. Ap. Symm. p. 325. ap. Ambr. p. 836.

[e] Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Tom. 6. p. 48.

[f] Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi, et aurigæ, et scorta, hereditates capiunt. Solis clericis et monachis hac lege prohibetur: et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus christianis. Nec de lege conqueror: sed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem. Hieron. ad Nepot. ep. 34. [al. 2.] T. 4. p. 260. f.

[g] Nemo tamen donaria delubris, et legata haruspicibus denegavit: sola sublata sunt prædia, quia non religiose utebantur iis, quæ religionis jure defenderent. Ambros. lib. secund. Ap. Symm. p. 326. ap. Ambros. p. 837.

[h] Quis ergo tam novus humanis usibus, ut vices stupeat annorum? Et tamen superiore anno plerasque novimus provincias redundâsse frugibus. De Galliis quid loquar subito ditioribus? Frumentum Pannoniæ, quod non severant, vendiderunt. Et fecunda Rhætia fertilitatis suæ movit invidiam—— Ergo nec ille sacrilegio annus exaruit, et iste fidei fructibus annus effloruit. Ap. Symm. p. 327. ap. Ambros. p. 838.

were not written before the year 403. What was the particular reason of his confuting Symmachus again, eighteen or almost twenty years after Ambrose, does not, I think, clearly appear: but they who are so disposed may consult the first note of Chamillard upon the first book of Prudentius.

The first book of Prudentius is a confutation of Gentilism: the second is an answer to Symmachus's oration, paragraph by paragraph. I shall take notice of a few things in this second book.

Symmachus argues for the Roman religion from antiquity: 'If[i] length of time,' says he, 'be of weight in things 'of religion, we ought to preserve that faith which has sub-'sisted for so many ages, and to follow our parents, who 'have happily followed theirs.' To which Prudentius answers chiefly two things: first, 'If[k] the manner of living 'in the first ages ought to be preferred, we must renounce 'all the conveniences of life which have been invented or 'improved in succeeding times. We must tread under foot 'all the improvements of arts and sciences, and return to 'the barbarism of the age of Saturn.' Secondly, 'Since[l] 'the beginning of the republic the religion of the Romans 'had been much altered; and[m] since the time of Romulus 'the number of the gods had been greatly increased, and 'new rites and ceremonies of the conquered nations had been 'adopted.'

[i] Jam si longa ætas auctoritatem religionibus faciet, servanda est tot seculis fides, et sequendi sunt nobis parentes, qui feliciter secuti sunt suos. Ap. Prudent. p. 611.

[k] Si, quidquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis
Mos habuit, sancte colere et servare necesse est;
Omne revolvemus sua per vestigia seclûm,
Usque ad principium: placeat damnare gradatim
Quidquid posterius successor repperit usus, &c.
Contr. Symm. l. 2. ver. 277, &c.

[l] Roma antiqua sibi non constat: versa per ævum,
Et mutata sacris, ornatu, legibus, armis,
Multa colit, quæ non coluit sub Rege Quirino:
Instituit quædam melius; nonulla refugit.
Ibid. ver. 303, &c.

[m] Sed quia Romanis loquimur de cultibus, ipsum
Sanguinis Hectorei populum probo, tempore longo
Non multos coluisse deos, rarisque sacellis
Contentum, paucas posuisse in collibus aras
Innumeros post deinde Deos, virtute subactis
Urbibus, et claris peperit sibi Roma triumphis.
Inter fumantes templorum armata ruinas
Dextera victoris simulacra hostilia cepit,
Et captiva domum, venerans ceu numina, vexit.
Ver. 342—350.

Symmachus complained that[n] the public allowances to the vestal virgins had been withdrawn. This gave occasion to Prudentius to say several things which perhaps ought not to be passed over by me without notice. He observes, that 'they[o] were chosen when young, before they came to 'slight the lawful bond of marriage, or could be animated 'with a love of religion and virtue: they consecrate their 'chastity at the altars against their wills: they are de- 'prived of a pleasure which they do not despise. If they 'are chaste in body they are not so in mind: they have no 'rest in their beds, where the invisible wound makes them 'sigh for the nuptial torches.' However, after a while they might marry: which also he ridicules,[p] though perhaps he should not.

The[q] vestal virgins were at first in number four, but were afterwards increased to six or seven. None might be chosen under six nor above ten years of age; they were to live thirty years in virginity: in the first ten years they were taught the mysteries of the priesthood; in the next ten years they practised the rites and ceremonies of their order; in the third they taught them to others. The period of thirty years would expire before they were forty years of age, when they might marry, but few did.

The priesthood of the vestal virgins was always in great estimation; and I suppose they were generally chosen out of the best families. Julius Cæsar[r] gave his last will into the custody of the eldest vestal.

[n] Quanto commodo sacri ærarii vestri Vestalium virginum prærogativa detracta est? sub largissimis Imperatoribus denegatur, quod parcissimi præstiterunt. Symm. ap. Prud. p. 658.

[o] Quæ nunc Vestalis sit virginitatis honestas,
Discutiam:——
Ac primum parvæ teneris capiuntur in annis,
Ante voluntatis propriæ quam libera secta
Laude pudicitiæ fervens, et amore Deorum,
Justa maritandi condemnat vincula sexûs.
Captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris.
Nec contempta perit miseris, sed adempta voluptas
Corporis intacti: non mens intacta tenetur:
Nec requies datur ulla toris, quibus innuba cœcum
Vulnus, et amissas suspirat femina tædas.
Contr. Symm. lib. 2. ver. 1063—1074.

[p] Nubit anus veterana, sacro perfuncta labore,
Desertisque focis, quibus est famulata juventus,
Transfert emeritas ad fulcra jugalia rugas,
Discit et in gelido nova nupta tepescere lecto.
Ibid. ver. 1081—1084.

[q] Vid. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Roman. T. 2. p. 122. ed. Hudson.

[r] Postulante ergo L. Pisone socero, testamentum ejus aperitur.——Quod Idibus septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat; demandaveratque Virgini Vestali maximæ. Sueton. l. i. cap. 83.

It may be thought strange that these virgins should be present at the cruel combats of gladiators: yet it was one of their privileges to have an honourable and conspicuous place in the theatre allotted to them: we are assured of it by [s] Suetonius; nor has Prudentius failed to mention this custom, and make free remarks upon it.[t] I may add by the way that Arnobius [u] also in his books against the Gentiles has made some reflections upon this custom.

Prudentius [v] also answers very largely to the complaints of Symmachus relating to the famine in the year 383, as Ambrose had done before. But I do not think it needful to transcribe him; I only refer to him.

About this time one of the vestals suffered herself to be corrupted; and Symmachus himself called upon the proper officer, to take care that both she, and the man with whom she had been familiar, should be properly punished. We have two letters of Symmachus written upon that [w] occasion.

As Ambrose takes no notice of this in his answer to the petition of Symmachus, Baronius [x] thought that it must have happened afterwards: but neither has Prudentius touched upon this matter, though his argument was composed much

[s] Feminis, ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari solenne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim, et contra Prætoris tribunal, dedit. Sueton. Aug. cap. 44.

[t] Interea, dum torta vagos ligat infula crines,
Fatalesque adolet prunas innupta sacerdos,
Fertur per medias, ut publica pompa, plateas.
— — — —
Inde ad concessum caveæ pudor almus, et expers
Sanguinis it pietas, hominum visura cruentos
Congressus, mortesque, et vulnera vendita pastu
Spectatura sacris oculis — —
Ibid. lib. 2. ver. 1085—1110.

[u] Sedent in spectaculis publicis sacerdotum omnium, magistratuumque collegia, Pontifices Maximi, et maximi curiones——Sedent augures, interpretes divinæ mentis et voluntatis; nec non et castæ virgines, perpetui nutrices et conservatrices ignis. Arnob. l. 4. p. 151.

[v] Ultima legati defleta dolore querela est——
— — — —
Hinc ait et steriles frugescere rarius agros,
Et tristem sævire famem, totumque per orbem
Mortales pallere inopes, ac panis egenos.
Prud. l. 2. ver. 909—915.

[w] More institutoque majorum, incestum Primigeniæ, dudum apud Albam Vestalis antistitis, collegii nostri disquisitio deprehendit: quod et ipsius quæ contaminavit pudicitiam sacram, et Maximi, cum quo nefandum facinus admisit, confessionibus claruisse Gesta testantur. Restat, ut in eos, qui cæremonias publicas abominando scelere polluerunt, legum severitas exseratur. Symm. l. 9. ep. 118. vid. et ep. 119.

[x] Baron. ann. 384. num. xiii.

later. Why they take no notice of it I cannot say; for learned[y] moderns observe upon it as a remarkable event, and very mortifying to the interests of Gentilism.

IV. Here may now arise two questions: first, where were the christian senators when the senate deputed Symmachus to Valentinian, desiring that the altar of Victory might be restored? Secondly, it may be inquired, whether these proceedings of the christian emperors were just and reasonable?

The first question is, where were the christian senators when the senate deputed Symmachus with a request to Valentinian, that the altar of Victory, which had been taken away, might be restored? Were there no christian senators to interpose? or did they acquiesce in the determination of the rest?

In answering this question, I suppose we may have some assistance from the first letter or remonstrance which Ambrose sent to Valentinian, before he had obtained a copy of the petition of Symmachus; there he seems to say, that[z] the majority of the senate were christians; and he says, 'It[a] 'ought not to be supposed that this present petition came 'from the senate. No: a few Gentiles take upon them the 'name of the body.' And he says, that two years before, when a like petition was attempted, Damasus, bishop of Rome, assured him that, 'at that time he received a letter 'from christian senators, and signed by very many of them, 'who complained, and said that they never desired any such 'thing, nor could join in such a petition; nor was it fit 'that the emperor should grant such petitions to Gentiles. 'They also made complaints privately and publicly, and 'said that they would not come to the senate if such a peti-'tion was granted.'

So writes Ambrose. However, it seems to me, if I rightly understand him, that the christian senators had not inter-

[y] Non sine numine quidem contigit illo ipso anno, quo Vestalium castitatem præconio suo commendabat Symmachus, ac ereptis stipendiis mala urbis assignabat, quod Primigenia, apud Albam Vestalium antistes, a Maximo corrupta fuerit, &c. Basnag. ann. 384. num. v. Vid. et Baron. ubi supra, num. xi.

[z] ——cum Curia majore jam christianorum numero sit refertus. Ambros. lib. primus, ap. Symm. p. 319. fin. ap. Ambros. p. 825. fin.

[a] Sed absit, ut hoc Senatus petîsse dicatur. Pauci Gentiles communi utuntur nomine. Nam et ante biennium ferme, cum hoc petere tentarent, misit ad me sanctus Damasus Romanæ ecclesiæ sacerdos, judicio Dei electus, libellum, quem christiani senatores dederunt, et quidem innumeri, expostulantes, nihil se tale mandâsse: non congruere Gentilium istiusmodi petitionibus vos præbere consensum. Questi etiam publice privatimque, se non conventuros ad Curiam, si tale aliquid decerneretur. &c. ap. Symm. p. 320. ap. Ambros. p. 826. m.

posed when this petition to Valentinian was drawn up in the senate. He seems to allow that no christian senators were then present. 'It[b] will be asked,' says he, 'why they were 'not present in the senate, when the petition was drawn 'up?' He answers, 'their mind was sufficiently known 'though they were not present: it was sufficient that their 'mind was known to the emperor.'

Ambrose therefore supposeth that christian senators were then very numerous, though he does not say that any of them were present in the senate when this petition was agreed upon. And Tillemont, relying upon Ambrose, says, that[c] even in the time of Gratian the christian senators were very numerous: but Frederick Spanheim thought that 'the[d] majority of the senate were Gentiles in the time of 'Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius.' For certain there were from early times some christians in the senate. Tertullian, in his Apology, written before the end of the second century, speaks as[e] if there were some considerable numbers of christians in the senate. And in another work, written some few years afterwards, he says, that 'the[f] emperor 'Severus openly withstood the fury of the people against 'some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew 'to be of this sect; and was so far from bearing hard upon 'them, that he gave them an honourable testimony:' by 'men and women of the first quality,' probably meaning senators and their wives. After which time the number of christian senators may have increased, before the conversion of Constantine and afterwards. It may be difficult for us to determine exactly the proportion between the number of christian and Gentile senators; however I do not think that the christians were the majority of the Roman senate in the time of Valentinian, when this petition was presented by Symmachus.

[b] Si fortasse dicatur: Cur dudum, non interfuerant Senatui, cum ista peterentur? Satis loquuntur quid velint, quid non interfuerunt: satis loquuti sunt, qui apud Imperatorem loquuti sunt. ap. Symm. p. 320. ap. Ambr. p. 826.

[c] Et des le temps de Gratien il y avoit un nombre comme infini de Sénateurs chrétiens. L'Emp. Theodos. art. 48.

[d] Paganæ superstitionis tenaces manserunt adhuc gentes plurimæ, et permixti christianis populi, cives, magistratus, judices, senatores, Consules, Proconsules, Vicarii, ac Præsides provinciarum. Quinimo sub Valentiniano, Theodosio, Arcadio, senatum Romanum adhuc fuisse maximâ ex parte Gentilem, patet ex epistolis Symmachi. Spanhem. Hist. Christiana, T. i. p. 839.

[e] Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus,——decurias, Palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis reliñquimus templa. Apol. cap. 37.

[f] Sed et clarissimas feminas, et clarissimos viros, Severus sciens hujus sectæ fuisse non modo non læsit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in os palam restitit. Ad. Scap. c. 4. p. 87.

Secondly, it may be inquired whether those proceedings were just and reasonable? 'Did the christian emperors 'act justly and rightly in removing the altar of Victory, 'which had long stood in the senate-house? And did they 'act justly and rightly in seizing the estates and revenues, 'which had been long since settled by public authority, for 'the maintenance of vestal virgins, and other priests, and 'for performing sacrifices for the welfare of the public?'

To me it seems that christian emperors acted rightly in removing the altar of Victory, and in refusing to restore it after it had been taken away: I think this might be rightly done, even supposing that the number of christian senators was much inferior to the Gentiles; for that there were some such none can deny. Let us only recollect what Symmachus said, that 'at the altar of Victory the senators swore 'fidelity to the emperor, and in all their votes in the senate 'to determine according to the best of their knowledge.' But was that fit to be done by christians? At this altar the senators took an oath, when first chosen and introduced, or annually; and usually, if not always, at their entrance into the senate they offered incense at this altar, or gave some other token of respect; and frequently sacrifices were offered at this altar. But was it fit that such things should be done by christians, or joined in by them? or that they should be compelled to them? By no means. Nevertheless all such things would be expected of them by the Gentile senators, so long as the altar of Victory stood there; and, as I apprehend, compulsion was unavoidable; but that would be persecution. Somewhat[g] of this kind is intimated by Ambrose in his first letter to Valentinian. There was therefore a necessity that the altar of Victory should be removed by christian emperors; and it was reasonably done.

It remains that we consider the seizing of the lands which had been allowed for the maintenance of the vestals, and for performing the sacrifices offered by them and by other priests for the public welfare.

Here I suppose none can think that christian emperors

[g] Totus hic christianorum periclitatur Senatus. Si hodie Gentilis aliquis Imperator (quod absit) aram statueret simulacri, et eo convenire cogeret christianos, ut sacrificantibus interessent,——et in eâ Curiâ sententiam dicerent, ubi jurati ad aram simulacri sententiam rogarentur: (propterea enim interpretantur aram locatam, ut ejus sacramento unusquisque conventus consuleret in medium:) cum curia majore jam christianorum numero sit referta, persecutionem esse crederet christianus, qui cogeretur tali optione ad Senatum venire: quod fit plerumque. Nam etiam injuriis convenire coguntur. Ambros. libellus primus: ap. Symm. p. 319. ad. Ambros. p. 815. Vide iterum ap. Symm. p. 321. fin. ap. Ambros. p. 828. in.

were obliged to maintain the vestals and other priests, and their sacrifices, out of the public revenue. They might have allowed these things to be done by the Gentiles; that is all that can be expected from principles of moderation, extended to the utmost; and this might have been done. And certainly there still were Gentile people enough at Rome, among their senators and other opulent families, to maintain six or seven vestals, and other priests, and to provide for the proper sacrifices. But this privilege would not satisfy. It would not be accepted of by Symmachus, and other rigid and superstitious Gentiles: they would have said, that all public sacrifices offered for the benefit of the state must be allowed by public authority, and out of the public treasury, with the consent of the supreme powers: all their virtue and efficacy depended upon that; and without it they were of no value. Consequently when those lands were seized, and other revenues were withheld, there would be an end of all those sacrifices, and they would fall to the ground, and no longer be performed: the most free and extensive toleration would not uphold them: their subsistence depended upon the encouragement of public authority; which, I think, could not be reasonably granted, nor expected from christian magistrates.

I shall just observe here, that Ambrose, in his letter to Eugenius, then emperor, written in the year 392 or 393, tells him that[h] those revenues had not been taken away by his advice, but he advised that they should not be restored.

V. Before we conclude this article, somewhat should be said of Symmachus himself, who, in the year 384, was deputed to the emperor by the senate, and presented their petition to him.

His history may be seen[i] in Tillemont, who has been copied by[k] our writers of Universal History; and[l] in other authors.

His name at length was Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, son of L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, who was præfect of Rome in the year 364. He had one son only, named Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus. He was[m] grand pontiff of paganism, quæstor, prætor, and corrector of Lu-

[h] Dedi libellos Imperatoribus duos, quibus significarem, sumtus christianum virum non posse reddere: et non fuisse me auctorem cum tollerentur: auctorem fieri, quo minus decernerentur: deinde, quia dare eos ipsis simulacris videretur, non reddere. Ad Eugen. ep. xv. [al. lvii.] p. 1010.

[i] L'Emp. Théodose, i. art. 91. [k] Vol. xvi. p. 448, &c.

[l] Vid. Voss. De Hist. Latin. lib. 3. Gothofred. Prosopogr. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 347. Fabric. Bib. Latin. lib. 3. cap. xiv. Tom. i. p. 632.

[m] Vide Symm. l. i. ep. 41. et alibi.

cania and the Prutians in the year 365 or 368, proconsul of Africa [n] in the year 370 or 373, præfect of Rome in the year 384, and ordinary consul in the year 391: by his interest his son was made quæstor in the year 392, and prætor in the year 397, or, as some think, in the year 401; and it appears that young Symmachus was proconsul of Africa in the year 415, and præfect of Rome in the year 419: some have thought him to have been consul in the year 424, but that is now supposed to be a mistake.

Symmachus was in great reputation for eloquence as an orator, but none of his orations are preserved. We have however a collection of his epistles, which had been kept by his secretary, and a friend named Elpidius; which were published by his son after his death, in ten books, the last containing his letters to the emperors: thus imitating the edition of Pliny's Letters, both in the number of the books, and order of the epistles; and they are much commended by [o] Macrobius.

Whilst Symmachus was præfect of the city in the year 384, and Prætextatus præfect of the prætorium, there [p] were some reflections made upon both of them, as if they had treated some christians very injuriously; Symmachus, in particular, was charged with [q] having taken some christians out of churches to put them to torture; and with having imprisoned some bishops, fetched by him from distant countries, others from neighbouring places. At hearing of this, the emperor [r] was so provoked as to send an edict addressed to the people, in which Symmachus was reproved very sharply. Symmachus then wrote to the emperor, vindicating himself from those calumnies, and sent him a particular account of what had been done in the execution of his office, and with the depositions of the officers of justice, bearing witness to his innocence. He also received a letter from Damasus bishop of Rome, in which he

[n] Me dudum, Proconsularem virum, cedentem jam diu potentium moribus, antecapere magistratum quam expectare voluistis. l. x. ep. 16.

[o] ——pingue et floridum; in quo Plinius Secundus quondam, et nunc nullo veterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur. Macrob. l. 5. cap. i.

[p] See Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. i. art. 24.

[q] Quid enim non audeant, quidve intentatum relinquant, qui in arce terrarum, christianæ legis injuriis vindicata fana finxerunt? Flevit credo scenæ istius fabricator, cum ecclesiæ penetralibus raptos ad tormenta simularet, cum de longinquis ac de finitimis urbibus duci Antistites in vincula describeret. Lib. 10. ep. 34.

[r] Neque enim serenum clementiæ vestræ animum sine his argutiis compulisset sacro edicto populum convenire: ut asperioribus quam pietati vestræ mos est liberis Præfectum, quem sine ambitu legistis, argueret——Respondeat literis Episcopi Damasi, quibus assectatores ejusdem religionis negavit ullam contumeliam tulisse. &c. Ibid.

declared that the præfect had not been guilty of any injury to the christians. He farther says, he was assured by his officers that among all the persons shut up in prisons, charged with various crimes, there was not one christian.

Symmachus appears to have been much chagrined by these calumnies, as any honest man might well be. And in his letter to the emperor, he could not forbear to express a desire to resign an office which[s] he had not sought, but had been put into it by the emperor's own choice and designation.

I hope it will not be disagreeable to any of my readers, if I conclude this section with an Inscription[t] upon a monument erected to the honour of Symmachus by his son, where the several offices discharged by him are particularly mentioned.

Q. AURELIO. SYMMACHO. V. C.
QUÆST. PRÆT. PONTIFICI
MAJORI. CORRECTORI
LUCANIÆ. ET. BRITTIORUM
COMITI. ORDINIS. TERTII
PROCONS. AFRICÆ. PRÆT.
URB. COS. ORDINARIO
ORATORI. DISERTISSIMO
Q. FAB. MEM. SYMMACHUS
V. C. PATRI. OPTIMO.

SECTION IV.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MAXIMUS OF MADAURA AND AUGUSTINE.

I SHALL now observe the correspondence between Augustine and Maximus, a grammarian of Madaura in Africa, which is placed about the year 390, by[a] those who have carefully digested the history of Augustine, that is, before he was presbyter, and whilst the rites of Gentilism were openly practised in that country. And Tillemont observes that this letter of Augustine is placed by Possidius at the head of his epistles against the Pagans. Moreover it is

[s] Qui Præfecturam sine ambitu meruimus, sine offensione ponamus. Ibid. Vid. et not.[r]. [t] Vide Macrob. Sat. l. 5. cap. i. in notis, et Tillemont, Theodos. art. 91. p. 808. [a] Benedictini de Vitâ Augustin. l. 3. cap. iii. num. 5. Tillemont, S. Augustin, art. 57. et note 13.

supposed that Augustine was now at Tagaste, the place of his nativity, not far from Madaura.

'I[b] am always pleased with your conversation,' says Maximus to Augustine, 'with which you have sometimes 'favoured me; and I should be glad to have it oftener re-'newed. I now take notice of some difficulties which not 'long since, though without breach of friendship, and in 'a pleasing manner, you proposed, relating to my senti-'ments. And I the rather do it, lest silence should be 'taken for an acknowledgment of conviction. And I en-'treat you not to slight what I say, because I am in years, 'as if it proceeded from dotage. The Greeks, among their 'other fables, tell us, but without proof, that the mountain 'Olympus is the habitation of the gods: but we see and 'know that in the forum of our city we have the presence 'of the good gods our protectors; and that there is one su-'preme God, without beginning, and without any natural 'issue, the great and glorious father of all, none denies, or 'doubts, it being a most certain truth. His powers diffused 'throughout the mundane system we invoke under many 'names, because we do not know what is his proper name; 'for the word God is a name common to all objects of wor-'ship: and in this way presenting severally many suppli-'cations to his powers, as to his members, we think we wor-'ship God entire.

'But indeed I cannot dissemble that I am quite out of 'patience with the error which is now getting ground 'among us. For who can bear to think that Mygdo should 'be preferred to Jove the thunderer, and Sanae to Juno, 'Minerva, Venus, and Vesta; and, horrible to think, that 'the arch-martyr Nymphanio should be preferred to the

[b] Avens crebo tuis affatibus lætificari, et instinctu tui sermonis quo me paullo ante jucundissime salvâ caritate pulsâsti, paria redhibere non destiti, ne silentium meum pœnitudinem appellares. Sed quæso, ut si hæc quasi seniles artus esse duxeris, benignarum aurium indulgentiâ prosequaris. Olympum montem deorum esse habitaculum sub incertâ fide Græcia fabulatur. At vero nostræ urbis forum salutarium numinum frequentiâ possessum nos cernimus, et probamus. Equidem unum esse Deum summum sine initio, sine prole naturæ, seu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per mundanum opus diffusas multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium ignoramus. Nam Deus omnibus religionibus commune nomen est. Ita fit, ut dum quasi quædam membra carptim variis supplicationibus prosequimur, totum colere profecto videamur.

Sed impatientem me esse tanti erroris, dissimulare non possum. Quis enim ferat, Jovi fulmina vibranti præferri Mydonem: Junoni, Minervæ, Veneri, Vestæque Sanaëm, et cunctis, proh nefas, diis immortalibus archimartyrem Nymphanionem, inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu suscipitur, atque

'immortal gods! To omit now the names of innumerable 'others, hateful to gods and men, guilty of the greatest ex- 'travagances, and adding one crime to another, who under 'the appearance of a glorious death, have suffered, execra- 'ble as they were, an end well worthy of their evil deeds. 'And truly, now fools frequent their sepulchres, forsaking 'the temples, and forgetting all respect to their venerable 'ancestors. So that I seem to see fulfilled the unwelcome 'presage of the poet, "Rome in the temples of the gods 'swearing by shadows." And at this time I see again, as 'it were renewed the Actiac war, and Ægyptian monsters 'contending with the gods of the Romans, but I hope with- 'out success.

'But I beseech you, great Sir, that laying aside your 'eloquence, by which you are become so famous, and the 'subtle arguments of Chrysippus, your usual weapons, and 'logic, which serves only to make all things appear alike 'probable, you will indeed show us who is the God whom 'you christians claim as peculiar to yourselves, and whom 'you think you see present with you in obscure places. 'For we worship the gods in the light, openly and before 'all men, and offer up our supplications in the hearing of 'all, and by acceptable sacrifices render them propitious 'to us; and our desire is that these things should be seen 'and approved by all.

'But it is high time for such an old man as I am to con- 'clude the argument, and say with the Mantuan orator, '"Every man has his fancy." And now, good Sir, who

alii interminato numero (diis hominibusque odiosa nomina) qui conscientiâ nefandorum facinorum, specie gloriosæ mortis, scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes, dignum moribus, factisque suis exitum maculati repererunt. Horum busta, si memoratu dignum est, relictis templis, neglectis majorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant, ita ut præsagium vatis illius indigne ferentis emineat:

Inque Deûm templis jurabit Roma per umbras.

Sed mihi hac tempestate propemodum videtur bellum Actiacum exortum, quo Ægyptia monstra in Romanorum deos audeant tela vibrare, minime duratura.

3. Sed illud quæso, vir sapientissime, uti, remoto faeundiæ robore atque exploso, quâ cunctis clarus es, omissis etiam quibus pugnare solebas Chrysippeis argumentis, postpositâ paullulum dialecticâ, quæ nervorum suorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur, ipsâ re approbes, quis sit iste deus, quem vobis christiani, quasi primum, vindicatis, et in locis abditis præsentem vos videre componitis. Nos etenim deos nostros luce palam ante oculos, atque aures omnium mortalium piis precibus adoramus, et per suaves hostias propitios nobis efficimus, et a cunctis hæc cerni et probari contendimus.

4. Sed ulterius huic certamini me senex invalidus subtraho, et in sententiam Mantuani rhetoris libenter pergo: Trahit sua quemque voluntas. Buc.

'have forsaken our way of worship, I make no doubt this 'letter is to be destroyed by fire, or some other way; if it 'should be so, it is only the loss of so much paper; the ar- 'gument shall be kept for the use of all pious men. May 'the gods preserve you, through whom we, and all people 'whom the earth bears, in a thousand different ways, with an 'agreeing discord, worship and praise the common Father 'of all men!'

That is the genuine letter of a zealous Gentile grammarian. He was apprehensive it would be destroyed: but it has been preserved and kept safe among Augustine's papers. It has also been handed down to us; and we read it without much offence, and without any danger of being perverted by it. We are pleased with his acknowledgment of one supreme Deity, creator of all, and with the marks of civility to a learned and ingenious christian, then eminent for his abilities, though as yet he was only between thirty and forty years of age. But we cannot but think there appears some distrust of the goodness of his cause when he desires his correspondent, in his answer, to lay aside the advantage to be made by eloquence, acute reasoning, and logic. Moreover, he bears testimony to the great progress of christianity in the world, which too had been very much owing, as here intimated, to the steady and patient perseverance of christians in the profession of those principles which they supposed they had received upon good grounds. But we must think it hard and unequitable that the christians, who some time since had died as martyrs for their religion at Madaura, or other places in Africa, should be charged with extravagances, and represented as 'criminals unworthy to live upon earth.' And at the same time we must suppose this to be the true spirit of Gentilism: and those eminently good men, whose lives had been unjustly taken from them, must for ever have suffered in their memories, if Gentilism had continued to prevail. So that the change which had been made in the world in favour of christianity, not only gave liberty to its present professors, but also restored and secured the credit of those who had suffered in former times. For certainly there never were better subjects, nor more innocent and virtuous men, than

Eclog. 3. Posthac non dubito, vir eximie, qui a meâ sectâ deviâsti, hanc epistolam, aliquorum furto detractam, flammis vel quolibet pacto perituram. Quod si acciderit, erit damnum chartulæ, non nostri sermonis, cujus exemplar penes omnes religiosos retinebo. Dii te servent, per quos et eorum atque cunctorum mortalium communem patrem universi mortales, quos terra sustinet, mille modis concordi discordiâ veneramur et colimus. Ap. Augustin. Ep. 16. al. 43. T. 2.

the christians who lived in the first ages, before the conversion of Constantine.

Augustine, in his answer to this letter,[c] treats it as ludicrous, and unsuitable to so serious a subject, and therefore not deserving a particular reply. He wonders that[d] Maximus an African, living in Africa, and writing to a native of the same country, should ridicule the African names of some christian martyrs as harsh and absurd, when the Romans had like names among them for their priests, and for their gods and goddesses. He[e] forbears to upbraid him with those rites, which were concealed from all but a few; or the rudeness and extravagances of the Bacchanalian festivals, when the greatest magistrates of their city ran about the streets like furies and madmen. He defers to enter farther into the debate till Maximus is more serious. However, he puts him in mind that[f] there is in his city a church of catholic christians by whom no dead men are adored, nor any being worshipped as a deity who had been made by God, but only the one God himself, who made and formed all things.

I have one remark to add which perhaps is not quite needless. Maximus by this letter bears testimony not only to the progress of christianity in his own time, and that there were then many christians at Madaura, and in other parts

[c] Seriumne aliquid inter nos agimus, an jocari libet? &c. Ep. 17. al. 44. init. [d] Nam quod nomina quædam Punica mortuorum collegisti, quibus in nostram religionem festivas (ut tibi visum est) contumelias jaciendas putares, nescio utrum refellere debeam, an silentio præterire—— Miror, quod nominum absurditate commoto, in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus Eucaddires, et in numinibus Abaddires. Non puto ego, ista cum scriberes, in animo non fuisse——quanta in vestrâ superstitione ridenda sunt. Neque enim usque adeo teipsum oblivisci potuisses, ut homo Afer scribens Afris, cum simus utrique in Africâ constituti, Punica nomina exagitanda existimares——Verum tamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: deum Stercutium, deam Cloacinam, Venerem calvam——Ibid. num. 2, 3. [e] Quod autem dicis, eo nostris vestra sacra præponi, quod vos publice colitis deos, nos autem secretioribus conventiculis utimur: primo, abs te quæro, quomodo oblitus sis Liberum illum, quem paucorum sacratorum oculis committendum putatis. Deinde tu ipse judicas nihil aliud te agere voluisse, cum publicam sacrorum vestrorum celebrationem commemorares, nisi ut nobis decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestræ urbis bacchantes ac furentes, ante oculos quasi spectacula poneremus: in quâ celebritate, si numine inhabitamini, certe videtis quale illud sit, quod admit mentem. num. 4. [f] Ad summam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in sacrilega convitia imprudentem trahat, scias a christianis catholicis, quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum, qui fecit et condidit omnia. Disserentur ista latius, ipso vero et uno Deo adjuvante, cum te graviter agere velle cognovero. Ibid. num. 5.

of Africa; but he is also a witness that christianity had been received there long before. He speaks of many martyrs in Africa who must have suffered before the conversion of Constantine. And my readers may remember that in the writings of Apuleius alsoof Madaura, who flourished about the year 263, in the times of the two Antonines, we saw good proofs of his knowledge of christians and their principles, and his dislike of[g] them.

SECTION V.

THE DEMOLITION OF THE TEMPLE OF SERAPIS AT ALEXANDRIA, AND OTHER TEMPLES IN EGYPT IN THE YEAR 391, AND SOME OTHER TEMPLES ELSEWHERE.

I. *The history of the demolition of the temple of Serapis.*
II. *Learned men concerned in the defence, or in the demolition of the temple of Serapis: Olympius, Helladius, Ammonius, heathens: Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria.*
III. *Other temples destroyed in Syria and Phœnicia.*

I. THAT the temple of Serapis at Alexandria was demolished by order of Theodosius the first, is allowed. But learned men are not entirely agreed about the time when it was done; some placing[a] it in the year 389, others in the year 391. Tillemont[b] is for the year 389: but he acknowledgeth that the opinion is not without difficulties. Pagi[c] after[d] Gothofred, argues strongly for the year 391, with whom Basnage[e] agrees. Frederick Spanheim[f] likewise is for the year 391.

Accounts of this transaction may be seen in[g] our ecclesiastical historians. And some notice is taken of it by[h] Eunapius, who expresseth himself with great dislike and resentment.

A large description of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria may be seen in[i] Rufinus, which I need not transcribe.

[g] See Vol. vii. ch. xvi. num ii. [a] Baron. ann. 389. num. 76, &c. Ancient Univ. History, Vol. xvi. p. 427, &c. [b] L'Emp. Theodos. art. li. lii. &c. [c] Pagi ann. 389. num. xii. xiii. [d] Cod. Theod. de Paganis. Tom. vi. p. 273. [e] Basnag. ann. 391. num. ix. [f] Spanhem. Hist. Christ. sec. iv. p. 950. [g] Rufin. H. E. l. 2. c. 22—30. Socrat. l. 5. cap. 16, 17. Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. Theod. l. 5. c. 21, 22. [h] Eunap. in vita Ædes. p. 60, 62, 63. [i] Ruf. ib. cap. 23.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote whilst it was yet standing, says it[k] was inferior to none, except the capitol at Rome. And in[l] Macrobius, another heathen writer, may be seen a description of the image of Serapis. Rufinus says, 'it[m] was monstrously large, its arms reaching from 'one wall of the temple to the other: and says it was com-'posed of all sorts of metals and woods. The opinions of 'the Pagans concerning the origin of this image, he says, 'were various. Some said it represented Jupiter, and were 'of opinion that the bushel upon its head denoted that he 'governed all things in weight and measure; or it signified 'the plenty of the fruits of the earth by which mortals are 'nourished. Others said it denoted the river Nile, by the 'waters of which Ægypt is enriched. Some there were 'who said that the image was so formed in honour of our 'Joseph, by whose wise distribution of corn the land of 'Ægypt had been provided for in time of a famine. Others 'gave different accounts.'

The occasion of the demolition of the temple of Serapis is related in this manner: 'There[n] was a large old build-'ing which had been a temple of[o] Bacchus: it was now 'much neglected and almost in ruins: it is said to have been 'given by Constantius to some Arian bishops. This build-'ing Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, begged of the em-'peror, with a design to erect a church there for the ac-'commodation of christians, whose number had been greatly 'increased. In[p] clearing the rubbish, and opening the

[k] His accedunt altis sublata fastigiis templa, inter quæ eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnariis amplissimis, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliquâ operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in æternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat. Ammian. l. 22. c. xvi. p. 373.

[l] Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap. 20. p. 298, 299.

[m] In hâc simulacrum Serapis ita erat vastum, ut dextrâ unum parietem, alterum lævâ perstringeret. Quod monstrum ex omnibus generibus metallorum lignorumque compositum ferebatur——De cujus origine diversa fertur opinio Paganorum. Alii Jovem putant, cujus capiti modius superpositus; vel quia cum mensurâ modoque cuncta indicet moderari, vel vitam mortalibus frugum largitate præberi. Alii virtutem Nili fluminis, cujus Ægyptus opibus et fecunditate pascatur. Quidam in honorem nostri Joseph formatum perhibent simulacrum, ob divisionem frumenti, quâ famis tempore subvenit Ægyptiis. Alii, &c. Rufin. ib. cap. 23.

[n] Basilica quædam publici operis, vetusta atque admodum neglecta fuit, quam Constantius imperator donâsse episcopis perfidiam suam prædicantibus ferebatur. Quæ longâ incuriâ nihil validum præter parietes habebat. Visum episcopo, qui per idem tempus gubernabat ecclesiam, hanc ab Imperatore deposcere, ut crescentibus fidelium populis orationum quoque crescerent loca. Rufin. c. 22.

[o] Sozom. p. 723. C.

[p] Τα δε τυ Σεραπιδος και των αλλων, γελωτος εδεικνυμενα, τυς φαλλυς φερεσθαι κελευσας δια μεσης της αγορας. Ταυτα υτω γενομενα ορωντες οι κατα την Αλεξανδρειαν Ἑλληνες, και μαλιστα οι

'vaults under ground, were found some obscene figures, 'which the bishop, the more to disparage the Gentile superstition, ordered to be brought forth and exposed to 'public view; at which the Gentile people, and especially 'the philosophers, were greatly offended; and from angry 'and reproachful words they proceeded to take up arms. 'The christians were then obliged to return blow for blow. 'They were the more numerous. Nevertheless few Gentiles were killed, of the christians a great number, and 'many were wounded: after which the Gentiles retreated to 'the temple of Serapis, as to a fortress, taking along with 'them, as captives, some christians, whom they compelled 'by various tortures to sacrifice. The contention continued 'very sharp for some while. At[q] length the Gentiles 'chose for their leader Olympius, who had taught philosophy at Alexandria, and now told them that they ought[r] 'not to neglect the religion of their country, but be willing 'to die for it if needful. At that time Euagrius was præfect 'of Egypt, and Romanus general of the soldiery. They 'exhorted the Gentiles to be peaceable, and put them in 'mind of the laws, and[s] at length sent to the emperor an account of what had happened. Who, extolling the virtue, 'and envying the happiness of those who had died in defence of their religion, considered them as martyrs, and 'would not allow that vengeance should be taken of those 'who had put them to death. However, he sent orders that 'the temples at Alexandria should be demolished, putting 'the execution of those orders into the hands of Theophilus, 'who was to be assisted therein by the præfect Euagrius, 'and the count Romanus. When the emperor's rescript was received, the Gentiles were filled with consternation. 'They then abandoned the temple and dispersed; some retiring privately to their own houses, others withdrawing 'from the city, and either concealing themselves in neighbouring places, or flying into distant countries. Olympius,[t]

φιλοσοφειν επαγγελλομενοι, την λυπην εκ ηνεγκαν. Socrat. l. 5. c. 16. p. 274. D. Conf. Sozom. l. 7. c. xv. p. 723. D.

[q] Verum hæc per dies singulos primo cum metu, deinde cum fiduciâ et desperatione gerere, atque intra templum clausi, rapto et prædâ vivere. Ad postremum grassantes in sanguine civium ducem sceleris audaciæ suæ deligunt Olympium quemdam nomine et habitu philosophum, quo antesignano arcem defenderent, et tyrannidem tenerent. Rufin.

[r] Sozom. p. 724. B.

[s] ——res gesta ad Imperatorem refertur. Ille, qui ingenitâ mentis clementiâ errantes mallet emendare quam perdere, rescribit, illorum quidem vindictam, quos ante aras sanguis effusus martyres effecit, non esse poscendam, in quibus dolorem interitûs superaverit gloria meritorum. Rufin.

[t] Και λαθων παντας, εξεισε τω Σεραπειω, και πλοιω τυχων, εις Ιταλιαν ανηχθη. Soz. p. 725. A.

'deserting his friends, withdrew secretly, taking the op-
'portunity of a ship which was sailing to Italy. Among[u]
'those who retired from Alexandria, Socrates particularly
'mentions two grammarians, Helladius and Ammonius,
'under whom, says he, I studied when very young at Con-
'stantinople. Helladius was priest of Jupiter, Ammonius
'of the Ape. He adds: "And Helladius was wont to boast
'in the company of such with whom he could be free, that
'in the late contention he had slain nine men with his own
'hands."

'The tumultuous part of the Gentiles being withdrawn,[v]
'Theophilus, with the assistance of the people and the sol-
'diery, soon accomplished his design. It was a prevailing
'opinion among the Gentiles, that if any man should offer
'to touch the image of Serapis, somewhat very extraordi-
'nary would happen. Nevertheless, one of the soldiers,
'whose faith,' as Rufinus says, 'was not at all inferior to his
'courage, with all his might struck it on the cheek with a
'halbert, and cut off part of it. Immediately there arose a
'great cry of all sorts of people, both christians and Gen-
'tiles: but neither did the heavens fall, nor the earth open
'itself to swallow up the bold transgressor: and repeating
'his blows, it was all broken to pieces. The several parts
'of it were then carried in triumph through the streets of
'the city, and at length were thrown into a huge fire,
'kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre, and there
'consumed to ashes. At the same time the temple was
'demolished, and nothing left but the foundation,' as[w]
Eunapius says, 'which was too heavy to be removed.

[u] Πολλοι δε και εκ της Αλεξανδρειας εφυγον, κατα τας πολεις μεριζομενοι· ων ησαν οι δυο γραμματικοι Ἑλλαδιος και Αμμωνιος, παρ' οις εγω κομιδη νεος ων εν τη Κωνσταντινε πολει εφοιτησα. Ἑλλαδιος μεν εν ιερευς τε Διος ειναι ελεγετο, Αμμωνιος δε Πιθηκε. κ. λ. Socrat. l. 5. c. 16. p. 275.

[v] Verum, ut dicere cœperam, rescripto recitato, parati quidem erant nostrorum populi ad subvertendum erroris auctorem. Persuasio tamen quædam ab ipsis Gentilibus fuerat dispersa, quod, si humana manus simulacrum illud contigisset, terra dehiscens illico solveretur in chaos, cœlumque rueret in præceps. Quæ res paullulum stuporem quendam populis dabat: cum ecce unus ex militibus, fide magis quam armis munitus, correptum bissennem insurgens omni nisu maxillæ veteratoris illidit. Clamor attollitur utrorumque populorum. Neque tamen aut cœlum aut terra descendit. Inde iterum atque iterum repetens putris ligni fumosum genu cædit, quod ejecto, igni adhibito tam facile quam lignum aridum conflagravit. Post hoc revulsum cervicibus et depresso modio trahitur caput, tunc pedes aliaque membra cæsa securibus, et rapta funibus detrahuntur, ac per singula loca membratim in conspectu cultricis Alexandriæ senex veternosus exuritur. Ad ultimum truncus, qui superfuerat, in amphitheatro concrematur. Vanæque superstitionis et erroris antiqui Serapis hic finis fuit. Rufin. c. 23. Conf. Theodoret. l. 5. c. 22.

[w] Vit. Ædes. p. 64.

'According[x] to Rufinus, instead of the temple of Serapis 'were erected on one side of it a church, and on the other 'side a martyrdom.

'The[y] whole city of Alexandria was full of busts and 'small images of Serapis, which were set up in niches or 'other places in every house: but they were now all de-'stroyed without leaving any.'

Sophronius,[z] Jerom's friend, wrote a distinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis; but that work has not reached us. However, it may have been read by Rufinus, or some other of our ecclesiastical historians. Indeed Rufinus may be reckoned a contemporary; for which reason I have made the more use of him: though I have not thought it needful or safe to take every thing without examination.

The cubit by which the rising of the Nile in Ægypt was measured, had been usually lodged in the temple of Serapis. His statue and temple having been demolished, it was given out by the Gentile people, that the Nile would no longer overflow. Nevertheless it rose the following year to an uncommon height. Constantine[a] had before removed that cubit into a church of the Alexandrians; but by Julian's order it had been replaced in the temple of Serapis: now it was again restored to the christians.

Theophilus, and other bishops, went on to destroy all the temples of the gods at Canopus, near one of the mouths of the Nile, a few leagues below Alexandria, and in all other cities throughout Egypt. Says Socrates: 'the[b] temples 'were thus destroyed, but the images of the gods were 'melted down, and converted into utensils for the church 'of Alexandria, the emperor having given them for the be-'nefit of the poor.' To this, very probably, Eunapius refers, when he says that 'the[c] Roman officers at Alexandria 'demolished the temple of Serapis, and laid violent hands 'upon the images and sacred offerings, no man daring to

[x] Nam et Serapis sepulchro profanis ædibus complanatis, ex uno latere martyrium, ex altero consurgit ecclesia. Rufin. cap. 27.

[y] Sed et illud apud Alexandriam gestum est, quod etiam thoraces Serapis, qui per singulos domos, in parietibus, in ingressibus, in postibus etiam, et fenestris erant, ita abscissi sunt omnes et abrasi, ut ne vestigium quidem usquam remaneret. Rufin. cap. 29.

[z] Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem, adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit. Hieron. De V. I. c. 134.

[a] Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. 1. cap. 18. in.

[b] Τα μεν ων ἱερα κατεσκαφετο· τα δε αγαλματα των θεων μετεχωνευετο εις λεβητια και εις ἑτερας χρειας της Αλεξανδρεων εκκλησιας, τε βασιλεως χαρισαμενε τας θεας εις δαπανηματα των πτωχων. Socrat. l. 5. c. 16. p. 275. C.

[c] ——και ταξις ην αυτοις πολεμικη, το αφελομενον λαθειν——Vit. Ædes. p. 64.

'withstand them. They not only obtained a complete vic-'tory, but got also a rich booty: having among them an 'order, strictly observed, to keep concealed whatever they 'gained by robbery.' Nor need it be doubted that there is some truth in what he says. He adds, 'And [d] now monks 'are placed at Canopus, who introduced the dried bones of 'men called martyrs, but really the worst of criminals, to 'be there honoured as gods, and as ministers and ambassa-'dors to convey the prayers of christians to heaven.'

Socrates says that 'Theophilus [e] broke in pieces, or melt-'ed down all the images of the gods in Egypt, except one 'only, which he preserved, and had it set up in a public 'place, lest, as he said, the Gentiles should hereafter deny 'that they had worshipped such gods. And I know,' says Socrates, 'that Ammonius the grammarian, was much of-'fended at this. He said the religion of the Greeks had 'been horribly abused; and that one image only had been 'preserved, with no other view than to expose them to 'ridicule.'

What image that was, does not, I think, clearly appear. But it is generally supposed to have been an image of the Ape: which Lucian [f] reckons among the gods worshipped by the Egyptians, or, as his expression is, which were raised from Egypt to heaven. And here Ammonius is said by Socrates to have been a priest of the Ape.

II. We should now take some farther notice of the learned heathens which have been mentioned in this history of the destruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria. One of these is Olympus, or Olympius; the other two are Ammonius and Helladius, to whom may be added Theophilus.

Socrates,[g] as we have seen, says, 'that when Theophilus, 'bishop of Alexandria, exposed some obscene figures found 'in the heathen temples, the Gentiles, and especially the 'philosophers, were greatly provoked, and could not bear 'it without resentment.' By Rufinus [h] we are assured,

[d] Τας δε μοναχας τατας και εις Κανωβον καθιδρυσων,——οστεα γαρ και κεφαλας των επι πολλοις αμαρτημασιν εαλωκοτων συναλιζοντες, ως το πολιτικον εκολαζε δικαστηριον.——κ. λ. Ib. p. 65. [e] Παντας εν τας θεας συντριψας ὁ Θεοφιλος, ἐν αγαλμα τȣ̃δε τȣ θεȣ αχωνευτον τηρεισθα κελευσας, δημοσια προεστησεν, ἱνα, φησι, χρονȣ προϊοντος μη αρνησωνται οἱ Ἑλληνες τοιαυτας προσκεκυνηκεναι θεας. Επι τατο παυ ανιωμενον οιδα Αμμονιον τον γραμματικον, ος ελεγε δεινα πεπονθεναι την Ἑλληνων θρησκειαν ἱνα μη και ὁ εἰς ανδριας εχωνευθη, αλλ' επι γελωτι της Ἑλληνων θρησκειας φυλαττηται Socrat. p. 275. [f] Lucian. Deor. Conviv. p. 713. Tom. 2. Græv. [g] Socrat. l. 5. cap. 16. p. 274. D. And see here, note [e].

[h] Ad postremum grassantes in sanguine civium ducem sceleris et audaciæ

that when the Gentiles took up arms against the christians, and betook themselves to the temple of Serapis as a citadel, they chose Olympius for their leader, who had the habit and character of a philosopher. Sozomen says that 'Olympius,[i] 'who was there with them, and wore the habit of a philoso- 'pher, told them, that they ought not to neglect the reli- 'gion of their country, and that they ought to be willing 'to die for it if there was occasion; and when he saw them 'concerned for the destruction of the images, he exhorted 'them not to be discouraged, for they were made of cor- 'ruptible materials, and were images only, and therefore 'were liable to be destroyed. But they were inhabited by 'certain powers which fled away to heaven. Thus,' says Sozomen, 'he harangued to the multitude of Greeks, which 'were with him at the temple of Serapis. Nevertheless, 'soon after the arrival of the emperor's rescript,' as the same Sozomen says, 'this zealous, and courageous philosopher, 'withdrew from the Serapeum privately, and taking ship- 'ping sailed away to Italy.' Olympius therefore was with the other Gentiles at the temple of Serapis, when they fought with the christians; and he acted with them and animated them as a general, and as a heathen philosopher: after which he left Alexandria, and went by ship to Italy.

I see no reason to doubt the truth of any of these things, about which there is great agreement in our ecclesiastical historians. But there is somewhat more to be added concerning Olympius from an ancient heathen writer. It is an article in Suidas, supposed to be taken by him from Damascius; of which therefore I shall here give a literal version at length.

'Olympius,[k] brother of Generosa. He came from Cilicia 'to Alexandria to worship Serapis. He was in all respects 'an admirable person, tall, and well made, of a beautiful 'and liberal countenance, affable, and agreeable to all in 'conversation, and of such wisdom as to be useful to all 'who were disposed to hearken to his counsels. Nor could 'any man be of so hard and inflexible a temper as not to 'be swayed by the words that proceeded out of his mouth.

suæ deligunt Olympum quemdam, nomine et habitu philosophum, quo antesignano arcem defenderent, et tyrannidem tenerent. Ruf. l. 20. 22.

[i] Επειτα δε και Ολυμπιος τις εν φιλοσοφω σχηματι συνων αυτοις, και πειθων χρηναι μη αμελειν των πατριων, αλλ' ει δεοι υπερ αυτων θνησκειν· καθαιρουμενων δε των ξοανων αθυμουντας ορων, συνεβουλευε μη εξιστασθαι της θρησκειας, ὑλην φθαρτην και ινδαλματα λεγων ειναι τα αγαλματα, και δια τουτο αφανισμον ὑπομενειν· δυναμεις δε τινας ενοικησαι αυτοις, και εις ουρανον αποπτηναι. Και ὁ μεν, τοιαδε εισηγουμενος και πληθυν Ἑλληνων εχων περι αυτον, εν τω Σεραπειω διετριβεν. Sozom. l. 7. c. 15. p. 724, 725.

[k] Vide Suid.

'Indeed the charms of his speech were such, that they might 'be justly reckoned rather divine than human. For all 'which reasons he was appointed by the Alexandrians mas- 'ter of the sacred rites, and at a time when the affairs of 'the states were going down like a torrent. He therefore, 'as he had opportunity, inculcated to all the ancient legal 'institutions, and the great happiness which all who ob- 'served them exactly might expect from the Divine Being. 'Such was Olympius, who was full of god, insomuch that 'he foretold to his friends that Serapis was about to forsake 'his temple: which also came to pass.'

That article, as before said, is supposed to be taken by Suidas from[l] Damascius. Indeed the name of Olympius does not appear in Photius's extracts from Damascius. Nevertheless a large part of this paragraph is there word for word: and Suidas might take this article from Damascius himself; which to me does not appear improbable. Valesius thought that[m] this article in Suidas was taken from Eunapius; but the other account is more likely.

This earnest and affectionate commendation of Olympius deserves our notice. The Gentile people did all they could to uphold their religion. Their philosophers, and other learned men, encouraged them by their example and exhortations; and the people reverenced their leaders. This character of Olympius appears to me much studied, and highly finished: I have translated it as well as I can, but I refer also to the original Greek in Suidas; for I do not think I have done it justice in my translation.

Besides Olympius, we have seen in Socrates mention made of two other learned men, very zealous for their religion, both whilst they were at Alexandria, and when they afterwards lived at Constantinople. At this last place, Socrates, when young, studied under them: whence it may be argued, that they also were young men when the temple of Serapis was destroyed at Alexandria in the year 391. He calls them grammarians; but they were also priests: Helladius was priest of Jupiter, Ammonius of Simias, or the Ape. We cannot forbear to observe that many heathens who were eminent for their learning, and upon other accounts, were also priests to their gods, Here we have two

[l] Totus hic articulus ex Damascio sumptus est. Apud Photium enim in Excerptis ex Damascio, pag. 1036, 1037, omnia ista verba——vix syllabâ vel voculâ aliquâ mutatâ leguntur. Unde facile conjicias, et reliqua, quæ Suidas hic habet, ex eodem Damascio excerpta esse. Kuster. in loc.

[m] Et Suidas in voce Ολυμπος. Ubi luculentum affert fragmentum de hoc Olympo ex Historiâ Romanâ Eunapii Sardiani, ut ex stylo conjicere licet. Vales. ann. in Sozom. l. 5.

instances. The younger Pliny also, as we saw[n] formerly, was augur. It was a priesthood upon which he set a great value. Arrian, who published the Discourses of Epictetus, and was the author of many works, and a man of the first rank among the Romans, was[o] priest of Ceres and her daughter. All the Roman emperors, as I suppose, upon seating themselves on the throne, took upon them the character of high priest, or pontifex maximus. Marcus Antoninus[p] was introduced by Adrian into the college of the priests called Salii, at the age of eight years: and Marcus made himself complete master of all the rules of that order, so as to be able to discharge himself all the functions of that priesthood. And now, as may be supposed, he gained, in childhood, a deep tincture of superstition, which grew up with him, and was retained by him ever afterwards. And this early priesthood may be added to the[q] other causes and reasons of his disaffection to christians and their principles. Olympius, as it seems, was not a priest: he was a philosopher. But he had a great zeal for the Greek religion, as most of the philosophers then had, and he was so skilful in the rites of it as to be qualified to be a teacher of them to others.

There is still one person more to be taken notice of before we leave this story. It is Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who was a principal agent in the destruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other temples all over Egypt. He was a zealous and active man; but was blamable upon many accounts, as was observed[r] formerly. Cave,[s] who computes his episcopacy from the year 385 to 412, says, 'he strenuously opposed the Gentile superstition, 'and not only destroyed the temples of idols to the founda-'tion, but also exposed the frauds of the priests, by which 'they had deceived the people.' As Tillemont says, 'he[t] 'showed a great deal of zeal against idolatry, and in build-'ing churches and erecting monasteries.' But he allows that upon divers occasions he betrayed pride and ambition, and practised injustice. He[u] even admits the truth of the character of this bishop, which is in Isidore of Pelusium. Eunapius, as quoted above, accused some of making a rich booty, when the images of the gods were destroyed. Tillemont supposeth that[v] Theophilus himself was intended in

[n] See Vol. vii. p. 64, 65. [o] Ib. p. 85, 86. [p] Ib. p. 133. [q] Ib. p. 145. [r] Vol. iv. chap. xiv. num. ii. [s] Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 279. [t] Theophile. art. vi. Tom. xi. p. 452.

[u] Il seroit difficile, comme on a dit, de récuser sur cela S. Isidore de Peluse. l. i. ep. 152. Ibid. [v] Eunape l'accuse d'avoir profité sécrétement des richesses dont il dépouilloit leurs temples. Ibid. art. vii. p. 457.

that charge. I add no more, but I refer to Tillemont's sixth and seventh articles in the history of Theophilus.

III. Other heathen temples were destroyed about this time. I shall recite here a story or two from our ecclesiastical historians; and I shall recite them in their own words. If they betray credulity and superstition, yet I shall recite them fairly as they are; for it must be acknowledged that they have mixed error and falsehood together with the truth of the christian religion. It cannot be denied, and we and they must take the shame of it. The emperor Theodosius, as Theodoret[w] says, resolved to extirpate Gentilism, and gave orders for pulling down their temples. 'Marcellus,[x] an excellent man in all respects, was the first 'bishop who undertook to destroy the temples of the place 'in which he presided, trusting more to the help of God, 'than to any assistance from men. John, bishop of Apa-'méa, formerly mentioned, was dead; this Marcellus had 'been ordained in his room, a man truly divine, and "fer-'vent in spirit," according to the direction of the apostle; '(Rom. xii. 11.) There came to Apaméa the prefect of the 'east, [Cynegius,] having with him two tribunes with the 'soldiers under their command. The people were quiet 'through fear of the soldiers. He endeavoured to destroy 'the temple of Jupiter, which was very large and magnifi-'cent. But seeing that the structure was very firm and 'solid, and that the stones were of extraordinary size, and 'cemented with lead and iron, he judged it impossible to 'remove them by any human power. Marcellus seeing the 'timidity of the prefect, sent him away to other cities. 'Himself made his supplication to the Deity for directions 'how to accomplish his design. In the morning there came to 'him of his own accord, a man who was neither a carpenter 'nor a mason, nor skilful in any employment, but only had 'been wont to carry wood and stones upon his shoulders. 'He assured Marcellus that he could easily pull down the 'temple if he would but allow him pay for two workmen, 'which was readily promised him. He then proceeded in 'this manner: the temple was built upon an eminence, sur-'rounded by a portico on all the four sides, with large pil-'lars reaching up to the top of the temple. The pillars were 'sixteen feet in circumference, of a very firm stone, not 'easy to be pierced by the iron instruments of the mason. 'The workmen dug round each pillar, going from one to 'another, and laid wood of olives under them. In that

[w] Theodoret. l. v. cap. 21. p. 226—228.

[x] Πρωτος μεντοι των αλλων αρχιερεων Μαρκελλος. κ. λ. p. 226. D.

'manner he had undermined three of the pillars, and then 'set fire to the wood. But [y] a black dæmon appeared and 'hindered the operation of the fire. This was done several 'times. Seeing then that they were not able to advance, 'they came to Marcellus when he was asleep at rest in the 'afternoon, and told him of it. Whereupon he went to the 'divine temple, and put water under the divine altar; and 'prostrating himself with his face to the ground, he en-'treated the merciful Lord to restrain the influence of the 'dæmon, and at once to manifest his weakness, and his own 'power, lest the unbelieving should take occasion to harden 'themselves yet more and more. Having finished his 'prayer, he signed the water with the sign of the cross, and 'gave it to his deacon Equitius, who was full of faith and 'zeal; and bade him go presently and sprinkle the place 'with the water, and then put fire to it, trusting in the 'power of God. Which being done, the dæmon, not en-'during the force of the water, fled away. The fire then 'kindling the wood, like oil, burnt with fierceness. The 'wooden props were presently consumed, and the three pil-'lars by which they had been supported fell to the ground, 'and the other twelve pillars with them. The side of the 'temple which adjoined to them fell likewise. The sound 'was heard throughout the whole city. When they heard 'how the dæmon had been put to flight, all the christians 'in the place lift up their voices in hymns to the God of 'the universe. That divine man destroyed all the other 'temples thereabout; and there are many other wonderful 'things that might be said of him; for he wrote letters to 'the invincible martyrs, and received letters from them; at 'length he also obtained the crown of martyrdom. But I 'forbear to proceed any farther, that I may not be tedious 'to the readers.'

What has been omitted by Theodoret, we may find in [z] Sozomen, to whom therefore we now proceed. He says, that 'in many [a] places the Greeks defended their temples, 'and fought for them. This was the case of the people of 'Petra and Areopolis in Arabia: of Rapha and Gaza in 'Palestine; of Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and particularly of 'the Syrians in Apaméa, near the river Axius; who, as I 'have been informed, did several times call in to their assist-'ance the Galileans, and people of other villages near

[y] ——δαιμων τις φαινομενος μελας, και κωλυων της φλογος την ενεργειαν. κ. λ. p. 227. D.

[z] Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. p. 725, 726.

[a] Εισετι δε κατα πολεις τινας προθυμως ὑπερεμαχοντο των ναων οἱ Ἑλληνιζαι. p. 725. B. C.

' mount Libanus. At length their audaciousness proceeded ' so far as to kill Marcellus bishop of the place. For[b] per- ' ceiving that they were not otherwise to be brought off ' from their old way of worship, he was very intent upon ' destroying their temples in the cities and villages. And ' when he heard that there was a large temple in Aulonis, ' which was in the territory of the Apaméans, taking with ' him some soldiers and gladiators, he went thither: but ' when he came near, he staid at a place out of the reach of ' darts; for he was lame in his feet, and was unable to fight; ' nor could he pursue or flee. When the soldiers and gla- ' diators were employed in pulling down the temple, some ' of the Greeks, understanding that he was alone, in a place ' quite out of the battle, they went thither; and coming ' upon him all on a sudden, they laid hold of him, and threw ' him into the fire, where he died. For a while this was a ' secret. But afterwards, when the authors were known, ' the sons of Marcellus were desirous to have the death of ' their father avenged: but a synod of that country forbade ' it, saying, it was not fit that vengeance should be taken ' for such a death, for which they had cause to be thankful, ' both he that had died, and also his kindred and friends, as ' having been thought worthy to die for God.'

These two stories are joined together by[c] Nicephorus, and told by him in connexion, placing them in the same order that I have done, first rehearsing the history in Theodoret, and then that from Sozomen.

And now upon these accounts we may make some remarks.

1. In the first place it must appear somewhat strange to all, that so learned a man as Theodoret should speak of a dæmon of ' a black colour,' and ascribe to him the interruption which Marcellus met with in accomplishing his design. It is also very strange that he should ascribe the downfal of the temple of Jupiter at Apaméa to a miraculous interposition. The demolition of that temple was effected by natural means, as well as the demolition of the other temple at Aulonis, mentioned by Sozomen. The workman who offered his service to Marcellus was not an architect, but he had laboured under good architects. When he came to Marcellus, he assured him that he could easily overthrow

[b] Λογισαμενος γαρ ὡς ουκ αλλως αυτοις ῥαδιον μετατεθηναι της προτερας θρησκειας, τους ανα την πολιν και τας κωμας ναους κατεσκευασατο. Πυθομενος δε μειζονα ειναι ναον εν τῳ Αυλωνι, κλιμα δε τουτο της Απαμεων χωρας· στρατιωτας τινας και μονομαχους παραλαβων, επι τουτο ηει. p. 725. C. D.

[c] Niceph. l. 12. c. 17. p. 276—278.

the temple, if he would allow him pay for two helpers under him. And doubtless he so undermined the pillars and wall of the temple, that all fell to the ground, when he had set fire to the wooden props, which he had set up to support them for a while, that they might not fall till he and his under-workmen were withdrawn.

2. The first of these temples, that at Apaméa, if not also the other, at Aulonis, was demolished by Marcellus, before there were any imperial edicts for pulling down heathen temples.

This, I think, may be well argued from Theodoret's introduction to the story told by him. For it was done soon after that the præfect of the East came to Apaméa, meaning Cynegius, as Valesius also supposed. But Cynegius died in 388, when there were yet no orders from Theodosius for pulling down of temples. By Zosimus we are assured that [d] the commission of Cynegius, who was now going to Egypt, was only to forbid sacrifices, and shut up the temples. Which is agreeable to the sentiment of James Gothofred in his [e] notes upon the oration of Libanius for the temples.

3. The zeal of Marcellus is indeed very extraordinary, and I humbly conceive unjustifiable. He acted without imperial authority. And if he had such authority, I cannot say that such laws are equitable. I think that the bishops should neither have demolished heathen temples themselves, nor advised the emperor to shut them up and pull them down. Is it not an extraordinary thing, to see a bishop of the christian rite leave the place of his residence, and go into the country with a troop of soldiers and [f] gladiators at his heels, to demolish a beautiful and magnificent edifice, which might in time be converted into a temple for the worship of the living God? Whether he acts upon his own private judgment only, or with imperial authority, it makes no great difference. The duty of christian ministers

[d] Zos. l. 4. p. 762. The words of Zosimus are transcribed above, at p. 112. note [g]. [e] Quo tempore etiam passim in oriente, et quidem in Syria, templa per Monachos, Episcopos, et Clericos, diruebantur, vel ut dirurentur, iidem agebant. Quales sane hoc tempore extitere Joannes Chrysostomus, tum presbyter Antiochenus, ab A. D. 386 ad 398, ut vitæ ejus scriptores edocent; item Marcellus Apaméæ episcopus, de quo Theodoretus, l. 5. cap. 21. cum nulla adhuc constitutio a Theodosio M. de templis occludendis diruendisve promulgata fuisset: quod Libanius hac oratione exerte testatur. Gothofred. in Liban. Orat. p. 39, 40. See also Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. art. 58. p. 672. in the notes. [f] For μονομαχες, gladiators, I have had a mind to put μοναχες, monks. But it is the same reading both in Sozomen and Nicephorus. Otherwise I should have chosen the latter out of respect to Marcellus; though either is bad enough.

is to " preach the word, to be instant in season, and out of season, to exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine ;" 2 Tim. iv. 2. And they should have advised the christian emperors to tolerate and protect all peaceable subjects of every denomination : punishing all, and only those who disturbed the peace by a riotous behaviour. There can be no question made, but in this way truth would have prevailed, and much more, and better, than by the injurious proceedings of the bishops and clergy of this time. I presume that the apostle Paul had a true zeal for his lord and master Jesus Christ, and that he knew, as well as any others, the best way of propagating his religion in the world : who says, " the servant of the Lord must not strive, [fight, μαχεσθαι,] but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient : in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth ;" 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

Finally, therefore, the synod of that country was much in the right to determine that the death of Marcellus ought not to be avenged. He had brought it upon himself by his violent proceedings against his neighbours, who indeed were erroneous, but nevertheless were quiet and peaceable, so far as appears, and therefore should not have been disturbed nor provoked.

Nor would the emperor Theodosius, as we may remember, allow[g] them to be avenged, who have suffered death from heathen people, in their attempts to demolish the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

SECTION VI.

A pretended Heathen Oracle foretelling the period of the Christian Religion.

AUGUSTINE, in his work Of the City of God, tells us that, ' some[a] Gentiles uneasy at the long duration of the

[g] See before, p. 229.

[a] Sed hæc quia evangelica sententia est, mirum non est eâ repressos fuisse deorum multorum falsorumque cultores, quo minus fingerent dæmonum responsis, quos tamquam deos colunt, definitum esse quanto tempore mansura esset religio christiana. Cum enim viderent, nec tot tantisque persecutionibus eam potuisse consumi, sed his potius mira incrementa sumsisse, excogitaverunt nescio quos versus Græcos tamquam consulenti cuidam divino oraculo effusos, ubi Christum quidem ab hujus tamquam sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem maleficiis fecisse

'christian religion, published some Greek verses, as re-
'ceived from an oracle which some person had consulted,
'wherein it was declared that it should subsist for three
'hundred and five and sixty years, and then fall to the
'ground: where also Christ is represented as innocent, and
'it is said that Peter, by his magical arts, had brought it
'about that Christ should be worshipped so long.'

Upon this oracle Augustine makes divers observations. He also considers when the beginning of this period should be dated: 'He[b] thinks not from the nativity of Jesus, but 'from his resurrection, or the pouring out of the Holy 'Ghost upon the disciples, when the revelation of the gos-'pel was completed, and men were everywhere called upon 'to believe in Jesus Christ crucified, and risen from the 'dead. According to this computation, and in his way of 'reckoning, that period of three hundred and five and sixty 'years, would expire in the consulship of Honorius and 'Eutychianus, the year of Christ 398. And, in the next, 'in the consulship of Manlius Theodorus, according to the 'oracle of dæmons, or the fiction of men, the christian re-'ligion would cease to be any where. But in that very 'year, without inquiring what was done in other parts of 'the earth, he says, the counts Gaudentius and Jovius, by 'order of the emperor Honorius, destroyed the temples, and 'broke the images of false gods in Carthage, the principal 'city of Africa. Since which time, now for the space of 'almost thirty years, the christian religion has spread and 'flourished, and many have been converted to the faith, see-

subjungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde, completo memorato numero annorum, sine morâ sumeret finem. De Civ. Dei, l. 18. cap. 53.

[b] Sed quoniam prius quam passus esset, et resurrexit a mortuis, nondum fides omnibus fuerat definita——melius in hac quæstione solvendâ inde initium sumimus, præsertim quia tunc datus est Spiritus Sanctus——Ibi ergo exorsus est hujus nominis cultus, ut in Christum Jesum, qui crucifixus fuerat, et resurrexerat, crederetur——Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumsit initium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus Sanctus, id est, per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde Consulibus, trecenti sexaginta quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani. Porro sequenti anno, Consule Manlio Theodoro, quando jam secundum illud oraculum dæmonum, aut figmentum hominum, nulla religio christiana, quid per alias terrarum partes forsitan factum sit, non fuit necesse perquirere. Interim quid scimus in civitate notissimâ et eminentissimâ Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius et Jovius comites Imperatoris Honorii, quarto-decimo Kalendas Aprilis falsorum deorum templa everterunt, et simulacra fregerunt. Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per triginta ferme annos quis non videat, quantum creverit cultus nominis Christi præsertim postea quam multi eorum christiani facti sunt, qui tamquam verâ illâ divinatione revocabantur a fide, eamque completo eodem annorum numero inanem ridendamque viderunt? Id. ib. cap. liv.

'ing the evident falsehood of that pretended oracle on which 'they had for a while relied.'

We may hence see that the Gentiles did all they could to uphold their falling religion. But fictions, when detected and exposed, in the end weaken the cause for the sake of which they are contrived.

SECTION VII.

The Demolition of the Temple of Cœlestis at Carthage, in the year 399.

THE demolition of the temple of the goddess Cœlestis at Carthage is also spoken of at the year 399 by several of our [a] ecclesiastical historians. The history of this event is taken from the book of Promises and Predictions, sometimes ascribed to Prosper of Aquitain, but not his, and probably written by [b] an African. This Cœlestis is by some supposed to be the same as Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians.

'At [c] Carthage in Africa,' says that writer, 'there was a 'magnificent temple of prodigious magnitude, encompassed 'also by temples of all the gods. The place was surround-'ed with beautiful walls, the streets well paved with stones, 'and adorned with pillars; the whole in compass not much 'less than two miles. It having been shut up some while

[a] Pagi 399. xi. xii. Basnag. 399. viii. Tillem. Honoré art. xiii.

[b] See Vol. v. p. 39.

[c] Apud Africam Carthagini Cœlestis inesse ferebant templum nimis amplum, omnium deorum suorum ædibus vallatum. Cujus platea lithostrata, pavimento ac pretiosis columnis et mœnibus decorata, prope in duobus fere millibus passuum protendebatur. Cum diutius clausum incuriâ, spinosa virgulta circumseptum orbruerent, velletque populus christianus usui veræ religionis vindicare, dracones, aspidesque illic esse ob custodiam templi, Gentilis populus clamitabat. Quo magis christiani fervore succensi eâ facilitate omnia amoverunt illæsi, quâ templum vero Cœlesti Regi ac Domino consecrarent. Nam cum sancta Paschæ solennis ageretur festivitas, collecta illic et undique omni curiositate etiam adveniens multitudo, sacerdotum multorum pater, et dignæ memoriæ nominandus antistes Aurelius, cœlestis jam patriæ civis, cathedram illic loco cœlestis et habuit, et sedit. Ipse tunc aderam cum sociis et amicis; atque, ut se adolescentium ætas impatiens circumquaque vertebat, dum curiosi singula quæque pro magnitudine inspicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile nostro se ingessit aspectui, titulus æneis grandioribusque literis in frontispicio templi conscriptus: AURELIUS PONTIFEX DEDICAVIT. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur, præsago spiritu acta, quæ præscius Dei ordo certo isto fine concluserat. De Promiss. et Prædict. Dei Part. 3. Cap. 38.

'before, and after that neglected, was grown over with 'thorns and thistles. And when the christians proposed to 'apply it to the uses of their own religion, the Gentile peo- 'ple exclaimed against it, crying out, that there were dra- 'gons and asps which guarded the temple, so that it would 'be dangerous to come near. But the christians, instead 'of being terrified thereby, were the more animated with a 'desire to clear the ground, and consecrate the place to the 'truly heavenly King, their Lord. It was now time of 'Easter; and in the presence of a great multitude of peo- 'ple, when that great prelate, and father of many priests, 'placed his chair in the seat of the goddess Cœlestis, and 'took possession of it, I myself,' says the writer, 'was there 'with my friends and companions; and rambling about 'with curious eyes, as young people are apt to do, we saw 'an inscription in large brass letters in the front of the tem- 'ple: THE PONTIFF AURELIUS DEDICATED THIS TEMPLE. 'When we observed it, we could not but admire the dis- 'posal of Providence, which had afforded a prophetical in- 'timation of this event, and that this temple should be now 'consecrated by the prelate Aurelius:' meaning him who was then bishop of Carthage.

This temple had been shut up for some while, ever since the year 391, or thereabout, as is supposed, agreeable to some law of Theodosius about that time for shutting up the Gentile temples.

The inscription here referred to is supposed by learned men [d] to have been upon a pedestal, over which was placed the image of the goddess Cœlestis.

To the Invincible
Cœlestis
Aurelius Onesimus
Dedicates this Image.

INVICTÆ
COELESTI
AUR. ONESI
MUS: D. D.

[d] Vide Pagi 399. xii.

SECTION VIII.

An Image of Hercules destroyed by the christians at Suffecta in Africa.

ABOUT the same time [a] a temple of Hercules was attacked by the christians at Suffecta, a Roman colony, and the image of Hercules was destroyed: but the Gentiles resisted, and killed at least sixty christians. Upon this occasion Augustine wrote a short but severe letter to the magistrates and principal men of the colony. He tells them that, 'They [b] had lost all regard for the Roman laws, and cast off 'the fear and reverence due to the emperors.' He tells them that, 'for a sum of money they could purchase for 'them another Hercules. There is no want of metal, or 'stone, or fine marble; and artificers may be had. Another 'Hercules may be procured as well turned and beautiful as 'the other; but they were not able to restore the souls of 'those whom they had destroyed.'

So writes Augustine: he ridicules them handsomely; but I see no threatenings of severe vengeance. However, he charges them strongly with violation of the Roman laws, and disrespect to the authority of the emperors; and I suppose, leaves the punishment to the imperial officers.

[a] Vide Pagi 399. xiii. Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. xiv.

[b] Immanitatis vestræ famosissimum scelus, et inopinata crudelitas terram concutit, et percutit cœlum, ut in plateis ac delubris vestris eluceat sanguis, et resonet homicidium. Apud vos Romanæ sepultæ sunt leges, judiciorum rectorum calcatus est terror. Imperatorum certe nulla veneratio, nec timor. Apud vos LX numero fratrum innocens effusus est sanguis, et si quis plures occidit, functus est laudibus, et in vestram curiam tenuit principatum. Age nunc, principalem veniamus ad causam. Si Herculem vestrum dixeritis, porro reddemus. Adsunt metalla, saxa nec desunt. Accedunt marmorum genera, suppetit artificum copia. Cæterum Deus vester cum diligentiâ sculpitur, tornatur, et ornatur. Addimus et rubricam, quæ pingit ruborem, quo possint vestra sacra sonare. Nam si vestrum Herculem dixeritis, collatis singulis numinis ab artifice vestra emimus Deum. Reddite igitur animas, quas manus vestra contorsit; et sicuti a nobis vester Hercules redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tantorum animæ reddantur. Aug. ep. 50. al. 238.

SECTION IX.

A Disturbance at Calama in Numidia in the year 408.

THE Gentile superstition, as[a] Pagi says, was destroyed gradually. First of all, sacrifices were forbidden, then other rites, and lastly, feasts and other solemnities.

I shall therefore now take notice of a disturbance that happened at Calama, a Roman colony in Numidia, as related by Augustine, and placed by some in the year[b] 408, by others in 409. It followed soon after a law enacted by Honorius in the year 407 or 408, in which the solemnities of the Gentiles are expressly prohibited.

The disturbance is particularly related by Augustine in one of his letters: 'On[c] the first day of June, in contempt 'of laws lately enacted, the Pagans celebrated one of their 'sacrilegious solemnities, without prohibition from any, pass- 'ing through the streets, and dancing before the church in 'an insolent manner, not practised even in the times of 'Julian. And when some ecclesiastics attempted to inter- 'rupt them, they threw stones against the church.

'About eight days after, when the bishop put the chief 'men of the city in mind of the laws, of which they were 'not before ignorant, and when they were going to take

[a] Ex his liquet, quibusnam gradibus Gentilium superstitio pessumdata fuerit. Primo quidem sacrificia tantum prohibita; mox et alii ritus gentilitii; tandem etiam et convivia solemnitatesque aliæ vetitæ. Pagi ann. 399. num. ix.

[b] Vide Pagi A. D. 399. xiv. Tillem. St. Augustin. art. 171.

[c] Contra recentissimas leges, Calendis Juniis festo Paganorum sacrilego solemnitas agitata est, nemine prohibente, tam insolente ausu, et quod nec Juliani temporibus factum est, petulantissima turba saltantium in eodem prorsus vico ante fores transiret ecclesiæ. Quam rem illicitissimam et indignissimam clericis prohibere tentantibus, ecclesia lapidata est. Deinde post dies ferme octo cum leges notissimas episcopus ordini replicâsset, et dum ea quæ jussa sunt, velut implere disponunt, iterum ecclesia lapidata est. Postridie nostris, ad imponendum perditis metum, quod videbatur apud Acta dicere volentibus publica jura negata sunt. Eodemque ipso die, ut vel divinitus terrerentur, grando lapidationibus reddita est: qua transacta continuo tertiam lapidationem, et postremo ignes ecclesiasticis tectis et hominibus intulerunt: unum servum Dei, qui oberrans occurrere potuit, occiderunt, cæteris partim ubi poterant latitantes, partim quâ potuerant fugientes: cum interea contrusus atque coarctatus quodam loco se occultaret episcopus, ubi se ad mortem quærentium voces audiebat, sibi increpantium, quod eo non invento gratis tantum perpetrâssent scelus. Gesta sunt hæc ab horâ fere decimâ usque ad noctis partem non minimam. Nemo compescere, nemo subvenire tentavit illorum, quorum esse gravis posset auctoritas,——&c. Aug. Ep. 91. al. 202. sect. 8.

'some care of the affair, as the laws directed, those insolent 'people again threw stones at the church. The next day 'the ecclesiastics, in order to restrain those people by the 'dread of the laws, went to the magistrates, desiring to 'enter a process against them; but were refused. On the 'same day, as if the Divine Being had interposed to fill 'them with terror, there fell a heavy hail in return for their 'shower of stones. But as soon as it was over they began 'the third time to throw stones, and also set fire to some of 'the dwellings of the ecclesiastics: and they actually killed 'one servant of God, [meaning, as I suppose, a monk,] whom 'they met with, the rest hiding themselves where they 'could, or running away to be out of danger. The bishop '[Possidius, Augustine's friend] hid himself in a private 'place, where he heard the noise of those who were search-'ing for him with intent to kill him, and saying among 'themselves that they had yet done nothing till they 'could find him.' Augustine goes on, complaining, that the magistrates all this while were very negligent, though christians, as it seems.

Nectarius, a Pagan, native of Calama, and a man of distinction in the place, and now in years, hearing of this disturbance, and apprehensive of the consequences, wrote a respectful letter to Augustine, earnestly entreating for mercy. 'He acknowledges [d] that the offence was great; 'but he hopes that the resentment might be mitigated. He 'is pleased,' as he says, 'to think that he is writing to a man 'of so good understanding as Augustine: tells him, how 'becoming tenderness must be in the episcopal character. 'He reminds him that it is the place of his nativity, for 'which he justly has a great affection, and wishes to leave 'it when he dies in a flourishing condition. Damages, he 'says, may be repaired: other punishment might be for-'borne. Above all let not innocent men suffer with the 'guilty.'

[d] Sed quoniam crescit in dies singulos dilectio et gratia civitatis, quantumque ætas fini proxima est, tantum incolumem ac florentem relinquere patriam cupimus. Idcirco gaudeo primum, quod apud instructum disciplinis omnibus virum mihi hic est sermo institutus. In Calamensi coloniâ multa sunt, quæ merito diligamus, vel quod in eâ geniti sumus, vel quod eidem magna contulisse videmur officia. Hæc ergo, domine præstantissime et merito suscipiende, non levi populi sui erratu prolapsa est. Quod quidem si juris publici rigore metiamur, debet plecti severiori censurâ. Sed episcopum fas non est, nisi salutem hominibus impertire, et pro statu meliore causis adesse, et apud omnipotentem Deum veniam aliorum mereri delictis. Quamobrem quantâ possum supplicatione deposco, ut si defendenda res [non] est, innoxius defendatur, ab innocentibus molestia reparetur——De damnis facilis potes haberi taxatio; tantum supplicia deprecamur. Ad August. Nectarii Ep. 90. al. 201.

To that letter Augustine presently wrote an answer. It is the letter out of which the foregoing extracts have been made, as Augustine there relates distinctly the behaviour of the people of Calama.

With regard to the petition of Nectarius in favour of them, his answer is in general to this purpose: 'That[e] he and 'other bishops are disposed to show all the gentleness 'which becomes christians. At the same time it was fit to 'inflict such punishment as might be sufficient to deter 'others from following a bad example,'

That letter was afterwards answered by Nectarius, to which Augustine also made a reply. But I do not think it needful for me to make any more extracts, or to take any farther notice of those letters now.

SECTION X.

The Overthrow of Rhadagaisus, a Gothic Prince, in the year 405.

IN the year[a] 405 or 406, whilst Alaric was still in Italy, or hovering over it, there appeared another very formidable enemy against the Romans, a Gothic prince likewise named Rhadagaisus, or Rhodogaisus, not a christian, as Alaric was, but a Pagan, and a Scythian, as he is sometimes called, for his fierceness and barbarity.

I begin my accounts of this affair with Zosimus, who writes to this purpose: 'Whilst[b] Alaric was intent upon 'those things, Rhadagaisus came into Italy with a vast num- 'ber of men, not less than four hundred thousand, consist- 'ing of Gauls and Germans from the other side the Rhine 'and the Danube. At the very first tidings of which all 'were filled with great consternation. When all the other 'cities, and Rome itself, were so apprehensive of the ex- 'treme danger they were in, that they almost despaired of 'safety; Stilicho, taking with him all the forces which were 'at Ticinum in Liguria, to the number of about thirty thou- 'sand, together with such auxiliaries of the Alans and Huns 'as were at hand, without waiting for the approach of the

[e] Nobis itaque cordi est, neque christianam amittere mansuetudinem, neque perniciosum cæteris imitationis exemplum in illâ civitate relinquere——Ep. 91. al. 202. num. 6. [a] Baron. A. D. 406. Basnag. A. 405. iii. iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré art. xxii. xxiii. A. 405.

[b] Zos. l. v. p. 803.

'enemy, suddenly crossed the Arn: by [c] which means he 'came upon the barbarians before they were aware, and cut 'them all off with an universal destruction, excepting a very 'few, whom he afterwards incorporated with his own 'forces.'

The same story is in Olympiodorus, another Gentile historian. He does not mention the number of the men, but he says that [d] the Goths, who were with Rhodogaisus, had twelve thousand chiefs or generals.

Christian historians have enlarged more in their accounts of Rhadagaisus, and with good reason. 'Orosius,[e] who 'calls him a Goth, and a Scythian, speaks of him as the 'most cruel and terrible enemy the Romans ever had. On 'a sudden he overrun almost all Italy. He had in his army 'more than two hundred thousand men. The Pagans at 'Rome, and everywhere, were very tumultuous. The city, 'they thought, could by no means withstand such an

[c] Και τοις βαρβαροις αποσδοκητοις επιπεσων, ἁπαν το πολεμιον πανωλεθρια διεφθειρεν· ὡστε μηδενα σχεδον εκ τουτων περισωθηναι, πλην ελαχιστους, οσους αυτος τῃ Ρωμαιων προστεθηκε συμμαχιᾳ. Ibid.

[d] Ὁτι των μετα Ῥοδογαισου Γοτθων οἱ κεφαλιωται, Οπτιματοι εκαλουντο, εις δωδεκα συντεινοντες χιλιαδας. κ. λ. Ap. Phot. Cod. 80. p. 180.

[e] Rhadagaisus omnium antiquorum præsentiumque hostium longe immanissimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam. Nam fuisse in populo ejus plusquam ducenta millia Gothorum ferunt. Hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem paganus et Scytha erat; qui, ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi gentibus, omnem Romani generis sanguinem diis suis propinare devoverat. Hoc igitur Romanis arcibus imminente, fit omnium Paganorum in Urbe concursus: hostem adesse cum utique virium copiâ, tum maxime præsidio deorum potentem: urbem autem ideo destitutam et mature perituram, quia deos et sacra perdiderit. Magnis querelis ubique agitur, et continuo de repetendis sacris celebrandisque tractatur. Fervent totâ urbe blasphemiæ: vulgo nomen Christi tanquam lues aliqua præsentium temporum opprobriis gravatur——Duo tunc Gothorum populi cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis per Romanas provincias baccharentur: quorum unus christianus, propiorque Romano, et (ut res docuit) timore Dei mitis in cæde, alius Paganus, barbarus, et vere Scytha——Sed non sinit Deus rem potentiæ suæ, virtutem hominum et maxime hostium videri. Conterritum divinitus Rhadagaisum in Fæsulanos montes cogit; ejusque (secundum eos qui parcissime referunt) ducenta millia hominum, inopum consilii et cibi, in arido et aspero montis jugo, urgente undique timore concludit——Parum hoc est, nisi captum ei catenatum ac subjugatum sciant, quem timuere Romani; illumque idololatram suum, cujus sacrificia se magis pertimescere quam arma fingebant, sine prœlio victum ac vinctum sub jugo catenisque despiciant. Igitur rex Rhadagaisus, solus spem fugæ sumens, clam suos deseruit atque in nostros incidit, a quibus captus, ac paulisper retentus, deinde interfectus est. Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur, ut, vilissimarum pecudum modo, singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil superesse Deus de eodem populo sinit. Nam illico cunctis qui emebantur morientibus, quod improbi emtores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretiis, expenderunt misericorditer sepulturis. Oros. l. 7. cap. 37.

'enemy, who had the assistance of the gods, to whom he 'sacrificed every day. The city must soon fall into his 'hands. They had none to help them, now the gods and 'their rites were banished. In short, the christian religion, 'they said, had quite ruined the state, and brought them 'into this miserable condition. Nevertheless this formida-'ble enemy was overcome, and his numerous army de-'stroyed. The victory was complete and easy, and almost 'miraculous. The city did afterwards fall into the hands 'of another enemy: but he was a christian, and showed 'mercy to christians, in which the Pagans also shared.'

'Augustine[f] was at Carthage when Rhadagaisus over-'run Italy, and drew near to Rome with his numerous army. 'The Pagans made no doubt but Rhadagaisus would over-'come, who sacrificed daily to the gods whom the Romans 'had now discarded, and so far from worshipping them, 'had forbidden under penalties the offering any sacrifices 'to them.'

Undoubtedly the danger was imminent. And if those barbarians and Pagans had besieged and taken Rome, which they had already devoured in their thoughts, the ruin would have been great and terrible. 'But,' as Augustine observes, 'more than a hundred thousand of those Goths 'and barbarians were destroyed in one day, whilst the Ro-'man army suffered little or nothing. Rhadagaisus fled: 'he and his sons were put to death. And it manifestly

[f] Quod tamen nostrâ memoriâ recentissimo tempore Deus mirabiliter et misericorditer fecerit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant: sed quantum in ipsis est, omnium, si fieri potest, hominum oblivione sepelire conantur. Quod a nobis si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati. Cum Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum agmine ingenti et immani jam in Urbis vicinià constitutus, Romanis cervicibus immineret, uno die tantâ celeritate sic victus est, ut ne uno quidem, non dicam exstincto sed vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium prosternerentur ejus exercitûs, atque ipse cum filiis mox captus pœnâ debitâ necaretur. Nam si ille tam impius cum tantis et tam impiis copiis Romam fuisset ingressus, cui pepercisset? Quibus honorem locis martyrum detulisset? In quâ personâ Deum timeret? Cujus non sanguinem fusum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intactam? Quas autem isti pro diis suis voces haberent, quantâ insultatione jactarent, quod ille ideo vicisset, ideo tanta potuisset quia quotidianis sacrificiis placabat, atque invitabat deos, quod Romanos facere christiana Religio non sinebat? Nam propinquante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu summæ majestatis oppressus est, cum ejus fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, spargere, jactare Paganos, quod ille diis protegentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non posset ab eis qui talia diis Romanis sacra non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permitterent——Ita verus Dominus, gubernatorque rerum, et Romanos cum misericordiâ flagellavit, et tam incredibiliter victis supplicatoribus dæmonum, nec saluti rerum præsentium necessaria esse sacrificia illa monstravit. Aug. De Civ. Dei, l. 5. cap. xxiii.

'appeared that the sacrifices, on which the Pagans set so 'high a value, were not necessary for the safety of the city 'and empire.'

'Augustine says there were many, (meaning I suppose 'Pagans) who were desirous that this event, if possible, 'should be forgotten and buried in oblivion: but he was of 'opinion that this deliverance which had lately happened, 'and was known to all, and which God had so very won-'derfully, and so very mercifully vouchsafed, should be 'thankfully remembered.'

I shall now place below the account of this event, as given in the [g] Chronicle of Marcellinus.

And I beg leave to say, that we have seen the testimonies of two heathen writers concerning it. They bear witness to the character, and the number of this Gothish prince and his army, and the suddenness and completeness of the victory obtained over him. Nor have the christians magnified beyond them. But the observations are their own; and it is referred to the reader to consider whether they are not just.

Augustine has mentioned this event in another [h] place, in a sermon to the people, where he tells the story over again, and makes a good improvement of it.

SECTION XI.

Rome besieged, taken, and sacked by Alaric the Goth, in the year 410.

I MUST not entirely omit the history of Alaric; but I am desirous to be as brief as possible, for which reason I shall mention principal things only, omitting the rest.

His story may be seen in [a] Olympiodorus, and [b] Zosimus, and [c] Claudian, heathen writers, as well as in divers christian [d] historians.

[g] Rhadagaisus, Paganus et Scytha, cum ducentis millibus suorum totam Italiam inundavit. Huldin et Sarus, Hunnorum Gothorumque reges, Rhadagaisum continuo devicerunt, ipsius capite amputato, captivcs ejus singulis aureis distrahentes. Marcellin. Chr. p. 37 edit. Scalig.

[h] Serm. 105. cap. x. Tom. v. Bened.

[a] Ap. Phot. cod. 80. p. 178. &c.

[b] Zos. l. 5. p. 783. &c.

[c] Claud. Carm. 26. de Bello Getico. et Carm. 24. De Sexto Consulatu Honorii.

[d] Socrat. l. 7. cap. x. p. 346. Soz. l. 9. cap. vi. vii. viii. Philostorg. l. 12. p. 532. &c. Vid. et Oros. et Augustin.

Alaric was a Goth, and therefore called a barbarian. But he was a man of a great and a generous mind, and a christian of the Arian denomination. He had served as a general under Theodosius among the barbarians, who had joined themselves to him in the expedition against Eugenius and Arbogastes in the year 394. But not being well used afterwards as he thought, he became an enemy to the Romans, and after wasting Greece, and Thessaly, and Macedonia, and committing many acts of hostility, he came into that part of Italy which is called Liguria, where [e] was fought in the year 402 or 403, the difficult battle of Polentia, now Pollenza, and where Stilicho was conqueror. After which it has been thought that with [f] good management Alaric might have been quite subdued,[g] or reconciled, upon reasonable terms; and might have been ever after a firm and useful friend and ally of the Roman empire.

But however that may be, we find that in the beginning of the year 408, Alaric made an attempt upon Rome itself, as we were informed by [h] Zosimus some while ago; when the senate agreed to pay Alaric the sum of four thousand pounds in gold, though it was not approved of by all. In the same year, in the month of August, Stilicho was put to death: and before the end of the year Alaric came before Rome, and besieged it again, some of the stipulated conditions, as is supposed, not having been performed. At which time, as we were also told before by [i] Zosimus, the city being reduced to great straits, they agreed to pay Alaric five thousand pounds of gold and thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and three thousand pounds of pepper. But these, or some other conditions of peace, not having been duly performed, Alaric came before Rome again, the second or the third time, and besieged it, and took it in the month of August, in the year 410, as is supposed.

[e] O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia seclis!
O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis
Virtutis fatale solum, memorabile bustum
Barbariæ!
Claudian. Carm. 26. de Bello Get. p. 635—638.

[f] Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis suis sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso. Oros. l. 7. cap. 37. in.

Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, pro pace optimâ et quibuscumque sedibus suppliciter ac simpliciter orantem, occulto fœdere fovens, publice autem et belli et pacis copiâ negatâ, ad terendam terrendamque Rempublicam reservavit. Oros. l. 7. cap. 38. sub init.

[g] Vide Basnag. ann. 403. num. ii.

[h] Above, at p. 119—121.

[i] Above, at p. 121—123.

This calamity, however, was attended with some favourable circumstances, owing to the generosity of Alaric, and his profession as a christian. For, as Orosius[k] says, when he gave his soldiers leave to plunder and make a prey of the city, he commanded them to spare the lives of men as much as possible. He likewise gave strict orders that no injury should be done to those who fled to christian churches, and especially to the churches of the apostles Peter and Paul; which were particularly mentioned by him because they were the largest; (so likewise says[l] Augustine;) which orders were observed by the soldiery. And hereby the lives of some Pagans also were preserved: for all who fled to those privileged places were safe. So write Orosius and Augustine, who were contemporaries.

It was indeed a great calamity. But, as Orosius says, Alaric of his own accord, left the city after[m] three days. And, as he thinks, Rome had suffered as much before several times, particularly when the city was invaded by the Gauls, and when it was set on fire by the emperor Nero. Augustine says the same. Marcellinus, in his Chronicle, says that[n] Alaric left Rome on the sixth day after he had taken it.

When Alaric left Rome he ravaged Campania, and other

[k] Adest Alaricus; trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit. Dato tamen præcepto, [prius] ut si qui in sancta loca, præcipueque in sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos in primis inviolatos securosque sinerent. Tum deinde, in quantum possent prædæ inhiantes, a sanguine temperarent. Oros. l. 7. cap. 39. in.

[l] Testantur hoc Martyrum loca, et basilicæ Apostolorum, quæ in istâ vastatione Urbis ad se convenientes suos et alienos receperunt—Sic evaserunt multi, qui nunc christianis temporibus detrahunt, et mala quæ illa civitas pertulit, Christo imputant. Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. 1. cap. 1.

Quicquid ergo vastationis, trucidationis, deprædationis, concremationis, afflictionis, in istâ recentissimâ Romanâ clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est; quod inusitatâ rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ implendæ populi cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus abducerentur—— hoc Christi nomini, hoc christiano tempori tribuendum, quisquis non videt cœcus: quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus: quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. i. cap. vii.

[m] Tertiâ die barbari, quam ingressi fuerant Urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingentesimo conditionis ejus anno, casus effecerat. Nam si exhibitam Neronis Imperatoris sui spectaculis inflammationem recenseam, proculdubio nullâ comparatione æquiparabitur secundum id, quod excitaverat lascivia principis, hoc quod nunc intulerat ira victoris. Neque vero Gallorum meminisse in hujusmodi collatione debeo, &c. Oros. l. 7. cap. 39. p. 575.

[n] Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, sextoque die quam ingressus fuerat deprædatâ urbe egressus est. Marcell. Chr. p. 38.

places of Italy, going toward Sicily, and thence intending, as is supposed, to invade Africa. Philostorgius says that[o] Alaric died in Campania. But Olympiodorus says he went as far as[p] Rhegium: which is more probable. However, they both agree in saying that Alaric died by[q] distemper.

This event was reckoned very opprobrious to the Roman name. And many reflections were cast upon the christians by the Gentiles, who imputed this disaster to the progress of the christian religion, and the neglect of the ancient rites, in the use of which the Roman empire had long flourished. Those reflections were the occasion[r] of Augustine's writing his work of the City of God. They were also the occasion[s] of Orosius's writing his seven books of History against the Pagans: often called his[t] Hormista, or Mundi Chronicon. Of which work, to mention it now by the bye, I never saw a good account, though some good critics have attempted it. I have long been of opinion that Hormista is a corruption of these two words—Orbis Gesta, a very proper title for Orosius's work.

But though the taking of Rome by Alaric was the occasion of many reflections upon the christians; and those two learned authors did thereupon very reasonably undertake a vindication of christianity; I suppose this event was very prejudicial to the interests of Gentilism, and consequently conducive to the progress of the christian religion.

SECTION XII.

The Correspondence between Augustine and Volusian, in the year 412.

I NOW intend to give an account of the correspondence between Augustine and Volusian in the year 412.

[o] ——Αλαριχος τα κατα Καμπανιαν ελῃζετο, κακει νοσῳ φθειρεται. Philost. p. 534. B.

[p] Ap. Phot. p. 181. sub. fin.

[q] ——οτι Αλαριχϐ νοσῳ τελευτησαντος, κ. λ. Ap. Phot. p. 180.

[r] Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione, agentium sub rege Alarico, atque impetu magnæ cladis eversa est, cujus eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores, quos usitato nomine Paganos vocamus, in christianam religionem referre conantes, solito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blasphemare cœperunt. Unde ego exardescens zelo domûs Dei, adversus eorum blasphemias, vel errores, libros De civitate Dei scribere institui. Aug. Retract. l. 2. cap. 13.

[s] Adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem. Vid. ibid. lib. i. in Procem.

[t] Hormistam, id est, mundi Chronicon. Vide Testimonia de Orosio, apud Havercamp. et alibi.

It is supposed, though I do not perceive it to be certain, that [a] he was uncle to the younger Melania by the mother's side. Who or what his father was I do not find. His mother was a pious christian woman, who was desirous of her son's conversion to christianity; but I do not see her name any where.

The name of Volusian must have been common among the Romans. Rufinus Volusianus [b] was ordinary consul in the year 311 and 314. There [c] were in the same fourth century several eminent men of this name, and in some of the highest offices of the empire. This Volusian was a man of great distinction. It has been supposed that Rutilius [d] in his poem mentions him as proconsul of Africa; which is not certain; however it is allowed that [e] he was præfect of Rome in the year 421.

I suppose Volusian to have been now at Carthage. Augustine's letter to him is to this purpose: 'He [f] assures 'him that he sincerely wisheth him prosperity in this world, 'and that he should be glad to see him a christian, agreeably to the wishes of his pious mother, at whose request he 'writes to him. He earnestly recommends to him the study 'of the sacred scriptures, and especially the epistles of 'Christ's apostles, who often quote the writings of the ancient prophets; and thereby he will be led to the understanding of them also. If any doubts and difficulties 'arise in his mind, he might send them to him in writing, 'and he would answer them as he is able. He thinks that 'to be preferable to conversing together, which may not 'suit the many engagements of either of them; and it may 'be difficult to find a season when both shall be at leisure.'

[a] Benedictin. Not. ad Augustin. ep. 132. [b] Vide Pagi ann. 314. num. i. [c] Vid. Gothofred. Prosop. p. 391, 392.

[d]
— — — — —
Rexerat ante puer populos pro Consule Pœnos.
Æqualis Tyriis terror, amorque fuit.
Rutil. ver. 167, &c.

[e] Gothofred. ibid. [f] De salute tuâ, quam et in hoc seculo, et in Christo esse cupio, sanctæ matris tuæ votis sum fortasse etiam ipse non impar. Unde meritis tuis reddens salutationis obsequium, hortor ut valeo, ut literarum vere certeque sanctarum studio te curam non pigeat impendere—— Præcipue Apostolorum linguas exhortor ut legas. Ex his enim ad cognoscendos Prophetas excitaberis, quorum testimoniis utuntur Apostoli. Si quid autem vel cum legis, vel cum cogitas, tibi oritur quæstionis, in quo dissolvendo videar necessarius, scribe ut rescribam. Magis enim hoc forte Domino adjuvante potero, quam præsens talia loqui tecum, non solum propter occupationes varias et meas et tuas, (quoniam non cum mihi vacat, occurrit ut et tibi vacet) verum etiam propter eorum irruentem præsentiam, qui plerumque non apti tali negotio, magisque linguæ certaminibus, quam scientiæ luminibus delectantur——Aug. Ep. 132. al.

Which may be supposed to imply that Volusian had now some important post in the government; but what it was cannot be said.

Volusian in his answer to that letter treats Augustine very respectfully, and says, 'he[g] shall be very willing to 'commit himself to his instructions: for no man ought to 'think himself too old to learn; and he thanks him for the 'favour of allowing him to communicate his doubts to him. 'He then tells him, that in the conversations of some friends 'the discourses had run upon various topics and questions, 'according to the different tempers and studies of the per-'sons present, relating to rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, and 'the various opinions of the several philosophers and their 'followers, with all which you are well acquainted. At 'length one of the company, and he no mean person, but 'one among many, rose up, and said: "Who is there here 'who is well acquainted with the christian doctrine, and 'able to solve my doubts, and give me reasonable satisfac-'tion upon them?" At which we were all surprised, and 'quite silent for a while. After which he went on and 'said: "I cannot conceive that the Lord and governor of 'the world should be lodged in the body of a virgin, and 'lie there ten months, and then be brought forth without 'prejudice to the virginity of his mother." To which he 'added divers other things, saying, "it was very strange that 'he should lie hid in the body of an infant, whom the whole

[g] Petis me, vir probitatis justitiæque documentum, ut aliqua ex ambiguis lectionis peritæ discenda perconter. Amplector gratiam muneris imperati, meque libenter in disciplinas tuas offero, veteris sententiæ auctoritatem secutus, quæ nullam ad perdiscendum abundare credit ætatem——Domine sancte, ac merito venerabilis pater, est operæ pretium cognoscere habitam inter nos proxime confabulationem. Quibusdam amicorum conventibus aderamus. Frequentes proferebantur illic pro ingeniis studiisque sententiæ. Erat tamen sermo rhetorica partitio. Apud agnoscentem loquor. Nam etiam ista paullo ante docuisti——Alii rursus poëticam elevabant faventes. Ne hanc quidem eloquentiæ partem tacitam aut inhonoram relinquis——Tunc ad familiarem tuam philosophiam sermo deflectit, quam ipse Aristotelico more tamquam Isocraticam fovere consueveras. Quærebamus et quid egerit præceptor ex Lyceo; quid Academiæ multiplex et continuata cunctatio; quid ille disputator ex porticu; quid Physicorum peritia; quid Epicureorum voluptas; quid inter omnes infinita disputandi libido, tuncque magis ignorata veritas, postquam præsumptum est quod possit agnosci.

Dum in his confabulatio nostra remoratur, unus e multis, Et quis, inquit, est sapientiâ ad perfectum christianitatis imbutus, qui ambigua in quibus hæreo possit aperire, dubiosque assensus meos verâ vel verisimili credulitate firmare? Stupemus tacentes. Tunc in hæc sponte prorumpit: Miror, utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratæ feminæ corpus impleverit, pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater, & tamen virgo enixa sit solemnitate pariendi, et post hæc virginitas intacta permanserit. His et alia subnectit: Intra corpusculum vagientis infantiæ latet, cui par vix putatur universitas, patitur puerili-

'universe cannot contain. Then he grows up, and passeth 'through childhood and youth to manhood. And all this 'while the governor of the world is absent from his throne, 'and concerned for one small body. Moreover, he sleeps, 'is nourished by food, and endures all the sensations of 'other mortals. Nor are there any sufficient indications of 'his greatness. For dispossessing dæmons, healing sick 'people, and raising dead men to life, are small matters to 'be performed by the Deity." Here we interrupted him, 'and put a stop to his objections, and broke up the com-'pany, thinking it better to refer the inquiries to a more 'competent judge, and fearing lest venerable mysteries 'should be violated, and error, once innocent, should de-'generate into presumption. You see, honoured Sir, a 'confession of ignorance; and you may discern what is ex-'pected from you, and suitable to your great reputation. 'Ignorance may be tolerated in other bishops without de-'triment to religion: but when we come to the prelate 'Augustine, we conclude that what he does not know is no 'part of the christian law. May the supreme Deity ever 'preserve you in safety!'

We must hence conclude that Volusian was a man of great ingenuity and learning. And whatever may be thought of his objections, it must be acknowledged that the letter is polite. And, when Marcellinus, in a letter to be presently taken notice of, calls him 'the illustrious Vo-'lusian,' he may be supposed to have a respect to his mental qualifications as a gentleman and scholar, as well as to his high birth and honourable station in the world. And indeed he tells Augustine that[h] he believes he was sensible Volusian's letter was well written.

We are therefore now, in the next place, to take notice

tatis annos, adolescit, juventute solidatur: tam diu a sedibus suis abest ille regnator, atque ad unum corpusculum totius mundi cura transfertur. Deinde in somnos resolvitur, cibo alitur, omnes mortalium sentit affectus. Nec ullis competentibus signis tantæ majestatis indicia clarescunt, quoniam larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curæ reddita vita defunctis: hæc, si et alios cogites, Deo parva sunt. Intervenimus ulterius inquirenti, solutoque conventu, ad potioris peritiæ merita distulimus, ne dum incautius secreta temerantur, inculpam deflecteret error innocuus. Accepisti, vir totius gloriæ capax, imperitiæ confessionem: quid a partibus vestris desideretur, agnoscis. Interest famæ tuæ, ut quæsita noverimus. Utcumque absque detrimento cultûs divini in aliis sacerdotibus toleratur inscitia, at cum ad antistitem Augustinum venitur, legi deest quidquid contigerit ignorari. Incolumem venerationem tuam divinitas summa tueatur, Domine vere sancte ac merito venerabilis pater. Augustin. Ep. 135. al. 2.

[h] Sed tamen satis, sicut ipse probare dignaberis, culto accuratoque sermone, et Romanæ eloquentiæ nitore perspicuo, aliqua sibi exsolvi impendio postulavit. Marcellin. ep. 136.

of that letter to Augustine written by Marcellinus, a man of great eminence, who had been the emperor's commissioner[i] at the conference of the catholics and Donatists at Carthage in the year 411; a zealous christian, whose excellent character may be seen in[k] Augustine's letters, and[l] elsewhere.

He begins with telling Augustine that 'Volusian[m] had 'showed to him, and to others, the letter which he had re- 'ceived from him. Marcellinus expresseth great satisfac- 'tion in Augustine's letter, and in his readiness to become 'an instructor to Volusian. He also tells Augustine that at 'the request of his mother, he had often visited Volusian, 'and had been visited by him. He did his best to solve his 'doubts. But he requests the farther and better assistance 'of Augustine; intimating, that there were many who were 'willing enough to cherish his difficulties, and desirous 'to keep him still with them. And he tells Augustine that 'Volusian would have said more, if he had not been afraid 'to be troublesome by prolixity. The doctrine of the 'Lord's incarnation, upon which Volusian had touched in 'his letter, was indeed a subject of common discourse, and 'was much disliked, and censured by many. Augustine 'therefore would do well to clear it up. But there were 'also other things very proper for his consideration; for 'there were many who falsely asserted that our Saviour 'had done no more than other men; and he earnestly de-

[i] Vid. Breviculum Collationis cum Donatistis, primæ diei, sub in. ap. Augustin. Tom. ix.

[k] Augustin. Ep. 151. al. 259. sect. 8. Tom. 2.

[l] Vid. Hieron. lib. 3. adv. Pelagian. T. 4. p. 546.

[m] Vir illustris Volusianus beatitudinis tuæ mihi literas legit, imo me cogente pluribus legit, quæ scilicet omnia, quæ a te dicuntur, cum vere miranda sint, usquequaque miratus sum——Hinc enim plurimum placuit, quod hominis gressus aliquanto titubantes boni propositi exhortatione statuere et firmare contendis. Est enim nobis cum eodem quotidiana pro viribus nostris, et pro ingenii paupertate disputatio. Sanctæ quidem matris ejus precatione compulso cura mihi est eum frequentius salutandi gratiâ convenire, licet vicem in hac parte reddere etiam ipse dignetur. Acceptâ autem venerabilitatis tuæ epistolâ, homo, qui a veri Dei stabilitate, multorum quorum in hac urbe copia est, persuasione revocatur, ita motus est, ut si, quantum ipse confirmat, literarum prolixitatem minime formidâsset, omne beatitudini tuæ quod habere potest insinuâsset, ambiguum——Quæ quidem quæstio usquequaque detrita est, et eorum super hac parte satis nota calliditas, qui dispensationem dominicæ incarnationis infamant. Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte, quia plurimis quidquid rescripseris profuturum esse confido, precator accesserim, ut ad ea vigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum quam alii homines facere potuerunt, gessisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exstitisse miracula.

Ipse autem vir illustris, superius memoratus, multa esse dixit præsentious

'sires that this may be carefully considered by Augustine, 'and that he will fully answer that difficulty. For they 'are continually talking of their Apollonius and Apuleius, 'and other magicians, whose miracles, they say, were 'greater than our Saviour's. But supposing him to receive 'satisfaction upon the doctrine of the incarnation, there are 'still other difficulties of which the same illustrious person 'desires to see some solution. For, as he says, the God of 'the New Testament is supposed to be the God also of the 'Old Testament. But how could the same God reject the 'old sacrifices, and institute a new way of worship. For 'nothing that has been once rightly done can be afterwards 'altered. Beside, that this would show inconstancy, which 'is altogether unworthy of the Deity. Then he said that 'the doctrine of the New Testament was inconsistent with 'good order among men, and the welfare of society. For, 'as is generally said, these are precepts of the christian law, 'Recompense to no man evil for evil: (Rom. xii. 17:) and 'whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek turn to him the 'other also: and if any man will take away thy cloak let 'him have thy coat also, and whosoever shall compel thee 'to go a mile go with him two;" (Matt. v. 39—41;) all 'which are inconsistent with the public welfare. For who 'can bear to be robbed by an enemy? and who is there 'that must not be willing to oppose, by force of arms, an 'invader of the Roman territories; and more to the like 'purpose, which your reverence can easily apprehend. 'Insomuch, that as he intimated, though he was shy of 'enlarging, it was manifest that great damage had accrued

aliquantis, quæ huic possent jungi non immerito quæstioni, si, ut ante dixi, non ab ejus partibus epistolaris considerata brevitas fuisset. Quæ tamen licet scribere noluerit, tacere non est passus. Dicebat enim, quod etsi hodie incarnationis dominicæ ratio redderetur, reddi vix ad liquidum possit, cur hic Deus, qui et Veteris Testamenti Deus esse firmatur, spretis veteribus sacrificiis delectatus est novis. Nihil enim corrigi posse asserebat, nisi quod ante factum non recte probaretur, vel quod semel recte factum sit immutari nullâtenus debuisse. Recte enim facta dicebat mutari nisi injuste non posse; maxime quia ista varietas inconstantiæ Deum possit arguere. Tum deinde, quod ejus prædicatio atque doctrina reipublicæ moribus nullâ ex parte conveniat: utpote, sicut a multis dicitur, cujus hoc constet præceptum, ut nulli malum pro malo reddere debeamus, et percutienti aliam præbere maxillam, et pallium dare persistenti tunicam tollere, et cum eo qui nos angariare voluerit, ire debere spatio itineris duplicato. Quæ omnia reipublicæ moribus asserit esse contraria. Nam quis tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiatur, vel Romanæ provinciæ deprædatori non velit belli jure reponere? et cætera quæ dici ad reliqua posse intelligit venerabilitas tua. Hæc ergo omnia ipsi posse adjungi æstimat quæstioni, in tantum, ut per christianos Principes, christianam religionem maximâ ex parte servantes, tanta (etiamsi ipse de hac parte taceat) reipublicæ mala evenisse manifestum sit.

'to the state by means of christian princes, who in the main 'governed according to the christian religion.'

'To all these things, as your reverence will readily ac- 'knowledge with me, a clear and full answer is wanting; 'and the rather, because what you shall write will come into 'many hands. Considering also, that at the time of those 'discourses there was present a person of great distinction, 'and a possessor of a large estate in the country of Hippo, 'who indeed bestowed commendations upon your reve- 'rence, but it was in the way of irony: and said that when- 'ever these things had been talked of, he never received sa- 'tisfaction concerning them. I must therefore put you in 'mind of your promise, to consider all these things, and 'compose some treatise upon them, which, I am persuaded, 'may be of signal advantage to the church of Christ, 'especially at this time.'

I have transcribed these letters largely. I presume my readers will make proper observations. We see here what was then the state of things at Carthage. Christianity was the prevailing religion: but there were also many Gentiles. The merits of the christian doctrine were debated. The men of learning and eminence among the Gentiles had their doubts and difficulties which they openly proposed. Nor were they unknown to men of lower rank; the vulgar also argued upon them in their way. And though many were greatly prejudiced against the christian religion, some were open to conviction. They proposed their difficulties with a view of obtaining satisfaction. Such an one was the illustrious Volusian. This liberty of debate appears highly agreeable. Nor could a christian bishop better employ his time than in solving those difficulties, and clearing them up to the satisfaction of inquirers of all sorts. For this Augustine was as well qualified as any man of his time; and in this service he laboured with great diligence, as his large work Of the City of God, and other writings, testify. And if this freedom of debate had still continued and been openly allowed and encouraged, and the arguments for christianity had been proposed with mildness, it would have been honourable to the christian religion, and its farther

Unde, sicut beatitudo tua mecum dignatur agnoscere, ad hæc omnia (quoniam multorum manibus sine dubio tradetur sanctitatis tuæ desiderata responsio) plenus debet et elucubratus solutionis splendor ostendi; maxime quia, cum ista gererentur, eximius Hipponensis regionis possessor et dominus præsens aderat, qui et sanctitatem tuam sub ironiæ adulatione laudaret, et sibi, cum de his quæreret, minime satisfactum esse contenderet. Ego vero ad hæc omnia, promissionis non immemor sed exactor libros confici deprecor, Ecclesiæ, hoc maxime tempore, incredibiliter profuturos. Ap. Aug. ep. 136.

progress would have been more advanced than by any external force and violence whatever.

Those letters just mentioned were the occasion of two more from Augustine: one to Volusian, in which he considers the difficulties proposed by him: another to Marcellinus, in which he answers those other objections which had been mentioned by him.

In that to Volusian he begins with his objections relating to the incarnation, and tells him; 'The[n] christian doctrine 'does not teach that God was so united to a body born of 'a virgin as to neglect the care and government of the uni- 'verse, and contract his concern to that body only——— 'When we[o] say that the word of God, by whom all things 'were made, took upon him a body born of a virgin, and 'appeared therein to men, we do not suppose that he lost 'his immortality, or changed his eternity, or lessened his 'power, or deserted the government of the world, or that 'he left the bosom of the Father, in which he always is.'

'He[p] was refreshed by sleep, and nourished by food, 'and had the other innocent infirmities of the human na- 'ture, by which it appeared that he was really a man; that 'is indeed the truth. But some among us whom we call 'heretics, from a mistaken regard to his honour, and the 'more to extol his power, as they think, refuse to acknow-

[n] Veniendum potius est ad rem quam requiris. Ubi primum te scire volo non hoc habere christianam doctrinam, quod ita sit Deus infusus carni, quâ ex virgine nasceretur, ut curam gubernandæ universitatis vel deseruerit vel amiserit, vel ad illud corpusculum quasi contractam materiam collectamque transtulerit. Ad Volusian. ep. 137. al. 3. num. 4.

[o] Et putamus nobis de omnipotentiâ Dei incredibile dici aliquid, cum dicitur Verbum Dei, per quod omnia facta sunt, sic assumsisse corpus ex virgine, et sensibus apparuisse mortalibus, ut immortalitatem suam non corruperit, ut æternitatem non mutaverit, ut potestatem suam non minuerit, ut administrationem mundi non deseruerit, ut a sinu Patris, id est, a secreto, quo cum illo et in illo est, non recesserit. Ibid. num. 6.

[p] Jam illud, quod in somnos solvitur, et cibo alitur, et omnes humanos sentit affectus, hominem persuadet hominibus, quem non consumsit utique, sed assumsit. Ecce sic factum est, et tamen quidam hæretici, perverse mirando laudandoque ejus virtutem, naturam humanam in eo prorsus agnoscere noluerunt, ubi est omnis gratiæ commendatio, quâ salvos facit credentes in se, profundos thesauros sapientiæ et scientiæ continens, et fide mentes induens, quas ad æternam contemplationem veritatis incommutabilis provehat. Quid si Omnipotens hominem, ubicumque formatum, non ex materno utero exarat, sed repentinum inferret aspectibus? Quid si nullas ex parvulo in juventam mutaret ætates, nullos cibos, nullos caperet somnos, nonne opinionem confirmaret erroris, nec hominem verum suscepisse, alio modo crederetur? Et dum omnia mirabiliter facit, auferret quod misericorditer fecit? Nunc vero ita inter Deum et homines Mediator apparuit ut in unitate personæ copulans utramque naturam, et solita sublimaret insolitis, et insolita solitis temperaret. Ibid. num. 9.

'ledge this: and, by denying his humanity, subvert the 'mercy of God by which we are saved. If the Almighty 'should create a man, not formed of a woman, but sud- 'denly brought into the world and set before us: supposing 'him not to pass through the several stages of childhood 'and youth, never to eat nor sleep, would it not be reck- 'oned that he was not really a man? this would be won- 'derful. But the mercy of God would not be so apparent 'as now it is. For in this way, being really a man, and the 'divinity being united to him, he is fitly qualified to be the 'mediator between God and men.'

But [q] it is farther objected, that 'there were not sufficient 'evidences of his greatness. For dispossessing dæmons, 'healing sick people, and raising men to life, which some 'others have done, are only small matters to be performed 'by the Deity.' 'Well,' says Augustine, 'we also acknow- 'ledge that the prophets did such things: And what can 'be a greater miracle than raising the dead? This was 'done by Elijah, and also by Elisha—Farther, Moses and 'the prophets, who were men of great truth, prophesied of 'the Lord Jesus Christ, and ascribed great glory to him, 'and spoke of him not only as equal to themselves, and su- 'perior to them, in the same power of working miracles, 'but as the Lord and God of all, and made man for the sake 'of men. And he did the same miracles they had done. 'But there were some other things peculiar to him, his na- 'tivity of a virgin, his resurrection from the dead, and as- 'cension to heaven; he who can think all this a small mat- 'ter to be performed by the Deity, I know not what farther 'can be expected.'

'But [r] some perhaps may demand other things which

[q] 'Sed, nulla, inquiunt, competentibus signis claruerunt tantæ majestatis 'indicia; quia larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curæ, reddita vita defunctis, si 'et alii considerentur, Deo parva sunt.' Fatemur quidem et nos talia quæ- dam fecisse Prophetas. Nam in tuis signis quid excellentius, quam mortuos, resurrexisse? Fecit hoc Elias, fecit hoc etiam Elisæus——Sed et ipse Möyses, et cæteri Prophetæ veracissimi Dominum Christum prophetaverunt, et gloriam magnam ei dederunt, hunc non tamquam parem sibi, nec in eâdem miraculo- rum potentiâ superiorem, sed plane Dominum Deum omnium, et hominem propter homines factum, venturum prænuntiaverunt. Qui propterea et ipse talia facere voluit, ne esset absurdum, quæ per illos fecerat, si ipse non faceret. Sed tamen et aliquid proprium facere debuit: nasci de virgine, a mortuis resurgere, in cœlum adscendere. Hoc Deo qui parum putat, quid plus exspectet, ignoro. Ibid. sect. 13.

[r] Arbitror enim talia flagitari qualia gerens hominem facere non debuit. Nam in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, et omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Num, homine assump- to, alium mundum facere debuit, ut eum esse crederemus, per quem factus est mundus? Sed nec major mundus, nec isti æqualis, in hoc mundo fieri posset. Si autem minorem faceret infra istum, similiter hoc quoque parum putaretur.

'ought not to be done. They may urge that another 'world might be created by him: which indeed is a great 'absurdity. But though it was not fit that a new world 'should be made by him, he did new things in this world 'already made. He was born of a virgin, and raised from 'the dead to eternal life, and is exalted above the heavens, 'which may be reckoned more than making a world. Here 'perhaps they will say, this we do not believe. What then 'shall be done to men who despise little things and will 'not believe greater? They believe that dead men have 'been raised to life, because others have done it, and it is a 'small matter to be done by God. But that a man has been 'made of a virgin, and raised from the dead to eternal life 'above the heavens, they will not believe, because no other 'has done the like, and it is worthy of God—I entreat you 'be not like to such men.'

'I[s] have answered the difficulties in your letter, and yet 'must proceed; for, permit me to say, who can forbear his 'assent to truths so attested by a perpetual order and con- 'nexion of things from the beginning of time; former events

Quia ergo non oportebat, ut novum faceret mundum, nova fecit in mundo. Homo enim de virgine procreatus, et a mortuis in æternam vitam resuscitatus potentius fortasse opus est quam mundus. Hic forte respondent se factum hoc esse non credere. Quid ergo fiat hominibus, qui minima contemnunt, majora non credunt? Reddita vita defunctis ideo creditur, quia fecerunt alii, et parum est Deo. Caro propria de virgine creata, et a morte in æternam vitam super cœlos levata, ideo non creditur, quia nemo fecit, et competit Deo——Noli eis esse similis, obsecro te. Ibid. sect. 14.

[s] Disputantur hæc latius; et omnes quæstionum necessariarum sinus perscrutati discussique panduntur——quem non moveat ad credendum tantus ab initio ipse rerum gestarum ordo, et ipsa connexio temporum, præteritis fidem de præsentibus faciens, priora posterioribus et recentioribus antiqua confirmans? Eligitur unus ex gente Chaldæorum, pietate fidelissimâ præditus, cui promissa divina post tantam seculorum seriem novissimis temporibus complenda prodantur, atque in ejus semine omnes gentes habituræ benedictionem prænuntiantur. Hic, unum Deum verum colens universitatis creatorem, gignit filium senex, de conjuge, quam spe pariendi penitus destitutam sterilitas ætasque jam fecerat. Propagatur ex illo numerosissimus populus, multiplicatus in Ægypto, quo illam stirpem ex orientalibus partibus, promissis effectisque crebrescens dispositio divina transmiserat. Educitur ex Ægypti servitute gens valida horrendis signis atque miraculis; pulsisque impiis gentibus, in terram promissionis perducta et constituta, regno etiam sublimatur. Deinde prævalescente peccato, sacrilegis ausibus Deum verum, qui eis tanta beneficia contulerat, sæpissime ostendens, variisque flagellata cladibus, et prosperitatibus consolati, usque ad Christi incarnationem declarationemque perducitur. Quem Christum, Dei Verbum, Dei Filium, Deum in carne venturum, morituruni, resurrecturum, in cœlum ascensurum, præpollentissimo suo nomine, in omnibus gentibus dicatos sibi populos habiturum; inque illo remissionem peccatorum, salutemque æternam futuram esse credentibus, omnia gentis illius promissa, omnes prophetiæ, sacerdotia, sacrificia, templum, et cuncta omnino sacramenta, sonuerunt. num. 15.

'confirming the present, and later events confirming those 'which are past and old? By the divine wisdom one man 'is chosen from among the Chaldeans, a man of steady vir- 'tue and piety, to whom the promises of God are delivered, 'which were to be fulfilled in a long succession of ages yet 'to come, and in whom all the nations of the earth were to 'be blessed. This person, a worshipper of the one true God, 'the creator of the universe, when old, begat a son born of 'his wife, who also had been long barren, and was now in 'years, and without hopes of bearing children. From him 'proceeds a numerous people, which is greatly multiplied 'in Egypt, even under grievous oppression. From that 'state of servitude they are delivered, and by manifold signs 'and wonders they are brought into the promised land, and 'established there, the impious inhabitants being driven 'out of it, and they are made a kingdom. After that, trans- 'gressions prevailing among them, and God being offended, 'they suffer many calamities, and having humbled them- 'selves they are delivered, and after a great variety of 'events they are upheld to the coming of Christ.'

'Well,[t] in due time Christ came, and in his birth, his 'life, his words, his works, his sufferings, his death, resur- 'rection, and ascension, all the predictions of the prophets 'are fulfilled. He sends down the Holy Spirit, and fills 'the faithful met together in one house, expecting the pro- 'mised gift. Being filled with the Holy Spirit, they on a 'sudden speak in the languages of all nations, boldly con- 'fute error, preach the saving truth, exhort to repentance 'of all past offences, and assure of forgiveness through the 'divine favour. Signs and miracles accompany the preach- 'ing of this doctrine of true religion and virtue. Great op- 'position is raised against them. They endure the evils

[t] Venit et Christus; complentur in ejus ortu, vitâ, dictis, factis, passionibus, morte, resurrectione, adscensione, omnia præconia Prophetarum. Mittit Spiritum Sanctum; implet fideles unâ in domo congregatos, et hoc ipsum promissum orando atque desiderando exspectantes. Impleti autem Spiritu Sancto, loquuntur repente linguis omnium gentium, arguunt fidenter errores, prædicant saluberrimam veritatem, exhortantur ad pœnitentiam præteritæ culpabilis vitæ, indulgentiam de divinâ gratiâ pollicentur. Prædicationem pietatis veræque religionis signa congruentia et miracula consequuntur. Excitatur adversus eos sæva infidelitas; tolerant prædicta, sperant promissa, docent præcepta. Numero exigui per mundum disseminantur, populos facilitate mirabili convertunt, inter inimicos augentur, persecutionibus crescunt, per afflictionum angustias usque in terrarum extrema dilatantur. Ex imperitissimis, ex abjectissimis, ex paucissimis illuminantur, nobilitantur, multiplicantur præclarissima ingenia, cultissima eloquia: mirabilesque peritias acutorum, facundorum, atque doctorum subjugant Christo, et ad prædicandum viam pietatis salutisque convertunt——Atque inter hæc omnia contra ecclesiam Christi impiarum genti-

'that had been foretold, they trust in the promises that had 'been made, and they continue to teach the precepts which 'had been delivered to them. Being few in number, they 'are dispersed over the whole world, and with amazing 'success they convert the people, are multiplied among 'enemies, increase by persecutions, and, under the pres-'sures of afflictions, they are spread to the utmost ends of 'the earth. By the most unskilful, by the most contempti-'ble, by a very few, the greatest wits and the most learned 'men are enlightened, ennobled, multiplied: men of the 'greatest abilities, and the most celebrated for learning and 'eloquence, are subdued, and brought under the discipline 'of Christ, and induced to preach the way of piety and sal-'vation to others——Still the church endures the persecu-'tions of infidel people. But she overcomes by suffering, 'and by professing the uncorrupted truth amidst the un-'relenting cruelty of opposers. The truth having been re-'vealed which had been concealed under prophetic mys-'teries, those sacrifices by which it had been prefigured 'have ceased, the temple itself being destroyed where they 'were to be offered. And the Jewish nation, which has 'been cast off for their unbelief, and removed from their 'own country, are dispersed all over the world, that they 'might carry every where the volumes of the sacred scrip-'tures; and so the testimony of prophecy, in which Christ 'and the church are foretold, being produced by our ad-'versaries, there might not be any the least suspicion that 'they had been forged by us to serve a purpose. And in 'them their unbelief also is foretold. The temples and 'images of dæmons, and their sacrilegious rites, are gradu-'ally, and one after another, overturned, agreeably to the 'predictions of the prophets. Heresies contrary to the

um infidelitas fremit. Evincit illa patiendo, et inconcussam fidem inter obsistentium sævitiam profitendo. Revelatæ veritatis, quæ diu promissis mysticis velabatur, sacrificio succedente, illa sacrificia, quibus hoc figurabatur, templi ipsius eversione tolluntur. Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipsa Judæorum, a sedibus exstirpata, per mundum usquequaque dispergitur, ut ubique portet codices sanctos, ac sic prophetiæ testimonium quâ Christus et ecclesia prænuntiata est, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum existimaretur, ab ipsis adversariis proferatur: ubi etiam ipsos prædictum est non fuisse credituros. Templa et simulacra dæmonum, ritusque sacrilegi paullatim atque alternatim secundum prædicta prophetica subvertuntur. Hæreses adversus nomen Christi, sub velamento tamen nominis Christi ad exercendam doctrinam sanctæ religionis, sicut prænuntiatæ sunt, pullulant. Hæc omnia, sicut leguntur prædicta, ita cernuntur impleta; atque ex his jam tot et tantis quæ restant, exspectantur implenda. Quæ tandem mens avida æternitatis, vitæque præsentis brevitate permota, contra hujus divinæ auctoritatis lumen cultumque contendat? num. 16.

'name of Christ, but under his name, spring up as they 'have been foretold. All these things, as we read them 'foretold, we see fulfilled, and by all these so many and so 'great things already come to pass, the expectation of what 'is still to come is confirmed. What mind desirous of im-'mortality, and convinced of the shortness of the present 'life, can resist the light and evidence of this divine au-'thority!'

'Indeed [u] I must say, that in the christian doctrine is 'every thing valuable, and in the highest perfection. What 'discourses, what writings of any philosophers, what laws 'of any republics have any rules comparable to those two 'precepts, on which Christ says, depend all the law and the 'prophets, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy 'heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself!" Here also the 'welfare of the public is consulted. For a city cannot be 'founded and established but by the ground and bond of 'faith, and by concord: when the common good is chosen, 'the chiefest and truest of which is God: and in him men 'love sincerely themselves and one another, and for his 'sake, to whom alone it is known in what manner they 'love.'

'The [v] style of the scripture is such as is suited to all 'sorts of persons, and to the things delivered. Bad tem-'pers are corrected, weak minds are cherished, and the 'greatest wits are entertained. He only can be an enemy 'to this teaching, who knows not what is wholesome, or, in 'his sickness, loathes the proper medicine.'

Augustine [w] then concludes his letter to Volusian in an

[u] Quæ disputationes, quæ literæ quorumlibet philosophorum, quæ leges quarumlibet civitatum, duobus præceptis, ex quibus Christus dicit totam Legem prophetasque pendere, ullo modo sint comparandæ, 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex totâ animâ tuâ, et ex totâ mente tuâ: et diliges proximum tuum, tamquam teipsum!' Hic physica, quoniam omnes omnium naturarum causæ in Deo creatore sunt. Hic ethica, quoniam 'vita bona et honesta' non aliunde formatur, quam cum ea, quæ diligenda sunt, quemadmodum diligenda sunt, diliguntur, hoc est, Deus et proximus. Hic etiam laudabilis reipublicæ salus. Neque enim conditur et custoditur optime civitas, nisi fundamento et vinculo fidei, firmæque concordiæ; cum bonum commune diligitur, quod summum ac verissimum est Deus, atque in illo invicem sincerissime se diligunt homines, cum propter illum se diligunt, cui, quo animo diligant, occultare non possunt. Ib. sect. 17.

[v] Modus autem ipse dicendi, quo sancta scriptura contexitur, quam omnibus accessibilis, quamvis paucissimis penetrabilis——His salubriter et prava corriguntur, et parva nutriuntur, et magna oblectantur ingenia. Ille huic doctrinæ inimicus est animus, qui vel errando eam nescit esse saluberrimam vel odit ægrotando medicinam. num. 18. [w] Incolumem felicioremque misericordissima Dei omnipotentia tueatur, Domine illustris et merito insignis, ac

affectionate manner, saluting him and his pious mother, and sending to him salutations from Possidius, who was then with him; and encouraging Volusian, if he pleased to write again, and send him all his objections, if any difficulties yet remained.

It has been observed, that [x] this letter is a kind of abridgment of Augustine's large work of the City of God. Indeed I think it to be an excellent letter, and a good argument for the truth of the christian religion. I persuade myself that many of my readers will be of the same opinion, and will attend to it, and receive satisfaction from it. For certain we have now seen the genuine difficulties and objections of heathen people at that time, and Augustine's solutions and answers to them.

What [y] was the result of this correspondence is not known: all that can be said is, that if Volusian was uncle to Melania, he was not converted to the christian faith till near the time of his death, in the year 436.

There follows, as before [z] intimated, a letter of Augustine to Marcellinus,[a] in which the other difficulties mentioned by Marcellinus are particularly considered, and well answered. But I am willing to suppose that my readers are themselves well able to solve those difficulties. I therefore need not transcribe nor abridge that letter, but only refer the more curious to it. Moreover the objections of that letter are partly answered in this letter of Augustine to Volusian.

SECTION XIII.

The Correspondence between the People of Madaura and Augustine.

IT will not, I think, be improper to subjoin here, in the next place, Augustine's correspondence with the people of Madaura. The time is not exactly known, and these letters are put by the Benedictines in the class of such letters, of which the date is uncertain.

The people of Madaura recommended Florentine to

præstantissime fili. Sanctam et in Christo dignissime honorandam matrem cujus pro te Deus preces exaudiat, pro meritis vestris officiocissime saluto. Sanctus frater et coëpiscopus meus Possidius præstantiam vestram multum salutat. num. 20.

[x] See Tillemont, St. Augustin. art. 224. num. T. 13. p. 594.

[y] Ibid. p 595.

[z] See p. 260.

[a] Augustin. Ep. 138. Tom. 2

Augustine, desiring his assistance in an affair to be transacted at Hippo, where Augustine was. Their letter is not in being: but we see some parts of it in the answer which Augustine wrote to them. It[a] was inscribed, 'To our 'father Augustine eternal salvation in the Lord.' And the subscription was: 'We wish you, honoured Sir, that God 'and his Christ may grant you a long and happy life 'amidst your clergy.' When Augustine read the inscription, he was filled with joy, thinking they had already embraced the christian religion; or at least that they were desirous to be brought to it by his means. But what followed in the letter damped all his hopes. However, he inquired of the bearer of the letter, if they were not already christians, or desirous to be so. 'When he told me that 'you were not at all changed, it gave me great concern to 'think that when you see the whole world subject to 'Christ, you should not only reject him, but also deride his 'name in me. For when I read those things in your letter, 'what could I, or any other man think, but that you had 'written sincerely or deceitfully. If sincerely, what should 'hinder you from being christians? If deceitfully, how 'could you expect that I should undertake your business, 'when you insulted the name of Christ in me?'

However, Augustine fails not to lay hold of this opportunity to recommend the christian religion to them. At the same time awakening their consideration, by telling them that their condemnation would be aggravated, if his arguments and exhortations should be without effect. He then goes on in his argument; which, perhaps, my readers will observe to have a resemblance with that in his letter to Volusian before transcribed.

[a] Num. 2. Quod enim scripsistis, 'Patri Augustino in Domino æternam 'salutem,' cum legerem, tantâ spe subito erectus sum, ut crederem vos ad ipsum Dominum, et ad ipsam æternam salutem, aut jam esse conversos, aut per nostrum ministerium desiderare converti. Sed ubi legi cætera, refriguit animus meus. Quæsivi tamen ab epistolæ portatore, utrum jam vel essetis christiani, vel esse cupueretis. Cujus responsione postea quam comperi, nequâquam vos esse mutatos, gravius dolui, quod Christi nomen, cui jam totum orbem subjectum esse conspicitis, non solum a vobis repellendum, sed etiam in nobis irridendum esse credidistis. Et si esset hinc aliqua de interpretatione vestræ sententiæ dubitatio, subscriptione epistolæ tolleretur, ubi aperte posuistis, 'optamus te Domine, in Deo et Christo ejus, per multos annos semper in clero 'tuo gaudere.' Quibus omnibus perlectis atque discussis, quid mihi aliud occurrere potuit, aut cuilibet homini potest, nisi aut veridico aut fallaci scribentium animo hæc esse conscripta? Sed si veridico animo ista scribitis, quis vobis ad hanc veritatem interclusit viam?——si autem fallaciter atque irridenter hæc scribitis, itane tandem mihi negotia vestra curanda imponitis, ut nomen ejus, per quem aliquid possum, audeatis non veneratione debitâ adtollere, sed insultatione adulatoriâ ventilare?

'Be persuaded then, my friends, to attend. In the sacred scriptures may be found recorded all those things 'concerning true religion, which our ancestors have delivered down to us, as transacted in former times, relating 'to the human race; and likewise all those things which 'we now see, and which we deliver down to posterity. 'And all things are now done as they were foretold to be 'done. Certainly you see the people of the Jews removed 'from their own country, and scattered, and dwelling in almost every part of the earth. And the rise and increase 'of that people, and the loss of their kingdom, and their 'dispersion, as they were foretold, they have been exactly 'so done. You likewise see the word and law of God, 'which was taught by Christ, who was wonderfully sprung 'from them; this law, I say, you see to be received and 'maintained by all nations. All these things we read fore-'told as we now see them done. You likewise see others 'glorying indeed in the christian name, but are really 'withered branches, who have departed from the doctrine 'delivered by tradition from the apostles, whom we call 'heretics and schismatics. These also were foreseen, fore-'told, and recorded beforehand. You also plainly see the 'temples of images in part fallen and lying in ruins, partly 'destroyed, partly shut up, partly converted to other uses; 'and the images themselves either broken to pieces or burnt, 'or shut up in the temples, or destroyed; and the powers 'of this world, which formerly persecuted christian people 'out of respect to images, now conquered and subdued, not

3. Sciatis me, carissimi, cum ineffabili pro vobis tremore cordis hæc dicere. Novi enim quanto graviorem et perniciosiorem causam sitis habituri apud Deum, si frustra vobis hæc dixero. Omnia, quæ præteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores nostri gesta esse meminerunt, nobisque tradiderunt; omnia etiam quæ nos videmus, et posteris tradimus, quæ tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quærendam et tenendam, divina scriptura non tacuit: sed ita omnino cuncta transeunt, ut transitura esse prædicta sunt. Videtis certe populum Judæorum avulsum a sedibus suis, per omnes fere terras disseminatum atque diffusum. Et origo ejus populi, et incrementa, et regni amissio, et per cuncta dispersio, sicut prædicata sunt, ita facta sunt. Videtis certe ex ipso populo verbum Dei legemque prodeuntem per Christum, qui ex ipsis mirabiliter natus est, omnium gentium fidem occupâsse et tenuisse. Ita hæc omnia prænuntiata legimus, ut videmus. Videtis certe multos præcisos a radice christianæ societatis, quæ per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur, de solâ figurâ originis, sub christiano nomine, quasi arescentia sarmenta gloriari, quæ hæreses et schismata nominamus: prævisa, prædicta, scripta sunt omnia. Videtis certe simulacrorum templa, partim sine reparatione collapsa, partim diruta, partim clausa, partim in usûs alios commutata; ipsaque simulacra vel confringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel destrui: atque ipsas hujus seculi potestates, quæ aliquando pro simulacris populum christianum persequebantur, victas et domitas, non a re-

'by rebellious but by dying christians: who now have 'turned their power, and the edge of the laws against 'images, for which they had killed christians: and the 'emperors themselves bowing their crowned heads and 'humbly praying at the tomb of Peter a fisherman.'

'All these things the divine scriptures, which are now in 'the hands of all men, foretold long ago. And we the more 'firmly believe these things, and the more cordially rejoice 'in their fulfilment, because we find them so recorded and 'foretold in the holy scriptures, which are in great autho-'rity. And, I pray, shall not the divine judgment upon 'all men, good and bad, and that alone which is also fore-'told as future in the same scriptures, shall not that come to 'pass? Yes it will come, as all the other things have come.'

Augustine goes on to say: 'Christ [b] had no worldly 'kingdom, nor worldly riches, nor other worldly splendour. 'It was Christ crucified who was preached all over the 'earth. A few believed then, and now all people in ge-'neral. For when Christ crucified was preached, the lame 'were made to walk, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, 'the blind to see, and the dead were raised. So God was 'glorified, and the pride of man subdued.'

'Awake [c] then at length, ye people of Madaura, my bre-

pugnantibus, sed a morientibus christianis, et contra eadem simulacra, pro quibus christianos occiderunt, impetus suos legesque vertisse et imperii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen ad sepulcrum piscatoris Petri submisso diademate supplicare.

4. Hæc omnia scripturæ divinæ, quæ in manus omnium jam venerunt, ante longissima tempora futura esse testatæ sunt. Hæc omnia tanto robustiore fide lætamur fieri, quanto majore auctoritate prædicata esse in sanctis literis invenimus. Numquidnam, obsecro vos, numquidnam solum judicium Dei, quod inter fideles atque infideles futurum esse in eisdem literis legimus, cum illa omnia, sicut prædicta sunt, venerunt, numquidnam solum judicium Dei venturum non esse putabimus? Imo veniet, sicut illa omnia venerunt.

[b] 6. Itaque non Christus regno terreno decoratus, nec Christus terrenis opibus dives, nec Christus ullâ terrenâ felicitate præfulgens, sed Christus crucifixus, per totum terrarum orbem prædicatur. Quod riserunt prius populi superborum, et adhuc rident reliquiæ. Crediderunt autem prius pauci, nunc populi: quia tunc ad fidem paucorum, et contra irrisionem populorum, cum Christus crucifixus prædicaretur, claudi ambulabant, muti loquebantur, surdi audiebant, cæci videbant, mortui resurgebant. Sic tandem animadvertit terrena superbia, nihil in ipsis terrenis esse potentius humilitate divinâ.

[c] 7. Expergiscimini aliquando, fratres mei, et parentes mei Madaurenses. Hanc occasionem scribendi vobis Deus mihi obtulit. Quantum potui quidem in negotio fratris Florentini, per quem literas misistis, sicut Deus voluit, adfui et adjuvi. Sed tale negotium erat, quod etiam sine operâ meâ facile peragi posset. Prope omnes enim domûs ipsius homines, qui apud Hipponem sunt, noverunt Florentinum, et multum ejus orbitatem dolent——Deus unus et verus vos ab omni hujus seculi vanitate liberatos convertat ad se, Domini prædicabiles, et dilectissimi fratres. Ep. 232. al. 42. tom. 2.

'thren, and my parents; God has given me this opportu-
'nity of writing to you, which I could not but cheerfully
'embrace. According to the best of my abilities I have
'assisted my brother Florentine, by whom you wrote to
'me, in the business which he had to transact here. Nor
'was there any great difficulty in it; for Florentine has
'many friends at Hippo.'

'And now, my honoured and beloved brethren, may the
'one true God convert you to himself, and deliver you from
'the vanity of this world!'

That is a large part of Augustine's letter to the people of Madaura; it shows the truly christian zeal of this bishop; and it is written with good temper. He calls the people of Madaura his 'brethren and parents,' and Florentine 'his brother,' though he was a Gentile.

It is supposed that[d] Augustine so calls the people of Madaura, because he had studied literature there in his youth.

SECTION XIV.

The Correspondence between Augustine and Longinian.

WHAT follows next is the correspondence between Augustine and Longinian. 'Augustine[a] had before some
'conversation with him, by which he perceived Longinian
'to be a man of good understanding, and well disposed.
'He therefore now invites him to write to him, and let him
'know his thoughts concerning God and Christ, and the
'best way of attaining to happiness.'

To that letter Longinian wrote an answer, treating Augustine in a very respectful manner. He[b] calls him the best of the

[d] So the Benedictines in a note upon the place, and Tillemont, S. Augustin, art. 105. p. 271.

[a] Proinde quia videor inspexisse tanquam in speculo sermocinationis mecum tuæ nihil te esse malle quam virum bonum; Deum quo nihil est melius, et unde humanus animus haurit ut bonus sit, quonam modo colendum credas, audeo percontari. Nam quod eum colendum credas, jam teneo. Quæro etiam, quid de Christo sentias. Quod enim eum non parvi pendas, adverti. Sed utrum eâ et solâ viâ quæ ab illo demonstrata est, ad vitam beatam perveniri posse existimes, et aliquâ ex causâ non eam negligas ire, sed differas; an et aliam vel alias ad tam opimam et præ omnibus appetendam passionem vias esse arbitreris, et aliquam earum jam te ingredi credes, nôsse cupio, ut opinor, non impudenter. Aug. Ep. 233. al. 20.

[b] Romanorum vir vere optime. Ep. 234. al. 21. sect. 1.

Romans. 'He declares that "he[c] had never known or 'heard of more than one, who had so diligently applied 'himself to the knowledge of the true God, or was so likely 'to attain to him and to true happiness, by the purity of 'his heart, and a disengagement from all worldly impedi-'ments."'

'By way of answer to the questions which had been put 'to him, Longinian says, he 'would[d] speak his opinion so 'far as he had been able to learn from pious antiquity. "The best way of going to God is that in which a good 'man goes to the one true God, the incomprehensible, in-'effable, unchangeable creator of the universe, even by 'good words and good works, accompanied and assisted by 'the powers of God, whom you call angels. In this way, 'and when purified by expiations according to the pious 'directions of the ancients, and practising abstemiousness 'and self-denial in body and mind, good men have easy ac-'cess to God."'

'"As for Christ, in whom you believe, and the Spirit of 'God, through whom you, my honoured father, hope to go 'to the supreme, blessed, true God, and Father of all, I dare 'not, nor am I able to, express what I think. And in-'deed it is very difficult to define what a man does not 'understand. But I have the highest respect for your 'virtues."'

With that letter Augustine seems to be well pleased, and writes an answer to it, which is to this effect: 'I[e] cannot

[c] Siquidem adhuc post hominum memoriam——adhuc audierim, legerim, viderim neminem, aut certe, post unum, nullum, quod, Deo teste, bono periculo certoque dixerim, nisi te, Deum conniti semper agnoscere, et posse puritate animi, corporisque projectâ gravedine sectari facillime, et spe perfectæ conscientiæ non dubiâ credulitate tenere. Ib. num. 1.

[d] Verum quod traditum sancte atque antiquitus teneam atque custodiam, ut potuero, paucis edicam. Via est ad Deum melior, quâ vir bonus, piis, puris, justis, castis, veris dictis factisque sine ullâ temporum mutatorum cantatâ jactatione probatus, et deorum comitatu vallatus, Dei utique potestatibus emeritus, id est, ejus unius et universi et incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis infatigabilisque Creatoris impletus virtutibus, quos, ut verum est, angelos dicitis, vel quid alterum post Deum vel cum Deo, aut in Deo, aut in Deum intentione animi mentisque ire festinat. Via est, inquam, quâ purgati antiquorum sacrorum piis præceptis expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus decocti, animo et corpore constantes deproperant. num. ii.

3. De Christo autem tuæ jam credulitatis carnali, et Spiritu Dei, per quem in illum summum, beatum, verum, et patrem omnium ire securus es, Domine pater percolende, non audeo, nec valeo quid sentiam exprimere; quia, quod nescio, difficillimum credo definire. Ut autem me cultorem tuarum virtutum dignatus es——num. iii.

[e] Unde jam video exortam et exorsam inter nos magnæ hac de re magnâ disputationis quasi sementem. Hoc est quod volebam prius, deinde quod adhuc volo, Deus adjuvabit——Proinde quod de Christo nihil tibi negandum

'dislike your caution in not denying or affirming any 'thing concerning Christ. It is a modest reserve, not un- 'becoming in a pagan. I am very willing to afford you 'the assistance which you desire. But I must entreat the 'solution of some questions. You say that "when good 'men are purified by expiations according to the pious di- 'rections of the ancients, they have easy access to God." 'In which words, as seems to me, you say, that in order to 'go to God, it is not sufficient, that by pious, just, pure, 'chaste, true words and works, a good man approve him- 'self to the gods, in whose company he may go to God the 'supreme creator of all, unless he be purified according to 'the pious directions of the ancients. Wherefore I desire 'to know of you, what there is which needs to be purified 'by sacred rites in him, who by piety, justice, purity, and 'sincerity, has approved himself to the gods, and by them 'to him who is the one God of gods. For if he is still to 'be purified by sacred rites and expiations, he is not clean; 'and if he is not clean, he does not live piously, justly, 'purely, chastely. For what need can he have to be puri- 'fied by sacred expiations who is already clean? This is 'wanting to be cleared up before we proceed.'

By all which Augustine seems to intimate that sincerely good and virtuous men are pure, and clean, and acceptable to God, and need no other purifications or expiations whatever.

That is the sum of this correspondence. There are no other letters between Augustine and Longinian. Who Longinian was we do not know exactly. I do not see that he was a priest or pontiff, as some have [f] imagined; but he was a learned man. In the contents of the epistle, as re-

vel affirmandum putâsti, hoc in Pagani animo temperamentum non invitus acceperim——Sed prius opus est eliquare quodammodo, perspicuam sumere sententiam tuam de antiquis sacris——Quæ verba ex epistolâ tuâ recognosces, cum addidisti, et aisti: 'Via est, inquam, quâ purgati antiquorum sacrorum 'piis præceptis, expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus de- cocti, animâ et corpore constantes deproperant.' Ep. 235. al. 22. num. 1.

2. In his verbis sentio, ni fallor, videri tibi non sufficere ad viam quâ itur ad Deum, uti vir bonus piis, justis, puris, castis, veris dictis factisque promere- atur deos, quorum comitatu vallatus, in illum summum Deum omnium Crea- torem ire festinet, nisi etiam sacrorum antiquorum piis præceptis expiationibus purgetur. Quamobrem velim scire, quid arbitreris esse per sacra purgandum, in eo, qui pie, juste, pure, veraciter vivendo promeretur Deos, et per eos unum illum deorum Deum. Si enim adhuc sacris purgandus est, utique mundus non est. Et si mundus non est, pie, juste, pure, casteque non vivit. Si enim ita vivit, jam mundus est. Porro jam mundum atque purum quid opus est sacris expiando purgari? &c. Ibid. num. 2.

[f] Le Saint, ayant eu un entretien avec Longinien, qui étoit payen, et apparemment pontife du paganisme. Tillem. Augustin, art. cv. T. 13. p. 271.

presented by the Benedictines, he is called 'a Pagan philosopher.' Says Tillemont, 'We[g] know not what was the 'issue of this conference. Possidius mentions no more 'than two letters to Longinian against paganism. There 'was one of this name in the time of Honorius, who was 'præfect of Italy, and was killed in the year 408 as a 'friend of Stilicho. I see no difficulty in allowing that 'this is the same person.'

SECTION XV.

Observations of Orosius and Augustine upon the treatment given to the Gentiles by christian magistrates.

OROSIUS, who finished his history in the year[a] of Christ 417, or thereabout, speaks to this purpose near the conclusion of it: 'Constantine,'[b] says he, 'was the first christian 'emperor excepting Philip, who was a christian, for a very few 'years only, and, as seems to me, for this purpose, that the 'thousandth year of Rome might be consecrated to Christ 'rather than to idols. From Constantine to this time all the 'emperors have been christians excepting Julian, who lost 'his life when he was meditating, as it has been said, evil 'things [that is, against the christians, and intending their 'extirpation]. This has been their slow but sure ruin. 'For which reason they are continually complaining, and 'though not hurt they smart, and though they live much 'at ease, they gradually decline; so that now there remain 'very few of them, though they have never been persecuted by any.'

Orosius was not unacquainted with the imperial laws concerning the Gentiles and their worship; and yet he speaks as if they had never been persecuted. I think it may be

[g] Tillem. ib. p. 272.

[a] See Tillemont, St. Augustin, art. 266. Mem. Tom. xiv.

[b] Igitur mortuo, ut dixi, Constantio in Britanniis, Constantinus Imperator est creatus, primus Imperatorum christianus, excepto Philippo, qui christianus annis admodum paucissimis, ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut millesimus Romæ annus Christo potius quam idolis dicaretur. A Constantino autem omnes christiani Imperatores usque in hodiernum diem creati sunt, excepto Juliano, quem impia, ut aiunt, machinantem, exitiabilis vita deseruit. Hæc est lenta illa paganorum pœna, sed certa. Hinc sani insaniunt, hinc non vulnerati compunguntur, hinc ridentes gemunt, hinc viventes deficiunt, hinc secreto excruciantur, quos nemo persequitur: hinc jam paucissimi remanserunt, qui nunquam aliquo persequente puniti sunt. Oros. lib. 7. cap. 28. p. 537.

hence argued that few Gentiles had suffered in their persons by those laws. So, as before quoted by us, he said, that 'Constantine [c] by edict ordered the temples of the pagans 'to be shut up, but without putting any of them to death.'

Augustine was contemporary with Orosius, but survived him. Let us now observe some things which we meet with in his writings.

In his first book against Parmenian, a Donatist bishop, he puts him in mind that 'there [d] were imperial laws not 'only against heretics, but also against pagans, and that 'their images had been ordered by late laws to be thrown 'down and broken to pieces; and that their sacrifices had 'been forbidden upon pain of death.' So writes Augustine, and with too evident tokens of approbation. That book is supposed to have been written in the year of Christ 400.

In his letter to Vincentius he says, that many had been induced to forsake Gentilism by the terror of the imperial laws. His words are these: 'The [e] pagans may reflect 'upon us for the laws which christian emperors have en-'acted against the worshippers of idols; nevertheless many 'of them have been converted, and still are daily con-'verted, to the one living and true God.' This letter is supposed to have been written about the year 408.

In a sermon to the people he descants upon the words of Psalm cxli. 6, which he reads thus, agreeably to the version of the seventy: "They shall hear my words because they have prevailed." He there compares the timidity and unsteadiness of Gentile people with the resolution and fortitude of the martyrs, who were exalted above the fear of death. 'How [f] then did they prevail? Who of the pa-

[c] See before, p. 169.

[d] ——Nec solum hæreticis quoquo modo, christiano nomine dealbatis, sed etiam ipsis paganis. Nam utique et ipsi falsâ religione sunt impii: quorum simulacra everti atque constringi jussa sunt recentioribus legibus, inhiberi etiam sacrificia terrore capitali. Contr. Epist. Parmen. lib. i cap. ix. tom. 9.

[e] Pagani vero magis nos blasphemare possunt de legibus, quas contra idolorum cultores christiani Imperatores tulerunt: et tamen ex eis multi correcti, et ad Deum vivum verumque conversi sunt, et quotidie convertuntur. Ad Vincent. Rogatist. Ep. 93. [al. 48.] num. 26. tom. ii.

[f] 'Audiunt verba mea, quoniam prævaluerunt.' Unde prævaluerunt? Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio, cum his legibus ista prohiberentur, et non negavit? Quis eorum comprehensus est adorare idolum, et non clamavit, Non feci, et timuit ne convinceretur; Unde autem prævaluerunt verba Domini?——Et quid est factum de tot mortibus martyrum, nisi ut ipsa verba prævalerent, et tamquam irrigatâ terrâ sanguine testium Christi, pullularet ubique seges ecclesiæ?——'Unde prævaluerunt?' Jam diximus cum prædicantur a non timentibus. Quid non timentibus? Nec exilia nec damna nec mortem nec crucem. Non enim nec mortem solam sed nec crucem, quâ morte nihil videbatur exsecrabilius. Enarr. in Ps. cxl. [al. cxli.] n. 20. tom. 4.

'gans has been found sacrificing, since sacrifices have been 'prohibited by the laws, and did not deny it? Who of 'them has been found worshipping an idol, and did not 'cry out, I have done no such thing, dreading to be con-'victed! On the other hand the disciples of Christ, by his 'words, and by his example in dying and rising again, have 'been raised above the fear of death. The words of the 'Lord therefore have prevailed, because they were preached 'by those who were void of fear. They were not afraid of 'exile, loss of goods, death itself, nor even the death of the 'cross, than which nothing is more terrible.'

All this may be true: for I do not suppose that Gentile people, by their principles, were so well qualified to be martyrs as the christians were: nevertheless I cannot but think it pity that they were brought to this trial by christians; and it must seem ungenerous to triumph over them for their weakness. However, I now allege this passage only to show what was the state of things at that time; and with it I put an end to the collections of this kind.

SECTION XVI.

Concluding observations upon the state of Gentilism under christian emperors.

WE are now to make remarks upon the accounts which we have seen of the state of Gentilism in the times of christian emperors.

1. Constantine and divers other christian emperors, acted contrary to the edict which was published by him and Licinius in the year 313.

I suppose my readers to be well acquainted with that edict, which was transcribed by us[a] formerly at length, in its proper place and time. Moreover, the substance of it was rehearsed by us again, not long ago.[b]

Several of the imperial laws above recited, concerning the Gentile people and their worship, plainly break in upon the liberty there granted. All people were not now allowed to choose and observe that way of worship which they approved of. The way of worship chosen by the Gentiles was forbidden and restrained. The shutting up or demolishing their temples, and the removing and breaking to

[a] Ch. xl. sect. x. [b] See before, p. 168.

pieces their images, were also inconsistent with that edict of general toleration.

Le Clerc, in his account of Pagi's Critique upon Baronius, which was published complete in four volumes at Geneva, in the year 1705, speaking of affairs in the reign of Honorius, near the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, expresseth himself after this manner: 'Thus[c] it was that the christians continued to return to 'the pagans what they had suffered from them during the 'first three centuries, instead of gaining them by patience 'and mildness, which they had so much recommended 'when they were the weakest. This conduct was proper 'to make the pagans more obstinate, by teaching them that 'the christians affected to speak of humanity and moderation from interest only, and not from a principle of religion, as they pretended. At least it is certain, that thereby they lost the right to complain of the manner in which 'the pagans had treated them in times past, or to boast of 'the mildness of their religion, which they effectually disparaged by those persecutions. The laws against the pagans may be seen in the Theodosian code, at the title De 'paganis, sacrificiis, et templis.'

'We ought not to imagine that the penalties laid by 'christians upon the pagans were light. If[d] a sacrifice 'was offered in a private place, with the knowledge of the 'proprietor, the place was confiscated; if not, they were to 'pay a fine of twenty pounds of gold, and as much as if it 'had been done in a temple.——And in some cases the 'penalty of death was appointed——We may look into the 'Oration of Libanius for the Temples, where that orator sustains the same character before Theodosius as the christians had formerly done before the pagan emperors. I 'must acknowledge that this phenomenon, if I may so call 'it, gives me pain: for I could wish that they who defended the truth had preserved to themselves the honour of being the only persons that were persecuted for religion.'

So writes Le Clerc. Some other like things were said by us formerly in the chapter of Constantine; where[e] also we took the liberty to consider the treatment given in that reign to men of different denominations, catholics, heretics, and Gentiles.

2. There were as yet no laws of christian emperors re-

[c] Bib. choisie. tom. viii. p. 276. &c. [d] Le Clerc there refers to the law of Theodosius in 392, which was recited by us some while ago, at p. 178, 179. [e] Vol. iv. p. 47, 48.

straining freedom of speech in Gentile people, or the freedom of writing and conference in things of religion.

Such laws have been made since: but I see nothing of that kind in any of the imperial laws or edicts above recited. Porphyry's books against the christian religion, as we are [f] informed, were ordered to be destroyed; but I do not recollect any laws of christian princes, in those early times, restraining freedom of speech in Gentile people, or freedom of writing and conference concerning things of religion. Augustine [g] has informed us of a pretended oracle about the year 398, foretelling the period of the christian religion: but he does not say that the publishers of it were called to an account, or punished for it. And we are assured from his letters to Gentiles, and from their letters to him, that all did then freely debate the merits and the evidences of the christian doctrine; and he encouraged, and invited men to propose to him their difficulties and objections. We also know that [h] Proclus, in the fifth century, wrote against the christians: but we do not know that he was punished for so doing.

3. There were then no laws or edicts of christian princes requiring men to frequent the religious assemblies of christians, or to embrace and profess the christian religion, upon the pain of any inconvenience or suffering either in their persons or their properties.

We have not yet met with any such laws; and very probably there were none. Libanius is a good witness that there was no such law in his time. For in his oration to Theodosius he says: 'You [i] might have enacted such a law 'as this: Let all present themselves at the places where I 'worship, and join in the rites there performed: and who-'ever transgresseth this law, let him be put to death. It 'was easy,' says he, 'for you to publish such a law: but 'you have not done it: nor have you in this matter laid a 'yoke upon the souls of men.'

4. I think it must be supposed and allowed, that the laws against Gentilism, above recited by me, were not rigorously executed.

There must have been many instances of connivance and forbearance in christian people, and in christian magistrates of every rank, supreme and subordinate. For, as we have evidently seen, many who were zealous for Gentilism lived very quietly and comfortably.

[f] See Vol. vii. ch. xvii. and ch. xxxvii.
[g] See here, p. 241.
[h] See p. 67.
[i] See before, ch. xlix. sect. iv. near the end of the oration.

The writers alleged by me in the former part of this volume were all zealous Gentiles, who lived in the times of christian emperors, excepting Julian, who was himself an emperor. And I have occasionally written the history of divers other learned men, some of them authors of voluminous works: Anatolius, Oribasius, Olympius, Helladius, Ammonius. And one view which I have had in enlarging so much as I have done in their history, and in an account of their works, has been, that I might the more convincingly show the lenity of the christian government under which they lived. And there are some others, hitherto omitted, which, for the same reason, I am much disposed to bring in here.

Ælius Donatus [k] flourished in the time of Constantius, and taught rhetoric, and polite literature at Rome with applause [l] in the year 356 and afterwards; about which time Jerom, who [m] has several times mentioned him as his master, studied grammar under him. Jerom [n] speaks of his commentaries upon Terence and Virgil. And in his own commentary upon the first chapter of the book of Ecclesiastes, ver. 9, he [o] quotes a verse out of Terence's comedies, and then an observation of his master Donatus upon it; which observation, however, does not now appear in the notes of Donatus upon Terence. Perhaps it never was there, but Jerom [p] heard it from Donatus at his lectures.

Servius [q] is one of the learned men who have a part in the conversations of Macrobius's Saturnalia, about the year 400. He [r] is supposed to have then but newly begun to teach polite literature at Rome. He is called a grammarian,

[k] Ælius Donatus temporibus Constantii Imperatoris in pretio fuit. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii. [l] Victorinus rhetor, et Donatus grammaticus meus, Romæ insignes habentur. Chron. p. 184.

[m] Dum adhuc essem puer, et in grammaticæ ludo exercerer, &c. In Abac. cap. iii. T. 3. p. 1636. Vide et in Ezech. cap. xi. T. 3. p. 979.

[n] Puto, quod puer legeris Asperi in Virgilium et Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos ejus, et in Terentii Comœdias præceptoris mei Donati, æque in Virgilium, et aliorum in alios. Adv. Rufin. l. i. Tom. 4. p. 367. [o] Huic quid simile sententiæ comicus ait: 'Nihil est dictum quod non sit dictum prius.' Unde præceptor meus Donatus, quum istum versiculum exponeret, 'Pereant,' inquit, 'qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.' Hieron. in Eccl. Tom. 2. 720.

[p] Vide Martianay in loc. [q] Hos Servius inter grammaticos doctorem recens professus, juxta doctrinam mirabilis, et amabilis verecundiæ, terram intuens, ac velut latenti similis sequebatur. Macrob. Sat. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 194. [r] Sed nunc dicat volo Servius, quæ in Virgilio notaverit ab ipso figurata——Quotidie enim Romanæ indoli enarrando eundem vatem necesse est habeat hujus annotationis scientiam promptiorem. Sat. l. 6. c. 6. p. 556. Vid. et cap. 7. p. 560.

and is described to be a man of great learning and amiable modesty. He daily read lectures upon Virgil to the Roman youth; and is the person who is introduced in those conversations to make critical observations upon that poet.

His commentary upon Virgil is still extant, but it is not complete; and perhaps may be only extracts out of his commentary rather than the entire work.

In his comment upon the eightieth verse of the third book of Virgil's Æneid is a remarkable observation: 'In[s] 'the time of our ancestors, kings were always reckoned 'priests and pontiffs: hence it has come to pass, that to this 'very day we call the emperors pontiffs.'

For this observation I am indebted to Pagi. He is arguing that[t] the christian emperors did not take to themselves the title of Pontifex Maximus: nevertheless, as he says, it was often given them by the Gentiles, in their inscriptions, and otherwise. And he instanceth in Servius, who, as he observes, was a Gentile, and flourished in the times of Arcadius and Honorius. And agreeably to him others also say that[u] Servius flourished about the year 412.

Here then is another Gentile who lived near the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century, who taught grammar at Rome, and was applauded and encouraged after the times of most of the imperial laws against the Gentiles, which have been above recited by me.

And from the extracts formerly made in the chapters of Proclus, Marinus, Damascius, Simplicius, it appears that in the fifth and sixth centuries the chairs of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens were generally filled by professors who were zealous for Gentilism. Jonsius[v] has a list of them.

There were likewise schools of philosophy at Alexandria and other places, where the professors were Gentiles.

[s] Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.
Sane majorum hæc erat consuetudo, ut Rex esset etiam Sacerdos et Pontifex. Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices.
Serv. ad Æneïd. l. 3. ver. 80.

[t] Magna quidem, quæ ex vetustis inscriptionibus desumitur fides et auctoritas. Sed, ut recte notat Gothofredus citatus, duo hic notanda sunt. Primo quidem non Imperatores ipsos hunc sibi titulum in illis vindicare, verum a Gentilibus tributum ibi exhiberi: quo sensu Servius, qui Gentilis erat, quique Arcadii et Honorii temporibus floruit, in tertio Æneïdos, p. 268. scripsit: Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices. Pagi. ann. 312. num. xxii.

[u] A. 412. Servius Honoratus claruit, qui in Virgilium commentatus est. B. Fabr. Indic. Histor. Chronol.

[v] Ecce Philosophorum Atheniensium successionem. Jons, de Scriptoribus Hist. Philosophicæ, p. 301, 302.

Hierocles[w] taught philosophy at Alexandria as low as the middle of the fifth century. The philosopher Hypatia[x] lost her life at Alexandria, near the beginning of that century: but it was not by order of the magistrates, nor by virtue of any imperial laws; but was owing to a mob stirred up by an ecclesiastic of the lower order: though, perhaps, not without some encouragement from the bishop. Ammonius and Helladius, learned grammarians, who taught the polite arts at Alexandria till the year 391, when the temple of Serapis was demolished, afterwards taught the same publicly at Constantinople.

Says Mr Mosheim,[y] speaking of the state of things in the sixth century: 'Though it had been enacted by the imperial laws, that none who did not abjure the worship of the gods should be admitted into any public office; yet there were many men of learning and gravity, who still adhered to the ancient religion. Tribonian himself, the illustrious compiler of the civil law, is thought by some to have been averse to the christian religion. The same is supposed by many to have been the case of the celebrated historian Procopius. It is still more evident that Agathias, a pleader of causes at Smyrna, and also a writer of history, was a worshipper of the gods: so it often happens in life, the rigour of the laws falls upon such only as have no rank, nor riches, nor favour with great men to secure them.

'And,[z] which is still more wonderful, the Platonic philosophers, whom all men knew to be enemies to the christian doctrine, were allowed publicly to teach the youth in Greece and Egypt the tenets of their sect, though altogether opposite to our principles. These men indeed affected a great deal of modesty, that their notions of the gods might not appear too different from the christian doctrine, as we see in Chalcidius, and Alexander of Lycopolis. Nevertheless there were some of them who had the assurance to asperse the christian religion. Damascius, in the life of his master Isidorus, casts many ignominious aspersions upon the christians. Simplicius, in his illustrations of the Aristotelian Philosophy, may be perceived sometimes to reflect upon our doctrines. The eighteen Epicheiremata of Proclus against the christians were in every body's hands, and therefore were confuted

[w] See in this volume, p. 128.
[x] See here, p. 145—147.
[y] Institut. H. E. sec. vi. P. i. cap. ii. p. 235, 236.
[z] Illud magis mirandum est—Ibid.

'by John Philoponus. Those[a] men would not have enjoyed all this liberty, if there had not been many among 'the magistrates who were christians rather in appearance 'than reality.'

Upon all which I must make some remarks. 1. It is very true, as Mr Mosheim says, that the Platonic philosophers were allowed to teach the tenets of their sect in Greece and Egypt. 2. Mr Mosheim seems to think that a reproach upon the christian magistrates; whereas I cannot but think it honourable to them and the christian religion. 3. Procopius and Agathias were not Gentiles but christians, as has been shown by me in the chapter of Simplicius. 4. Moreover, though Agathias was a pleader of causes, it is not known that he pleaded at Smyrna. 5. All the rest here mentioned, Chalcidius, Alexander of Lycopolis, Damascius, Simplicius, Proclus, as I suppose, were Gentiles, and as such have been alleged among my witnesses, except Tribonian, of whom I have as yet said nothing.

He had a main hand in composing Justinian's Code,[b] published in the year of Christ 533. His[c] character is doubtful. He is in Suidas: who says that 'he[d] was a Gen-'tile, and impious, altogether averse to the christian religion. 'However, he was a man of great abilities; but covetous.' This I let pass; for I have nothing to say to clear up the character of Tribonian; nor is it material.

Beside the learned men and philosophers, who enjoyed a great deal of liberty in the times of christian emperors, there were many Gentiles admitted into civil offices of great trust and profit. Libanius,[e] in his Oration for the Temples, owns that Theodosius had conferred the highest offices upon those who were Gentiles. Prudentius,[f] in his first book

[a] Tantum his hominibus licentiæ haud concessum fuisset, nisi inter magistratus multi specie potius, quam re, christiani fuissent. Ibid.

[b] Vide Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 12. p. 353, 356. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 835.

[c] De Triboniano ambigua fama est. Basnag. ann. 529. n. ii. Vid. et Spanhem. H. Christian. p. 1155.

[d] Οὗτος ὁ Τριβωνιανος Ἑλλην ὑπηρχε, και αθεος, αλλοτριος κατα παντα της των χριστιανων πιστεως· κολαξ δε, κ. λ. Suid.

[e] See before, p. 36.

[f] Denique, pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores
Dux bonus, et certare sinit cum laude suorum.
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet; quoniam cœlestia nunquam
Terrenis solitum per iter gradientibus obstant.
Ipse magistratum tibi Consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit auratumque togæ donavit amictum,
Cujus religio tibi displicet, ô pereuntum
Assertor Divûm.

Prudent. contr. Symm. lib. i. ver. 617—626.

against Symmachus, celebrates the moderation of Theodosius, and intimates, that he preferred indifferently Gentiles and christians to places of trust and honour. Young Symmachus was proconsul of Africa in 415, and præfect of the city in 419. Orestes was præfect of Alexandria in the beginning of the fifth century. And indeed, as[g] Spanheim observes, many Gentiles still enjoyed some of the highest offices, both civil and military. In the year 408 a law was enacted by Honorius, excluding all but Catholic christians from military posts. But, as we are assured by[h] Zosimus, he repealed that law, or dispensed with it, for the sake of Generidus, an honourable and worthy man, though a pagan and a barbarian.

I mention these things as proofs of the moderation of christian magistrates, which cannot be gainsayed.

5. Our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ gave not any directions to his disciples to propagate his religion by external force and violence.

The gospel, or the religion of Jesus Christ, is the doctrine of universal virtue and piety toward God and men, in heart and life, with the assurance of rewards and punishments to all, according to their conduct here; of which he is himself appointed the arbiter and dispenser; with the promise of the forgiveness of all sins upon sincere repentance; without annexing any temporal rewards (beside inward peace and comfort) to those who should embrace his doctrine, or worldly pains and penalties to such as reject it.

Indeed it is altogether incredible, and even impossible, that the founder of a religion who was himself crucified, and then raised from the dead and exalted to heaven, in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, and as an example of fidelity to God, patience, resignation, and fortitude, and to raise the thoughts of his disciples and followers to things heavenly and divine: I say, it is impossible that such a teacher of religion should give any directions to his apostles and ministers to propagate his religion by force and violence.

Julian[i] chargeth the christians 'with having killed some 'who persisted in the ancient religion, and not only them, 'but also others equally deceived with themselves, who 'were in some respects in different sentiments,' meaning

[g] Orestes, Alexandriæ Præfectus, tempore Cyrilli Alexandrini. Alii innumeri vel militari, vel Palatinâ potestate instructi, quales adhuc Præf. Præt. Vicarii, Proconsules, Magistri militum, officiorum, &c. Spanhem. p. 1050.

[h] See before, p. 123, 124.

[i] See Vol. viii. ch. xlvi. num. iv. 15.

heretics. But then he adds: 'These are your own in-'ventions; for Jesus has no where directed you to do such 'things; nor yet Paul.' We may therefore take this for a clear point; nor need I to say any thing more to prove it.

Nevertheless, I beg leave to insert here some observations of the excellent prelate who now adorns the see of Canterbury, which are upon both natural and revealed religion. 'Moved[k] by this recital of the dreadful evils which reli-'gious intolerance hath committed and attempted, some 'perhaps may accuse religion itself as hurtful to society. 'And undoubtedly false notions of it may be detrimental, 'and sometimes even pernicious. But so may false notions 'of parental affection, conjugal tenderness, gratitude, and 'every motive to action. Yet this was never thought an 'argument against the principles themselves. And if any 'thing be fitted to do good and no harm on earth, true reli-'gion certainly is. Natural religion is universally acknow-'ledged to be mild and humane. Christianity indeed some 'have done their utmost to pervert. But let either the bit-'terest zealot, or the most bigoted infidel, show, if they 'can, one instance in which the gospel gives the least pre-'tence for pious cruelty. Every where it breathes mild-'ness, patience, forbearance: enjoins christians, of ever so 'different opinions, to receive one another in mutual charity; 'and even those who are no christians; it permits us not to 'judge hardly, much less to use them unmercifully. If 'then some who profess this faith will act in defiance to it, 'let them bear their condemnation: but to charge their 'guilt upon christianity, would be like censuring the legal 'constitution of any government, because they who rebel 'against it behave unjustifiably. For indeed the spirit of 'persecution is rebellion against Christ, under a pretence 'of a commission from him: It is "the man of sin sitting 'as God in the temple of God," 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. And 'where it is not designed impiety, it is the grossest igno-'rance both of the attributes of our Maker, and the pre-'cepts of our Redeemer, as the words of the text declare: '"These things will they do unto you, because they have 'not known the Father nor me," John xvi. 3.'

6. All wise and understanding men, of every sect and religion, recommend moderation, and condemn force and compulsion, in things of religion. This is true both of christians and Gentiles.

[k] A Sermon preached on the fifth of November, 1758, p. 345. 355.

Says Tertullian, in his book to Scapula: 'It[l] is not the 'part of religion to force religion, which must be taken up 'freely, not upon compulsion.'

And Lactantius: 'Such[m] is the nature of religion that 'it can be upheld by reason and persuasion only, not by 'power and authority, that it may be free and voluntary.' 'Truth[n] and compulsion, religion and cruelty, are incom- 'patible, and can have no fellowship with each other:' and[o] 'a great deal more to the like purpose. And says Athana- 'sius: 'Truth[p] is not to be propagated by swords and darts, 'nor a military power, but by reason and argument. But 'where is reason when there is the dread of an emperor?' 'And what room is there for argument and choice, when he 'who refuseth to assent is threatened with banishment or 'death?' Again: 'It[q] is the property of religion not to 'compel but to persuade, as I said just now. Our Lord 'himself does not use violence, but leaveth men to the free- 'dom of their own choice. Speaking to all, he says, "If 'any will come after me." And to the disciples, "Will ye 'also go away?"'

And we can proceed still farther. For to christian writers we can add christian emperors who were of the same sentiment: particularly Constantine, whose edict[r] in the year 313, gives full liberty to all men to act according to the best of their judgment in things of religion. And if his future conduct cannot be reconciled with this edict, we must say that some circumstances of affairs induced him to act contrary to his better sentiments and juster determination. Jovian, upon his accession, after the death of Julian, published an edict[s] of universal toleration, for which he was applauded by Themistius. His successor Valentinian, was of the same sentiment, and was a great example of moderation to all men; as we learn from[t] Ammianus Marcellinus, and[u] otherwise.

The same has been the sentiment of many learned Gen-

[l] Nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi. Ad. Scap. cap. 2. [m] Non est opus vi, et injuriâ, quia religio cogi non potest. Verbis potius quam verberibus res agenda est, ut sit voluntaria. Inst. l. 5. c. 19. p. 518, &c.

[n] Longe diversa sunt carnificina et pietas. Nec potest aut veritas cum vi, aut justitia cum crudelitate conjungi. Ibid. p. 519.

[o] See Vol. iii. ch. lxv. num. iii. 19. [p] Ου γαρ ξιφεσιν, η βελεσιν, ουδε δια στρατιωτων ἡ αληθεια καταγγελλεται, αλλα πειθοι και συμβελια. Ποια αν πειθω, ενθα βασιλεως φοβος; η ποια συμβελια, εν ᾗ αντιλεγων το τελος εξορισμον εχει και θανατον; Hist. Arian. ad Monach. c. 33. p. 363.

[q] Θεοσεβειας μεν γαρ ιδιον, μη αναγκαζειν, αλλα πειθειν, ὡσπερ ειπαμεν. κ. λ. Ibid. n. 67. p. 384. C. [r] See Vol. vii. ch. xl. and here, p. 164.

[s] See p. 8. [t] P. 58. [u] See p. 174.

tiles. Among these must be mentioned in the first place the emperor Julian, whose avowed principle and open declaration was, that[v] all men should worship God in their own way without any molestation from him. And if at any time he bore hard upon the christians as such, it must have been contrary to his professed judgment and opinion. Themistius argued strongly for allowing to all men liberty to worship God according to their own sentiments: first in[w] his consular oration to Jovian, and again, afterwards, in an oration to Valens.[x] Libanius[y] often pleads the cause of religious liberty. Ammianus Marcellinus was in the same sentiment, as is apparent from[z] his condemning the law of Julian, wherein he forbade the christians to teach grammar and rhetoric; and from his commending[a] the emperor Valentinian for not interposing his authority in things of religion.

7. We cannot justify the laws and edicts of christian emperors, which prohibited the practice of the religious rites of Gentilism upon heavy pains and penalties, such as confiscation of goods, banishment, or death, or exclusion from civil and military offices.

This must be a necessary corollary and inference from the two foregoing observations: for, if Jesus Christ gave no orders to propagate his religion by external force and violence; and if all wise and understanding men of every sect, condemn compulsion in things of religion; it must evidently follow, that they who practise such methods in things of religion are not to be justified.

Nevertheless, possibly, some pleas may be here offered which may deserve consideration. For, first, it may be said that Gentile people were not, and could not be, good subjects to christian emperors. Secondly, their practice of divination was of dangerous consequence.

First, It may be pleaded that Gentile people were not good subjects to christian emperors.

To which several things may be answered. For if they were guilty of any actions contrary to the peace of society, or inconsistent with allegiance to the supreme magistrate, or any other magistrates, they were justly liable to punishment by the laws of the empire, and of every other civil government whatever. But, farther, great allowances were due to their prejudices. For the superstitions of Gentilism had long been the religion of Rome, and of all mankind in

[v] Vol. vii. ch. xlvi.
[w] This Vol. p. 8—10.
[x] P. 11.
[y] P. 18, 19, 30, 36.
[z] P. 52.
[a] P. 58.

general: and they should have been treated with great mildness and gentleness, patience, and long-suffering. The best reasons and arguments were to be proposed to them: and they should have been repeated again and again: by which means error would have been gradually subdued and overcome, and rooted out. There never were before, and never will be again, such subjects as the primitive christians, who prayed for their persecutors. The christians themselves, after having enjoyed a short sunshine in the times of Constantine and his sons, were not so meek and patient under Julian as they had been before. Once more, and finally, the Gentiles were good subjects to the christian emperors. Otherwise so many of them would not have been employed in the highest offices of trust and honour. I say from principle, or interest, for love or fear, they generally were good subjects: but if they had been protected and indulged in the practice of their rites, they would have been more cheerful and hearty in their allegiance and subjection to christian emperors and other christian magistrates.

Secondly, It may be pleaded that all Gentile people in general were fond of divination, which must have been of dangerous consequences; for they thereby endeavoured to pry into futurity, and aimed to know beforehand the succession of princes, and other events.

To which I answer, that christian ministers, and other understanding christians, might by reasons and arguments show the folly and absurdity of that practice. And christian magistrates might justly lay it under restraints, and might either abolish it and absolutely forbid it by law, or reduce it into such order, and put it under such regulations, as were expedient for the public safety. We formerly alleged some such laws of Constantine, to which the reader is now referred if he [b] pleaseth.

Upon the whole then, we do not justify all the laws and edicts of christian emperors before recited. And we are of opinion that Gentile people might, and ought to have been protected in the exercise of the rites and ceremonies of their religion: provided nothing was done contrary to good manners, or inconsistent with the peace of society, and allegiance to magistrates. But we do not say that christian magistrates were obliged to encourage Gentilism. Far from it. Upon this point we have already said what is sufficient in the third section of this article: where it was shown that [c] christian emperors were under no obligation to continue the

[b] See before, p. 99, 165.

[c] P. 219, 220.

allowances, which had been hitherto made out of the public treasury, for maintaining the Gentile priesthood or their sacrifices. When those allowances were withdrawn, Gentilism would sink of itself; and the reasons and arguments of understanding christians, calmly proposed, would complete the downfall and overthrow of the ancient superstitions, and much better than any methods of external force and compulsion. And if there had been still some remains of the ancient superstitions of Greece and Rome, it could have been of no bad consequence; for christianity to this very day has its adversaries: and, perhaps, always will have; and by them christians are tried and improved.

8. The christian religion is able to uphold and recommend itself without worldly encouragements, and without the aid of external force and compulsion.

It is manifest that it is able so to do, because it spread and was propagated in the world for a good while, without such aids and supports, and under external discouragements of every kind: and it must be always able so to do. The ground and reason of this is, that it is in itself reasonble and excellent, and approves itself to the unbiassed reason and judgment of mankind. And its high original, as a divine revelation, has been attested by works of divine power, performed by Jesus Christ, and his apostles after him, whom he entrusted with the preaching of his religion. The miracles performed by them, (not now to insist on any other considerations,) are a good proof that they had a divine commission.

9. Once more, and lastly, having now seen in ancient Jewish and heathen writers so many testimonies to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and to the books of the New Testament, and to the facts of the evangelical history, and therein to the truth of the christian religion; must we not be hereby induced, not only cordially to embrace it, but likewise to recommend it to others, according to the best of our ability?

The religion of Jesus was intended to be universal. It has in it no restrictive precepts or ordinances, limiting it to any one place or people. And as our Lord himself said in his conference with the woman of Samaria: "The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father.——But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth:" John iv. 21—23. And after his resurrection, renewing his commission to his apostles,

he tells them that " repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem:" Luke xxiv. 47, and see Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. St. Peter, when delivered from Jewish prejudices, says: " Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." And saith St. John: " We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world:" 1 John iv. 14.

The gospel then is designed for all: and it is a great blessing upon many accounts, which need not be here enumerated. St. Paul therefore says: " It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners:" 1 Tim. i. 15.

If we are disposed to communicate this blessing, and recommend the christian religion to others, there are two or three observations which may be mentioned here as deserving our regard.

(1.) Let us take care to form right conceptions of it, and understand it, as it is in truth.

For otherwise, possibly, we may lead men into error, and pervert instead of improve them. And if we misrepresent the christian doctrine, we may expose it, and obstruct the progress of it, and occasion invincible prejudices in the minds of some who are well disposed. Would it not be a melancholy case if ever we should meet with a Malabarian Braman, or other Indian priest, hitherto unacquainted with revelation, speaking more justly of the powers of human nature, and of the divine perfections, than a christian missionary?

The christian religion can be learned with certainty from the books of the New Testament only; which are the authentic records of the doctrine taught by Christ, and his apostles. And there are in it some texts especially, which, if attended to, will at once assure us of its great design: such as these and divers others: Mark xii. 28—34. " A scribe came to our Lord and asked him, which is the first commandment of all? And Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. The scribe said unto him; Well, master, thou hast said the truth: for there is

one God, and there is none other but he; and to love him with all the heart, and with all the soul——and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him: Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." And says St. Paul, Tit. ii. 11—15, "The grace of God which bringeth salvation, has appeared unto all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." By all which we learn that the christian religion is not a speculative science, but a plain and strict and comprehensive rule of life.

Agreeably hereto, says Eusebius of Cæsarea: 'What[d] 'else does the name of christian denote, but a man who by 'the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to 'the practice of sobriety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, 'and the religious worship of the one and only God over 'all?' Nor can it be taken amiss, if I here refer to the philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, one of the witnesses in the seventh volume, who also appears to have had just apprehensions concerning 'the christian philosophy, as[e] intended 'by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate 'reasonings, to promote virtue among all men, and even the 'lower ranks and common people.'

(2.) We ought to live according to the rules of our holy religion, and endeavour to excel in mutual love, and every other virtue.

This is incumbent upon both the teachers and the professors of the christian religion; and it will be the most effectual recommendation of it to others. Says our Lord, John xiv. 21, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me."—Again, xiii. 34, 35: "A new commandment give I unto you, That ye love one another: as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." And says the apostle Paul: "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," 2 Tim. ii. 19.

(3.) I cannot but think it may be of use to promote learning and knowledge.

[d] Euseb. H. E. l. i. cap. 4. p. 15 et 16. And see in this work, Vol. iv. p. 86.

[e] See Vol. vii. ch. xliii.

When Jesus Christ came, and when his apostles preached the gospel, it was an age of learning and politeness. Arts and sciences flourished greatly; and the Greek learning was spread all over the Roman empire, of which Judea was a part. Men must be rational and civilized before they can be christians. Knowledge has a happy tendency to enlarge the mind, and encourage generous sentiments. Hereby we may hope to deliver men from superstition, bigotry, and persecution, which have been some of the greatest blemishes in the human conduct. As arts and sciences are now in a flourishing condition, in a great part of the world, we may hope it will have a kindly influence, and contribute to the advancement of christianity in its genuine purity and perfection. Not[f] many years since was published by a pious and learned author, though he concealed his name, a small tract, entitled, Five several Schemes of Christian Religion: the last of which is summarily represented by him in these terms: 'In the next period of time we hope christi-'anity will be piety and virtue, with an improvement from 'the Greek and Roman moralists, corrected and perfected 'by the gospel.'

And here I put an end to my long work, hoping and praying, that it may be of some use to promote good learning, and true religion.

[f] In the year 1738. The Tract has been ascribed to Dr. Jeffery, Archdeacon of Norwich.

THE

HISTORY OF THE HERETICS

OF THE

TWO FIRST CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR TIME, OPINIONS,
AND TESTIMONY TO THE BOOKS
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING HERETICS.

HISTORY OF HERETICS, &c.

BOOK THE FIRST.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING HERETICS.

SECTION I.

The meaning of the word Heresy.

HERESY, in Greek, signifies[a] election or choice, and is used[b] for any opinion which a man chooseth as best, or most probable.

Heresy and heretic are often used by ancient writers as words of indifferent meaning. And the[c] several ways of philosophizing were called sects or heresies.[d]

Instances of the innocent meaning of the word heresy occur in the New Testament, Acts v. 17, "Then the high-priest rose up, and all they that were with him, which[e] is the sect of the sadducees." Ch. xv. 5, "Then[f] rose up certain of the sect of the pharisees, which believed." xxvi. 5, "After[g] the strictest sect of our religion I lived a pharisee."

Josephus, in like manner, speaking of the pharisees,

[a] Αἱρεσις autem Græce ab electione dicitur: quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem. Hieron. ad Galat. cap. v. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 302. Conf. Suicer. V. Αἱρεσις, et Cleric. H. E. An. 83. n. ii. iii.

[b] Αἱρεσις η λογῳ τινι κατα το φαινομενον ακολουθουσα, η δοκουσα ακολουθειν. Suid. Vid. et Diog. Laërt. lib. i. procem. sect. 19, 20.

[c] Ἱπποβοτος δε——εννεα φησιν αἱρεσεις ειναι των φιλοσοφων και αγωγας. Suid. et Diog. Laërt. ibid. Opiniones omnium philosophorum, qui sectas varias condiderunt——sex non parvis voluminibus quidam Celsus absolvit. Augustin. de Hær. in Præf.

[d] Cato autem perfectus Stoïcus, et ea sentit, et in eâ est hæresi, &c. Cicero, Paradox. Intro. Ed. Verbrug. pars 10. Tom. 15. p. 3820.

[e] Ἡ οσα αἱρεσις των σαδδουκαιων

[f] Τινες των απο της αἱρεσεως των φαρισαιων.

[g] Κατα την ακριβεστατην αἱρεσιν της ἡμετερας θρησκειας.

sadducees, and Essenes, calls them sects [h] or heresies, without any mark of censure. They [i] were the several ways of philosophizing among the Jews.[k]

In several places of the epistles of the New Testament, as 1 Cor. xi. 19; Gal. v. 20; 2 Pet. ii; 1 Tit. iii. 10; the words heresy and heretic are used in a bad sense. Nor is it, I apprehend, void of reproach in Acts xxiv. 5, where Tertullus, the orator, pleading before Felix, says of Paul: "We have found this man a pestilent fellow—and [l] a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." Nor does the meaning appear quite innocent in Acts xxviii. 22, "As [m] concerning this sect we know that it is every where spoken against." Nor in chap. xxiv. 14, "But this I confess unto thee, that [n] after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the [o] prophets." Where the apostle honestly owns before Felix that he was a christian, or of that way which most of the Jewish people called heresy, or a sect, a new sect or heresy. At the same time he intimates, (though without being very solicitous to avoid the imputation,) that the scheme and principles professed and taught by him, was so agreeable to the law and the prophets, that there hardly was sufficient reason to call it heresy, or to reckon the followers of it a new and distinct sect.

Among christians these words are very frequently taken in a bad sense: the reason of which seems to lie in what Tertullian says, with a view to the primary meaning of the word heresy, viz. a chosen opinion and doctrine: [p] that there

[h] Ηρξαμην τε πολιτευεσθαι, τῃ φαρισαιων αἱρεσι κατακολεθων, ἡ παραπλησιος εστι τῃ παρ' Ἑλλησι σωϊκη λεγομενη. Joseph. Vit. n. 2.——γενες δε σφοδρα λιμπρε, της δε φαρισαιων αἱρεσεως. Ib. n. 38. Κατα δε τον χρονον τετον τρεις αἱρεσιες των Ιεδαιων ησαν—ὡν ἡ μεν φαρισαιων ελεγετο, ἡ δε σαδδεκαιων, ἡ τριτη δε Εσσηνων. Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. vi. n. 9.

[i] Τρια γαρ παρα Ιεδαιοις ειδη φιλοσοφειται, και τε μεν αἱρετιται φαρισαιοι, τε δε σαδδεκαιοι, τριτον δε, ὁ δε και δοκει σεμνοτητα ασκειν, Εσσηνοι καλενται. De B. I. l. 2. c. 8. n. 2. Ιεδαιοις φιλοσοφιαι τρεις ησαν. Antiq. l. 18. c. i. n. 2. [k] Of the Jewish sects may be seen more at large in this work, Vol. i. p. 123—136.

[l] ——πρωτοστατην τε της των Ναζωραιων αἱρεσεως.

[m] Περι μεν γαρ της αἱρεσεως ταυτης. κ. λ.

[n] ——κατα την ὁδον, ην λεγεσιν αἱρεσιν.

[o] The reader, if he thinks fit, may see what was said formerly upon this text, Vol. i. p. 199, 200.

[p] Sed et in omni pene epistolâ de adulterinis doctrinis fugiendis inculcans, hæreses taxat, quarum opera sunt adulteræ doctrinæ, hæreses dictæ Græcâ voce ex interpretatione electionis, quâ quis sive ad instituendas, sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur. Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quidquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt; sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam

should be no heresies among christians, and that[q] a heretic forfeits the character of a christian, forasmuch[r] as there is nothing left to their invention. They ought all to adhere to the doctrine taught by, and received from, Christ and his apostles, who have delivered all the principles of true religion.

Therefore he says that[s] Marcion is plainly convicted to be a heretic, because he had chosen a faith different from what he had received in the catholic church. And[t] Adam, he says, may be called a heretic, because he made a choice contrary to the divine order.

And with regard to the presumption of those men who introduced new opinions, he pleasantly says that[u] invention is an heretical privilege, and that[v] heretics, as well as poets and painters, have a certain license allowed them.

And it is no uncommon thing for catholic writers to blame those called heretics, who took to themselves a particular denomination from some one man or leader. So particularly[w] Justin Martyr. And we have seen upon divers occasions, how the[x] most rational and understanding

fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt. De Præscr. Hær. c. 6. p. 232. B. p. 202. Ed. Fran.

[q] Si enim hæretici sunt, christiani esse non possunt, non a Christo habendo quod de suâ electione sectati hæreticorum nomina admittunt. Ib. cap. 37. p. 245. p. 212. Ed. Fran. [r] Si propheta es, prænuntia aliquid: si apostolus, prædica publice: si apostolicus, cum apostolis senti: si tantum christianus es, crede quod traditum est. Si nihil istorum es, merito dixerim, morere. Nam et mortuus es, qui non es christianus, non credendo quod creditum christianos facit. Id. de Carne Chr. cap. 2. p. 358. p. 298. Ed. Fran. Unde autem extranei et inimici apostolis hæretici, nisi ex diversitate doctrinæ, quam unusquisque de suo arbitrio adversus apostolos aut protulit, aut recepit? De Præscr. Hær. c. 37. p. 212. Ed. Fran.

[s] Marcion Deum, quem invenerat, exstincto lumine fidei suæ, amisit. Non negabunt discipuli ejus, primam illius fidem nobiscum fuisse, ipsius literis testibus; ut hinc jam destinari possit hæreticus, qui deserto quod prius fuerat, id postea sibi elegerit, quod retro non erat, &c. Adv. Marc. l. i. c. i. p. 431. A. p. 350. Ed. Fran. [t] Aut quis dubitabit, ipsum illud Adæ delictum hæresin pronuntiare, quod per electionem suæ potius quam divinæ sententiæ admisit?—Rudis admodum hæreticus fuit. Non obaudiit. Non tamen blasphemavit Creatorem, &c. Adv. M. l. 2. c. 2. p. 454. C. D. p. 368. Ed. Fran. [u] Licuit et Valentino, ex privilegio hæretico, carnem Christi spiritalem comminisci. Quidvis eam fingere potuit, quisquis humanam credere noluit. De C. C. cap. 15. p. 370. p. 306. Ed. Fran.

[v] ——si forte poetica et pictoria licentia, et tertia jam hæretica. Adv. Marc. l. i. c. 3. in. p. 431. p. 351.

[w] *Και εισιν αυτων, οι μεν τινες καλεμενοι Μαρκιανοι, οι δε Ουαλεντιανοι, οι δε Βασιλειδιανοι, οι δε Σατορνιλιανοι, και αλλοι αλλῳ ονοματι, απο τȣ αρχηγειτε της γνωμης εκαστος ονομαζομενος ὀν τροπον και εκαστος των φιλοσοφειν νομιζοντων——απο τȣ πατρος τȣ λογȣ το ονομα ἠς φιλοσοφει φιλοσοφιας ἠγειται φερειν.* Dialog. cum Tr. p. 253, 254. Paris. 1636.

[x] See Vol. iv. p. 153, 193, et al.

christians disclaimed all names but that of their master Jesus Christ.

We may here take notice of an observation of some learned moderns, that[y] though in christian writers heresy is often used as equivalent to opinion, and particularly a wrong opinion, or false doctrine; yet that is not the most ancient sense of the word, but sect or party. And indeed it must be so understood in several passages alleged at the beginning of this article.

I may just add, that Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, whose words are cited by Suicer,[z] do not by heretics, in 1 Cor. xi. 19, understand wrong opinions, but contentions and divisions.

SECTION II.

It is difficult to define what is Heresy, or who is an Heretic.

BUT though so much has been said for settling the meaning of the word, it is not easy to show by an exact definition what is heresy, or who is an heretic. Thus much is acknowledged by Augustine, who says that[a] every heresy is an error, but every error is not an heresy. In another place he says, It[b] seems to him that heresy is, when a man for the sake of glory or power, or other secular advantages, either invents, or embraces and follows, new and false opinions: and he thinks there is a great difference between

[y] Postea etiam hæreses dictæ vulgo apud christianos opiniones ipsæ eæque a rectâ doctrinâ abhorrentes, et hæretici vocati, qui eas tuebantur: quamvis peculiarem nullam sectam, quæ seorsim a cæteris christianis ageret, condere adgrederentur. Quo tamen sensu in apostolorum scriptis non occurrunt. Cleric. H. E. An. 83. n. iii.

[z] Diximus vocem αἱρεσεως hac tertiâ significatione sumi, 1 Cor. xi. 19. Hic tamen dissimulandum non est, veteres non intelligere doctrinam orthodoxiæ contrariam, sed contentiones, &c. Suicer. V. Αἱρεσις. p. 119, 120.

[a] Non enim omnis error hæresis est: quamvis omnis hæresis, quæ in vitio ponitur, nisi errore aliquo hæresis esse non possit. Quid ergo faciat hæreticum regulari quâdam definitione comprehendi, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest, aut difficillime potest. Quod in processu hujus operis declarabitur. De Hæresib. pr. Tom. 8. Tom. 6. f. 3. D. Vene. 1570.

[b] Nunc vero, cum inter hæc duo plurimum intersit; quandoquidem hæreticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime gloriæ principatûsque sui gratiâ falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit, vel sequitur. Ille autem, qui hujusmodi hominibus credit, homo est imaginatione quâdam veritatis ac pietatis illusus. De Util. Cred. c. i. in. Tom. 8. T. 6. 29. E.

such a one, and another who is deluded by him under the specious appearances of truth or piety. This will acquit many from the charge of heresy, or very much abate their guilt.

However, for better understanding this matter, we may farther observe, that it is generally allowed that [c] a heretic is one who professeth to be a christian, but is not supposed to be of the church, having [d] either separated himself from it, or been excluded from it by others. Such descriptions of heretics are very common in Augustine and Tertullian, who says that [e] heretics have no communion with other christians, but are strangers without the church.

But whether they were allowed by others to be christians or not, they always called themselves christians, and laid claim to that character. What is said of the Valentinians by so ancient a writer as Irenæus is very observable. When [f] the ecclesiastical (or orthodox) christians refused to converse with them, they complained of it as hard usage, since they held the same or like doctrine with them. Lac-

[c] Παντες οἱ απο τουτων ὁρμωμενοι, ὡς εφημεν, χριστιανοι καλουνται. Just. M. Ap. ii. p. 70. B.——τοιουτους ειναι ανδρας, ὁμολογουντας ἑαυτους ειναι χριστιανους και τον σταυρωθεντα Ιησουν ὁμολογειν, και Κυριον και Χριστον, και μη τα εκεινου διδαγματα διδασκοντας· Dial. cum. Tryph. p. 253. A. Vid. ib. E. Itaque ille hæreticus, siquidem de his nobis sermo est, qui se christianos dici volunt. Aug. de Util. Cred. c. 14. n. 30. in. T. 8. T. 6. 35. E. Insidiantur hæretici, pallio velati nominis christiani. Enarr. in Ps. lx. p. 5. T. 4. T. 8. 202. F. Et vos, et omnes hæretici, qui quoquo modo christiani appellantur. Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. x. sub fin. T. 8. T. 6. 117. M. Et quoniam quoquo modo christianum se videri cupit. Contr. Advers. L. et Pto. l. i. c. i. T. 8. T. 6. 188. M.

[d] Qui ergo in ecclesiâ Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti, ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt, hæretici fiunt, et foras exeuntes habentur in exercitibus inimicis. Aug. De Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 51. T. 7. T. 5. 184. A. Extolluntur inde, et superbiunt inde et videntur sibi sapientes. Hoc autem contigit omnibus hæreticis; qui cum essent animales et carnales defendendo sententias suas pravas, quas falsas esse non potuerunt videre, exclusi sunt de catholicâ. Ejusd. Enarr. in Ps. cxxx. c. 9. T. 4. T. 8. 502. A. Baptizatum autem posse separari ab ecclesiâ quis dubitavit? Inde quippe omnes hæreses exierunt, quæ vocabulo christiano decipiunt. Id. De Baptism. Contr. Donat. l. 5. c. 15. n. 20. T. 9. T. 7. 142. K. Statim enim ut unaquæque heresis existebat, et a congregatione catholicæ communionis exibat——Ib. cap. 19. n. 24. T. 7. 143. E.

[e] Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extraneos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. Non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi est præceptum, quia non idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est, idem, ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem. De Baptism. c. 15. p. 262. D. p. 224. Ed. Fran.

[f] Qui etiam queruntur de nobis, quod, cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causâ abstineamus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem dicant, et eandem habeant doctrinam, avocemus eos hæreticos. Iren. l. 3. c. xv. n. 2. p. 203. p. 237. Ed. Grab. Ox. 1702.

tantius says that[g] all heretics affirmed that they were the best christians, and the catholic church. To the like purpose Salvian: they[h] believe what they profess to be true; and they think themselves to be orthodox. As they are heretics in our esteem, so are we in theirs. And as for those of the two first centuries who called themselves christians, and professed faith in Jesus, what good reason can there be to dispute their veracity and integrity? The profession[i] of the christian name was not then the way to honour, profit, or pleasure.

Jerom says that 'heresy[k] is an opinion different from 'the right interpretation of scripture. He therefore who 'holds such an opinion may be a heretic, though he is not 'separated from the church.' Nay,[l] he supposeth that pastors of the church may teach heresy.

Elsewhere he speaks of[m] heretics being excluded from the church. At other times he says that[n] heretics withdraw and separate themselves from the church; as does Cyprian also in a passage cited[o] by us formerly.

Origen seems to have supposed that[p] great errors only

[g] Sed tamen quia singuli quique cœtus hæreticorum se potissimum christianos, et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant, sciendum est, &c. Instit. l. 4. c. ult. p. 450. p. 519. Ed. Walchii Lips. 1715.

[h] Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Denique apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. Nam in tantum se catholicos esse judicant, ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament. Salvian. De Gub. l. 5. p. 100. p. 153. Ox. 1633. [i] Nihil enim causæ erat, cur Valentiniani videri vellent christiani, a cujus nominis societate iis temporibus nil commodi sperari poterat, sed potius mala omnia. Heuman. ap. Act. Lips. Mens. April, 1712. p. 176. [k] Αἱρεσις autem Græce ab electione dicitur. Quicumque igitur aliter scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licet de ecclesiâ non recesserit, tamen hæreticus appellari potest; et de carnis operibus est, eligens quæ pejora sunt. Hieron. in Gal. c. 5. T. 4. P. i. p. 302.

[l] Possumus autem hoc juxta tropologiam et de ecclesiæ principibus intelligere, qui tamen non digne regunt oves Domini—Perdunt oves pastores, qui docent. In Jerem. c. xxiii. T. 3. p. 634. [m] Omnis enim hæreticus nascitur in ecclesiâ, sed de ecclesiâ projicitur: et contendit, et pugnat contra ecclesiam. In Jerem. cap. xxii. p. 631.

[n] Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur damnatus, quia fornicator——et cætera vitia, per sacerdotes de ecclesiâ propelluntur. Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam ferunt, suo arbitrio de ecclesiâ recedentes. Quæ recessio propriæ conscientiæ videtur esse damnatio. Inter hæresim et schisma hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat. Schisma propter episcopalem dissensionem ab ecclesiâ separetur, &c. Id. ad Tit. iii. T. 4. p. 439. Conf. eund. in. Js. c. xcii. T. 3. p. 196. [o] See Vol. iii. p. 40.

[p] Quid vero sit hæreticus homo, pro viribus nostris secundum quod sentire possumus, describamus. Omnis qui se Christo credere profitetur, et tamen alium Deum Legis et Prophetarum, alium Evangeliorum Deum dicit, et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, non eum dicit esse, qui a Lege et Prophetis prædicatur, sed alium nescio quem, ignotum omnibus——Hujusmodi homines

ought to be reckoned heresies, such as those of Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides, and some others, who did not believe the same God to have been the God of the Old and New Testament.

SECTION III.

Of the Causes of Heresies.

We need not solicitously inquire into the causes of heresies, or the moving principles of heretics. It is well known that heresies have been often ascribed to [a] pride, a [b] love of pre-eminence, [c] envy, revenge, [d] disappointed ambition, love of sensual [e] pleasure, a desire to be wise and knowing above others, and curiosity to search out the reason of all

hæreticos designamus——sicut sectatores Marcionis, et Valentini, et Basilidis, et ii qui se Ethnianos appellant——sed et Apelles————Pamph. pro Orig. Apol. ap. Hieron. Tom. v. p. 226.

[a] Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni, quam edocti. Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ, quam procaces! Tertullian. De Pr. Hær. cap. xli. 111. 213. Fran. Quis enim hæreticorum non superbus est? Qui ecclesiasticam despiciens simplicitatem, ita habeat ecclesiæ homines quasi bruta animalia, et in tantum superbiæ injuriæque tumore erigitur, ut contra ipsum Creatorem armat os suum. Hieron. in Is. cap. xvi. T. 3. p. 171. Hæretici matrem habent iniquitatis suæ superbiam, dum semper altiora scire se jactitant, et in ecclesiæ contumeliam debacchantur. Id. in Osee. cap. v. p. 1266. Et quia semper hæretici tumentes superbiâ, et incidentes in laqueum diaboli, magna sibi promittunt. Id. in Amos. cap. iv. p. 1402. Vide hæreticos in dialecticâ sibi et rhetoricâ, et omnium sophismatum dogmatibus applaudentes, contemnere ecclesiæ rusticitatem, &c. In Sophon. ib. p. 1664. Egenum et pauperem intellige ecclesiasticum virum, qui veritatis simplicitate contentus, hæreticorum supellectilem, et eloquentiæ fulgorem, argumentorumque divitias, non requirit. Id. in Amos. cap. iv. p. 1398. Omnes enim hæreticorum principes intumescunt superbiâ, &c. In Amos. cap. ii. 1383. Quis enim hæreticorum non in superbiam extollitur, ecclesiæ simplicitatem parvi pendens, et fidem imperitiam reputans. Id. in Abd. c. i. p. 1458. fin.

[b] Οὗτος [Μοντανος] οιστρηθεις ερωτι φιλαρχιας παρακλητον ἑαυτον προσηγορευσε. Theod. H. F. l. 3. c. 2.

[c] Ζηλωσας λοιπον, και εις μεγαν αρθεις θυμον και υπερηφανιαν, το σχισμα εργαζεται ὁ τοιουτος, ἑαυτῳ την αἱρεσιν προσησαμενος, και ειπων, Εγω σχισω την εκκλησιαν υμων, και βαλω σχισμα εν αυτῃ εις τον αιωνα. Epiph. contr. Marcion. H. 42. n. 2. D.

[d] Huic, ut et multis aliis hæreticis, effrænis ambitio, si Tertulliano fides, ruinæ occasio fuit. 'Speraverat,' inquit adv. Valentin. cap. 4, 'episcopatum 'Valentinus, quia et ingenio poterat, et eloquio. Sed alium ex Martyrii præ-'rogativâ loci positum indignatus, de ecclesiâ authenticæ regulæ abrupit, ad 'expugnandam conversus veritatem.' Massuet. Diss. Pr. ad. Iren. p. xvi.

[e] Nulla enim hæresis, nisi propter gulam ventremque construitur, ut seducat mulierculas oneratas peccatis. Hieron. in Jerem. cap. iv. T. 3. p. 543. fin

things, and to other faulty causes and principles: which indeed may have very much contributed to the great variety of opinions which there has been among christians; from which those who are called catholics, and who have been generally esteemed orthodox, have not been always free.

One cause already hinted, of no small effect in this affair, may have been an eager curiosity to pry into and know every thing. Too[f] curious inquiries into the origin of evil seem to have misled many men. The question was difficult, and they went into several opinions, some of which were wrong and absurd. Their prejudices and their arguments upon this head occur in [g] Tertullian,[h] Epiphanius,[i] Jerom, and others, as we shall see more particularly hereafter.

Lactantius, accounting for the numerous sects and divisions among christians, mentions several causes: a[k] love of this world, and a desire of pre-eminence. When such

[f] Eadem materia apud hæreticos et philosophos volutatur, idem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum, et quare? et unde homo, et quomodo? Tertull. Pr. cap. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fran.

[g] Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime hæretici) circa mali quæstionem: Unde malum? Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap. 2. p. 431. p. 351. Fran.

[h] Εχει δε ἡ αρχη αυτης της κακης προφασεως την αιτιαν απο τȣ ζητειν, και λεγειν, ποθεν το κακον. Epiph. contra Basilid. H. 24. n. vi. vii.

[i] Dicat hæc Marcion, et omnes hæretici qui Creatoris operibus illudunt. Vestrum decretum huc usque perveniet, ut dum singula calumniantur, manum injiciant Deo, cur solus sit Deus, cur inviderit creaturis, ut non omnes eâdem polleant majestate. Adv. Pelagian. lib. i. p. 496. m. Tom. 4.——Detrahatur ergo illi, cur diabolum esse permiserit, cur passus sit, et hucusque patiatur quotidie aliquid in mundo mali fieri. Quærit hoc Marcion, et omnes hæreticorum canes, qui Vetus laniant Testamentum, et hujuscemodi syllogismum texere consueverunt. Aut scivit Deus, hominem in paradiso positum prævaricaturum mandatum illius, aut nescivit, &c. Id. ib. l. 3. p. 536. m.

[k] Sed quoniam multæ hæreses extiterunt, et instinctibus dæmonum populus Dei scissus est——Ante omnia scire nos convenit, et ipsum, et legatos ejus prædixisse quod plurimæ sectæ, et hæreses haberent existere, quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent ac monuisse, ut summâ prudentiâ caveremus—— Quorum plerique immemores, deserto itinere cœlesti, vias sibi devias per anfractus et præcipitia condiderunt; per quas partem plebis incautam, et simplicem, ad tenebras mortemque deducerent. Quod quâtenus acciderit, exponam. Fuerunt quidam nostrorum vel minus stabilitâ fide, vel minus docti, vel minus cauti——Sed ii, quorum fides lubrica, cum Deum nôsse se et colere simularent, augendis opibus, et honori studentes, affectabant maximum sacerdotium; et, a potioribus victi, secedere cum suffragatoribus suis maluerunt, quam eos ferre præpositos, quibus concupierant ipsi ante præponi. Quidam vero, non satis cœlestibus literis eruditi, cum veritatis accusatoribus respondere non possent, objicientibus vel impossibile vel incongruens esse, ut Deus in uterum se mulieris includeret; nec cœlestem illam majestatem ad tantam infirmitatem potuisse deduci, ut hominibus contemptui, derisui, contumeliæ, et ludibrio esset; postremo etiam cruciamentâ perferret, atque exsecrabili patibulo figeretur—depravati sunt ab itinere recto——Lact. Instit. l. 4. cap. ult. p. 516, 518.

men failed of attaining those advantages in the church, which they had in view, they formed parties. Another cause assigned by him is unacquaintedness with the scriptures, and the reason of things: insomuch that meeting with difficulties and objections against the right doctrine, which they could not answer, they embraced a less reasonable opinion. These last mentioned may be supposed to have been honest men, though weak, and of little knowledge and understanding.

SECTION IV.

Many mistakes in the writings of those who have published the History of Heresies accounted for.

THERE are, as it seems, not a few mistakes in the ancient writers of heresies, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Philaster, and others. Many learned [a] moderns have been sensible of it; and it may be easily and fully accounted for.[b] It

[a] S. Irenée a été, si je ne me trompe le premier auteur chrêtien, qui ait entrepris de faire connoitre à l'eglise les erreurs de tous les heretiques, qui s' etoient élevez jusqu' a son temps, et les refuter. Mais, quêlqu' habile que fût ce Pere, l'entrepris étoit bien grande á cause du nombre des sectes, et de l' obscurité, dont quelquesunes affectoient d'enveloper leurs systemes. Il falloit lire beaucoup dans un temps, ou les livres n étoient gueres communes: et lire avec une grande attention examines bien quels étoient les vrais sentimens des sectaires, pour ne leur en pas attribuer qu'ils n'avoient point ne pas dissimuler leurs raisons et leurs difficultez, et ne donner point legerement créance à des bruits faux ni incertains. Il fallois surtout se defendre contre le prejugé et la partialitè, &c. I. Beausobre Hist. de Manich. l. 4. c. i. ii. iii. T. 2. p. 4. Unum fortasse caput in hac Dissertatione [Massueti] desiderabunt lectores nonnulli, quo fides Irenæi historica sub examine revocata sit. Vulgus quidem historiæ lectorum non considerat, quanto locorum ac temporum intervallo disjunctus sit auctor aliquis ab eo de quo scripsit——At prudentiores scire avent, imprimis in historiâ de adversariis scriptâ, an scriptor notitiam habuerit undiquâque certam, eamque sine affectu exposuerit. Non ignoramus, Irenæum a Tertulliano vocari 'omnium doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem.' Sed an vera sit hæc laus, dubitare in mentem venit, postquam videmus ipsum Massuetum longe doctius de origine Gnosticorum errorum judicare, quam Irenæum. Heumann. Recensio Iren. opp. a Massuet. edit. apud Act. Lips. Mens. Apr. 1712. p. 178. Meo quidem judicio, eum, qui omnia quæ in hæreticos dixit Irenæus, apte et solide dicta esse demonstrare vult, totam hominum illorum disciplinam conturbare, et sententiis eorundem vim afferre oportet. I. L. Moshem, Instit. H. E. Majores. p. 323. Vid. ib. p. 321.

[b] We should not trust too much to the representations which christians, after the apostolical age, have given of the heretics of the times. Proper abatements must be made for credulity, zeal, resentment, mistake, and exaggeration. And as you descend from the middle of the second century, the

was a large and difficult undertaking to write the history of a great number of heresies, and their authors; and the notions of some of them might be very obscure and intricate; it might be difficult to get a sight of their works, or to procure information otherwise. Irenæus[c] himself observes that some good men, who before him had written against the Valentinians, were not fully acquainted with their doctrine, and therefore could not confute them in a right manner. Moreover, wise and understanding persons are liable to prejudices. Almost all are too averse to men of different sentiments. I have already made an apology[d] for the mistakes observed in the writings of ancient christians. I shall still endeavour to maintain an impartial regard to all, without[e] aggravating the supposed errors of those who have been defamed as heretics, or[f] the mistakes, oversights, inaccuracies, and misrepresentations of those who have written their history, or have argued against them. I likewise intend to avoid too great exactness and particularity in matters which are either plainly absurd, or very abstruse and metaphysical, and not necessary to be generally known in these times; following[g] herein the example of other ecclesiastical historians of good credit. And I suppose that the history of the Manichees, formerly written, may be of some use here. Indeed one reason of indulging

descriptions of this kind grow less fair and consistent, and more partial and improbable, till, at last, very little credit is due to them. Jortin's Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Rel. p. 72. 3d ed.

[c] Quapropter hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quidem multo nobis meliores, non tamen satis potuerunt contradicere his qui sunt a Valentino, quia ignorabant regulam ipsorum. Iren. Præf. lib. 4. p. 227, 274. Grabe.

[d] See Vol. ii. ch. lxiii. sect. viii. init. [e] Il est juste de effacer des préjugés, qui viennent moins de l' ignorance que d'une aversion mal entendue pour les hérétiques. Clément d' Alexandrie a fort bien dit, que toutes les opinions des sectaires ne sont ni mauvaises, ni vaines et meprisables. *Παμπολλα γαρ των παρα ταις αἱρεσεσι δοξαζομενων εὑροιμεν αν, ὁσαι μη τελεον εκκεκωφηνται, κ. λ.* Clem. Str. l. i. p. 298. B. Beausobre, Hist. Manic. l. 3. c. 9. n. v. T. i. p. 573.

[f] De hæreticis quibusdam agemus, qui hæc ætate prava dogmata sparsisse dicuntur. De quibus tamen, cum nullos habemus æquales testes, nec quidquam proferre possimus ex eorum scriptis, quæ interciderunt, nec supersit nobis eorum historia, nisi in infensissimorum proxime sequentis seculi, aut etiam posteriorum adversariorum testimoniis, nihil ferme quasi prorsus exploratum proferre possumus. Absit tamen, ut mendacii datâ operâ conficti quenquam insimulatum velimus, e recte sentientibus christianis: sed fieri potest, ut de iis, quibus merito infensi erant, multa facilius æquo crediderint, aut ut mentem eorum non satis adsequi uti sint, utque falsa de iis imprudentes prodiderint, non quidem mero nocendi aut mentiendi studio, sed adfectu nonnullo præpediti. Quod et ex hodiernis christianorum controversiis intelligere licet. Cleric. H. E. A. D. 76. n. i. p. 481.

[g] Itaque hic nimiam adhibere diligentiam puderet. Id. A. D. 121. n. viii. p. 583.

myself in so copious and particular an account of this sect was, that I hoped thereby to shorten the history of the more ancient heresies, and to render it more easy and intelligible to my readers.

SECTION V.

The Number of Heresies hath been augmented without sufficient reason.

THE ancient heresies have been unreasonably multiplied. The[a] number in Epiphanius is eighty: that is, twenty before Christ, and sixty afterwards, down to his own time. We formerly saw some reason to doubt whether[b] there ever were such sects or heresies as the Valesians, Angelics, and Apostolics, or even such Origenists as Epiphanius speaks of. And if the Nicolaitans were no distinct sect, and if the Simonians, and the Cainites, the Ophites or Ophians, and the Sethians, were not by profession christians, but unbelievers, and enemies of Jesus, as some think, they ought not to be reckoned heretics. But of this more particularly hereafter. The numbers in Epiphanius might be still farther reduced by other considerations.

In Philaster are now one hundred and fifty: but Augustine[c] computed in him twenty-eight heresies before Christ, and one hundred and twenty-eight afterwards. Our copies of Philaster therefore seem to be defective; for we have in him no more after our Lord's coming than one hundred and twenty-two. But many of Philaster's heresies are exceeding trifling: Augustine[d] was sensible of it, and in one part of his work passeth over at once[e] fourteen or fifteen articles

[a] It is very uncommon (says Du Pin) for writers of heresies to lessen their number, or forget any one; but to multiply them is a common fault. Bib. Eccl. T. 2. p. 244. dans Philastre. He has many good remarks concerning Philaster, and the heresies in him.

[b] See Vol. ii. ch. xli. num. ii.

[c] Vid Augustin. Pr. ad. Quod vult deum, et libr. de Hær. cap. 41.

[d] Has hæreses putavi——in hoc opus meum de Philastri opere transferendas. Et alias quidem ipse commemorat; sed mihi appellandæ hæreses non videntur. Aug. de Hær. cap. 80.

[e] Vid. Philast. H. 98. et Fabricii Annot. p. 188. Apud alios 49. Between the seventy-sixth and seventy-seventh heresies of Austin, there are in Philaster fifteen which Austin has omitted, as he has also seven others, which are inserted by Philaster, between those which answer to the seventy-seventh and seventy-eighth heresy of Austia.

in Philaster. One of the heresies in Philaster,[f] taken too by Augustine, is, that [g] there are more worlds than one. Another heresy, but omitted by Augustine, is of those who [h] had given names to stars beside those named in scripture. A common opinion of the ancient christian writers concerning the fall of some of the angels is with [i] Philaster a heresy. He has [k] four or five different heresies about the version of the Seventy, and other Greek translations of the Old Testament. His Rhetorians [l] are not a little whimsical; that [m] article was not thoroughly approved by Augustine. I put in the margin a [n] conjecture of Fabricius upon it. There was no occasion to make a distinct chapter [o] of such as held three modes in the Deity, after the mention of Noetus and Sabellius; and yet Augustine [p] has copied that article. And there are many others altogether needless. So that the number of heresies in that writer might be greatly reduced; and indeed in Augustine likewise. Epiphanius [q] and Augustine [r] make two different articles of Montanists or Cataphrygians, and Pepuzians; but Theodoret more judiciously one [s] only, they being different denominations of one and the same sect or people.

It may be worth observing in this place that the christian writers, Justin Martyr, [t] Hegesippus, [u] and Epiphanius, [v]

[f] Alia est hæresis, quæ dicit mundos esse infinitos et innumerabiles, secundum philosophorum quorundam inanem sententiam, cum scriptura mundum unum dixerit. H. 113. p. 233. Edid. Fabr. Her. 65. p. 34. Tom. 4. La Bigne Bib. Patrum. Par. 1624.

[g] Aug. H. 77.

[h] Alia est hæresis quæ secundum Paganorum vanitatem siderum diversa nomina profitetur——Qui Cometas, et Pogonias, et Hyadas, et Hœdos, et talia hujusmodi adserunt nomina delirantes, cum scriptura pauca nomina siderum dixerit, dicente Job prophetâ——Qui fecit Pleiades, et Arcturum, &c. Phil. H. 103. p. 197. H. 55. p. 27.

[i] Alia est hæresis, quæ de gigantibus adserit, quod angeli miscuerint se cum feminis ante diluvium, et inde esse natos gigantes suspicatur. H. 107. p. 108. H. 59. p. 29.

[k] Vid. H. 138—142. aliis 90—94.

[l] Alii sunt——a Rhetorio quodam, qui omnes laudabat hæreticos, dicens omnes bene sentire, et neminem errare ex iis, sed ambulare bene omnes illos, et male eos non credere sentiebat. H. 91. aliis 43.

[m] Rhetorio quodam exortam hæresim dicit nimium mirabilis vanitatis, quæ omnes hæreticos recte ambulare, et vera dicere affirmat; quod ita est absurdum, ut mihi incredibile videatur. Aug. H. 72.

[n] Suspicor, sub Rhetorio hoc rhetorem latere Themistium, qui oratione duodecimâ ad Valentem, p. 159, et quintâ ad Jovinianum, p. 69, docet varietate illâ opinionum de rebus divinis adeo non offendi Numen, ut etiam delectetur. In eandem sententiam Symmachus apud Prudentium. ii. 772. Fabric. ad loc. Philast.

[o] Hæresis triformem Deum faciens. H. 93. p. 177. al. H. 45. p. 24.

[p] Aug. H. 74.

[q] H. 48, 49.

[r] H. 26, 27.

[s] H. Fab. l. 3. c. 2.

[t] Just. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 307. A.

[u] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 22.

[v] Epiph. l. i. p. 31, &c.

reckon six or seven sects among the Jews: and as they do not all mention the same, but different, they make in all ten or twelve at least. Whilst Josephus, whose authority must certainly be preferred, computes [w] but three, or at most four Jewish sects: but on this I shall not enlarge. I only refer to the curious dissertation of Rhenford upon the subject.[x]

SECTION VI.

Most heresies of the two first Centuries may be reduced to two kinds.

THE greatest part of the heresies of the two first centuries may be reduced to two kinds. This was done by so ancient a writer as Theodoret, whose words in the preface to his five books of heresies I shall here transcribe, as giving some authority to this observation. 'The [a] first book of here-'tical fables,' says he, 'shall contain the account of those 'who assert another maker of the world, and deny that 'there is one principle of all things, who also say that the 'Lord was man in appearance only. The first of these is 'Simon the magician of Samaria; the last Manes of Persia. 'The second book will show those of a contrary way of 'thinking, who allow one principle of all things, but say 'our Lord was a mere man, from Ebion down to Marcellus 'and Photinus, though in somewhat different forms. The 'third book will contain others between these.' But of these are but six, the Nicolaitans, the Montanists, Noetus, the Quartodecimans, Novatus, and Nepos, three of which, Noetus, Novatus, and Nepos, are of the third century, and the Montanists and Quartodecimans in the latter part of the second century. 'In the fourth book,' he says, 'he will 'place later heresies, that of Arius, Eunomius, and others. 'The fifth book is to contain a representation of the true 'evangelical doctrine.' So that the most ancient heresies,

[w] See the First part of this Work, B. i. ch. iv. and ch. ix. and x.

[x] De fictis Judæorum Hæresibus.

[a] *Και το μεν πρωτον των μυθων εκεινων την διηγησιν δεξεται, ων οι πατερες δημιυργον μεν ανεπλασαν ἑτερον, την δε μιαν των ολων αρνηθεντες αρχην, αρχας ἑτερας εκ υσας υπεθεντο, δοκησει δε φανηναι τον Κυριον εις ανθρωπες εφασαν ——το δε δευτερον τες τ' αναντια τυτοις επιδειξει τε θρησκευκοτας οι μιαν μεν αρχην ειναι των ὁλων συνωμολογησαν, ψιλον δε ανθρωπον τον Κυριον προσηγορευσαν. Ταυτης δε της αἱρεσεως ηρξε μεν Εβιων.* κ. λ. H. F. T. iv. p. 188.

at the beginning of the second century, are chiefly of two sorts. And what Theodoret says in the place now cited, may be compared with the account he gives in another [b] work. Tertullian [c] speaks of only two heresies in the times of the apostles, Docetæ and Ebionites.

Some learned moderns have spoken in the like manner; so [d] Vitringa; nor does Mr. Turner much differ [e] from this account: and says Tillemont: 'The [f] church was disturbed 'from the beginning with two opposite heresies, each of 'which produced several sects. Of one of these Simon was 'the first author. Their capital doctrines are, that there are 'two gods, and two principles, the creator, and another 'above him: and that our Saviour was man in appear-'ance only. These are called by the general names of 'Gnostics and Docetæ, and comprehend almost all the sects 'of the two first ages. The other heresy opposite to this 'came from the Jews, who embraced christianity, but not 'in all its perfection. They owned one principle, and one 'God, and the reality of Christ's human nature. But they 'believed him to be no more than a man, denied his divi-'nity, and retained the ceremonies of the law with so much 'zeal, as to diminish the liberty and glory of the gospel.'

Agreeable to this, two different opinions concerning the person of Christ have been before spoken of.[g] There is no need therefore to enlarge farther on this head at present.

[b] Σιμων, και Μενανδρος, και Μαρκιων, και Βαλεντινος, και Βασιλειδης, και Βαρδεσανης, και Κερδων, και Μανης, ηρνηθησαν αντικρυς την ανθρωποτητα τυ Χριστυ. Αρτεμων δε και Θεοδοτος, και Σαβελλιος, και Παυλος ὁ Σαμοσατευς, και Μαρκελλος, και Φωτεινος εις την εναντιαν εκ διαμετρυ βλασφημιαν κατεπεσον· ανθρωπον γαρ μονον κηρυττουσι τον Χριστον, την δε προ των αιωνων ὑπαρχουσαν αρνουνται θεοτητα. Αρειος δε και Ευνομιος. κ. λ. Dial. 2. p. 52. c. T. iv.

[c] At in epistolâ eos maxime Antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse filium Dei. Illud Marcion, hoc Hebion vindicavit———Hæc sunt, ut arbitror, genera doctrinarum adulterinarum, quæ sub apostolis fuisse, ab ipsis apostolis discimus. De Pr. cap. 33, 34. p. 244. B. p. 210, 11.

[d] Recte itaque episcopus Cestriensis, Vind. Ign. P. 2. c. i. p. 344. Duæ potissimum hæreses, ait de naturâ Christi eâ tempestate obtinebant——Quarum altera Docetarum fuit a Simonianis ortorum, humanæ naturæ veritatem in Christo despuentium, altera Ebionitarum, divinam prorsus naturam et æternam generationem negantium, legisque cæremonias urgentium. Vitring. Obs. Sacr. l. 5. cap. 12. p. 155, 156.

[e] The primitive heretics were not by far so numerous as has been represented. The erroneous tenets propagated by the primitive heretics are reducible to a few heads; and, strictly speaking, there were not above three or four heresies, for the first two hundred years. Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians, p. 190, 191.

[f] Mem. Ec. T. 2. L'heresie des Cerinthiens. init.

[g] See Vol. iii. ch. lxiii. sect. viii. 3.

SECTION VII.

Heretics have been often treated with great Acrimony.

HERETICS have been often treated with much harshness, and great severity of expression. I have already had occasion[a] to allege some instances of this. It is hard to forbear making some additions here. St. Jerom scruples not to say, they are worse[b] than heathens, the[c] worst of all men; and if they are free from all reproach in their lives, yet[d] they have only the shadow and appearance of virtue, not the truth. Cyril of Jerusalem says of the Montanists that they[e] are called christians, but falsely. Epiphanius's introduction to his account of Ebionitism must be allowed to be a remarkable instance of harshness, not to say railing. It[f] is with him a many-headed monster, and has in it at once the profaneness and impurity of the Samaritans, the name of Jews, the errors of the Nazarenes and Cerinthians, and the wickedness of the Carpocratians, with the denomination of christians. And he[g] is in doubt whether he should not consider Arianism as infidelity; but corrects himself, and adds, or rather wrong faith: which surely is rightest. Passion may suggest the former: but reason will plead for the latter.

Indeed there are many considerations that may lead men to moderation one toward another, upon occasion of differ-

[a] Ib. p. 275, and 299.

[b] Multo quippe pejori conditione sunt hæretici quam Gentiles. Hier. in Mat. cap. xiii. T. iv. p. 51. f.——et impietatem superant Ethnicorum——Nullus enim ecclesiasticorum tantum habet studii in bono, quantum hæretici in malo: et in eo se lucrum putant consequi, si alios decipiant, et ipsi perditi cæteros perdant. In Is. cap. xviii. p. 180. m. T. 3.

[c] Hoc significat, quod impietate suâ omnes vincant hæretici. Verbi gratiâ: Dicit Epicurus, non esse providentiam, et voluptatem maximum bonum. Comparatione hujus, sceleratior Marcion, et omnes hæretici, qui Vetus lacerant Testamentum. In Is. cap. xviii. p. 179. f.

[d] Porro hæretici imaginem tantum habentes umbramque virtutum, et non ipsam veritatem, absque fructu operum, verborum folia pollicentur. In Is. cap. v. p. 50. m.

[e] *Ψευδως μεν, ὁμωνυμως δε καλεισθαι χριστιανος.* Cat. 16. n. 8.

[f] *——πολυμορφον τερατιον——πολυκεφαλω ὑδρας——Σαμαρειτων μεν γαρ εχει το βδελυρον, Ιουδαιων δε το ονομα——Ναζωραιων την γνωμην, Κηρινθιανων το ειδος, Καρποκρατιανων την κακοτροπιαν, και χριστιανων βουλεται εχειν την προσηγοριαν.* H. 30. n. 1.

[g] *——Ὡς ειθε και ἡ τυ Αρειυ εμβεβροντημενη πιστις μαλλον δε απιστια· εστι δε μαλλον κακοπιστια.* H. 69. n. ii. fin.

ent sentiments, especially in matters which have in them some abstruseness and difficulty. One consideration of no small moment is, that we are in danger of the same treatment which we give to others. It was formerly observed that [h] Methodius bore hard upon Origen: but he himself has since been suspected of divers errors. Philaster, who wrote a long treatise of heresies, and condemns some of them with severity, has not been thought orthodox by all, but has fallen under the charge or suspicion of heresy. He [i] speaks of man's free-will in terms that would be disliked by many of late times. Moreover he thought the soul [k] to be created before the body. And as he has no article of Origenists, or followers of Origen, he is supposed to have favoured that great man in some of his peculiarities. The millennium, which has been a favourite doctrine of some ages, and has had the patronage of the learned as well as the vulgar among christians; at other times, and by other writers, has been exploded and ridiculed. And notwithstanding the allowed piety of some of its patrons, it is placed by Philaster among his [l] heresies. This is certain, that as bad things were said of the primitive christians by Jews and heathens, as ever were said of the ancient heretics by catholics. Modern reformers have been treated just in the same manner. And no wonder, since there have in every age been men so strongly attached to their present interest as to value the emoluments connected with old establishments, however erroneous, more than truth. Such men will always represent every attempt towards a reformation, as proceeding from wicked and impious dispositions, and will cry down the promoters of it, as heretics, and as men of the most abandoned and profligate principles.

This must be the case whenever men think themselves privileged to neglect the rules of candour and moderation, in the judgment they form concerning each other. For though truth is one and unchangeable, orthodoxy and heresy are as variable as the opinions of fallible and inconstant, of prejudiced and ignorant men.

[h] See Vol. iii. p. 182.

[i] Quia arbitrii sui est omnis homo, quod velit ut eligat facere, permittente Deo. H. 26. p. 49. p. 7. E. Par. 1624.

[k] Vid. H. 97. p. 26. Ibid.

[l] H. 59. p. 119. p. 15. C. Par. 1624.

SECTION VIII.

Heretics have been greatly calumniated.

SOME seem to have reckoned that they had a right to say the worst things of heretics which they could; and others have thought themselves obliged to believe all the evil that has been reported of them. I have already, at several times, had occasion to confute some grievous charges against such as were called heretics, particularly the impure [a] Origenists, if ever there were such a sect, and [b] the Manichees. Some other things are now to be taken notice of relating to more ancient heretics, who appeared near the end of the first, or in the former part of the second century.

One thing laid to the charge of many of those heretics is magic.

Marcus or Marc, from whom the Marcosians were denominated, is often [c] called a magician and impostor. Irenæus says, the [d] Basilidians had invocations, enchantments, and all kinds of curious and magical practices. And, according to Epiphanius, Basilides [e] would never be persuaded to leave off magical arts. In like manner Irenæus also speaks of the [f] Carpocratians. And Eusebius says of these last, [g] as upon the authority of Irenæus, that they practised magic not secretly, but openly, more openly than Simon himself.

Nevertheless some learned moderns have doubted of this, and have made a question, Whether it was any more than a popular charge against men who studied mathematics, and

[a] See Vol. ii. ch. xli. num. v.

[b] Vol. iii. p. 295—299.

[c] ——*μαγικης υπαρχων κυβειας εμπειροτατος.* Iren. l. i. c. xiii. n. i. c. viii. p. 56. Grab. &c. ix. p. 56, 59. Gr.

[d] Utuntur autem et hi magiâ—et incantationibus et invocationibus et reliquâ universâ periergiâ. L. i. cap. xxiv. n. v. cap. xxiii. p. 98. Gr.

[e] *Ου μην δε αλλα και μαγγανικαις μηχανιαις προσανεχων εκ επαυσατο, και περιεργιαις ὁ απατεων.* H. 24. n. ii. p. 69. D.

[f] Artes enim magicas, operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtra quoque et charitesia, et paredros, et oniropompos, et reliquas malignationes. Ib. c. xxv. n. iii. c. xxiv. 100.

[g] *Γραφει δε και Ειρηναιος συγχρονισαι τουτοις Καρποκρατην, ἑτερας αἱρεσεως της των Γνωστικων επικληθεισης πατερα· οἱ και τα Σιμωνος, ουχ ὡς εκεινος κρυβδην, αλλ' ηδη και εις φανερον, τας μαγειας παραδιδοναι ηξιουν.* Eus. H. E. l. iv. c. vii. p. 120.

particularly astronomy? In this manner thought so grave a writer as Vitringa.[h]

I may hereafter examine the charge against Marc. As Beausobre has considered this matter very particularly, so far as relates to the Basilidians, I shall represent his thoughts here as concisely as I can.

As[i] for the charge of magic, it appears to be very doubtful. For, first, it is really attested by Irenæus only, his work being the source from which all others have borrowed. Secondly, Tertullian, his most ancient copyist, says nothing of it. Thirdly, Clement of Alexandria too is silent here, as also Origen, though he omits no opportunity to reprehend Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion. Fourthly, the ancient fathers perpetually confound astronomy and astrology with magic. Mathematician and magician are with them the same things. All this is sufficient to render the magic of these men doubtful. Nevertheless I do not absolutely deny that the Basilidians had some superstitious practices among them, which are a natural consequence of supposing the stars to be animated, and that the spirits which reside in them, and conduct them, do govern also this lower world; with an exception however to the wills of men, which the philosophers never subjected to the power of the stars. I say, I do not positively deny that they had some such superstitions; and yet I would not be understood to affirm it.

These are superstitions which have indeed some resemblance to magic; but yet cannot be so termed without manifest injustice. When men make use of rites and ceremonies which are in themselves criminal, or when they propose to obtain the assistance of dæmons, this is magic. Magicians, says[k] Clement of Alexandria, boast that they have dæmons to assist them, and that by some certain enchantments they can compel them to serve them. This is what makes a magician——But the followers of Basilides

[h] Veteres enim omnes fere Pythagoricæ et Platonicæ Philosophiæ illustriores doctores de magiâ suspectos habuerunt; tum quod mystice fere omnia, et per numeros et formulas, quasi arcana quædam et secretior vis in iis recondita esset, tradiderint; tum quod vere illi apud suos auditores hanc suscitârint et foverint credulitatem, quasi secretius sibi cum diis commercium esset——Nec alio pertinet, quod Irenæus Menandrum, Marcum, aliosque Gnosticæ disciplinæ auctores, passim fœdi magiæ criminis insimulat. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. v. cap. xii. n. ix. p. 160.

[i] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 46, 47.

[k] *Μαγοι δε ηδη ασεβειας της σφων αυτων ὑπηρετας δαιμονας αυχεσιν, οικετας αυτες ἑαυτοις καταγραψαντες, τες κατηναγκασμενες δελες ταις επαοιδαις πεποιηκοτες.* Clem. A. Adm. ad. Gent. p. 39. C.

did not less detest dæmons than other christians did : and possibly made use of no other preservative against them than baptism, faith, and the name of Jesus. The Valentinians, at least, with whom these had a great agreement, were of opinion that baptism in the name of Jesus was sufficient to deliver a christian from subjection to the stars and dæmons, and to enable him[l] to tread on scorpions and adders, that is, all malignant powers.

More follows there to the like purpose, to which the reader is referred. And this last-mentioned observation may clear others, particularly Saturninus, who in Theodoret is the third after Simon, and taught, that[m] whereas evil dæmons assist bad men, Christ came to succour good men against such dæmons.

Another thing often laid to the charge of heretics is lewdness, and all manner of wickedness, and likewise teaching it : so says Theodoret in the preface to his work of Heretical Fables. He seems to represent this as general among them, though perhaps not as universal. The[n] lewdness both taught and practised by them, according to him, was such that even stage-players were too modest to describe it, or to hear it described ; and he asserts that they had exceeded and gone beyond the greatest proficients in wickedness.

But surely this must be exaggeration. It is improbable that these men should have exceeded all others in vice. Neither can it be to the honour of christians, or their religion, to multiply sects and divisions among them, or to aggravate and magnify their faults. In all bodies of men which are numerous, there will be some lewd and profligate persons ; but that whole sects and parties should practise and teach wickedness is very unlikely, and ought to be well attested before it is believed.

Eusebius says of the Carpocratians[o] that they gave occasion to the Gentiles to reproach the gospel, and to form a

[l] Vid. Eclog. Theod. sect. 74. et seq. apud Clem. Alexan. Ed. Par. 1641. p. 800, l.

[m] *Των δε πονηρων διαμονων τοις πονηροις συμπραττοντων, ηλθε, φησιν, ὁ Σωτηρ επαμυναι τοις αγαθοις.* H. Fab. l. i. c. iii.

[n] *Την δε και νενομοθετημενην παρ' αυτων και πραττομενην λαγνειαν, ϐδε των εν σκηνῃ τις τεθραμμενων ανασχοιτο αν η φρασαι, η λεγοντων αλλων ακϐσαι· τοσϐτον απολειπει και τϐς επισημϐς της ασελγειας εργατας.* H. Fab. in. Pr. T. 4. p. 188.

[o] *Τοις δε απιστοις εθνεσι πολλην παρεχειν κατα τϐ ϑειϐ λογϐ δυσφημιας περιϐσιαν· της εξ αυτων φημης εις την τϐ παντος χριστιανων εθνϐς διαβολην καταχεομενης. Ταυτῃ δ' αν επιπλειστον συνεβαινε την περι ἡμων παρα τοις τοτε απιστοις υπονοιαν δυσσεβη και ατοπωτατην διαδιδοσθαι· ὡς δη αθεμιτοις προς μητερας και αδελφας μιξεσιν, ανοσιαις τε τροφαις χρωμενων.* Eus. L. IV. cap. vii. p. 120. D.

disadvantageous opinion of all christians, as if they had been generally such as they were; and that to them it was chiefly owing that christians were charged with promiscuous lewdness, and other crimes, in their assemblies. Irenæus has somewhat of this kind, but not so full and strong. He says that [p] these men seem to have been formed by Satan on purpose that we might be slandered; but he does not positively say that other christians had been reproached upon their account, or that for their sake the common stories about christian assemblies had been credited.

Here then are two things: first the wickedness of the ancient heretics, particularly the Carpocratians: Secondly, that their excesses were the occasion of the disrepute which other christians, their assemblies especially, lay under.

It is this second particular that I propose to consider at present: and shall hereafter, in the history of the several heretics who are accused of so much extravagance, have an article concerning their manners and moral principles; saying nothing more relative to that point at this time, than may be needful for clearing the present question.

I. Then I observe, there is no small agreement between the charges brought against the first christians [q] in the beginning of the second century, and the charges against the heretics in later authors; which may create a suspicion that these last were formed upon the model of the former, and consequently are without ground. What the crimes were which were laid to the charge of the primitive christians we know from divers writers, Greek and Latin. I shall put in the margin passages of [r] Justin Martyr, [s] Athe-

[p] Qui et ipsi ad detractionem divini ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, a Satanâ præmissi sunt, ubi secundum alium et alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines, et putantes omnes nos tales esse, avertant aures suas a præconio veritatis: aut et [f. ut] videntes quæ sunt illorum, omnes nos blasphement, in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrinâ, neque in moribus, neque in quotidianâ conversatione. Iræn. lib. i. cap. xxv. n. iii. al. c. xxiv. p. 100. Gr.

[q] Quæ nocturnis congregationibus, et jejuniis solennibus, et inhumanis cibis. Min. Fel. cap. viii. p. 72. Lug. 1672. Occultis se notis et insignibus noscunt, et amant mutuo pene antequam noverint: passim etiam inter eos quædam libidinum religio miscetur: ac se promiscue appellant fratres et sorores, ut etiam non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri nominis fiat incestum. Ib. c. ix. p. 81, 2. Lug. 1672.

[r] Ει δε και τα δυσφημα εκεινα μυθολογεμενα εργα πραττεσι, λυχνιας μεν ανατροπην, και τας ανεδην μιξεις, και ανθρωπειων σαρκων βορας, ᾳ γινωσκομεν. J. M. Ap. i. p. 70. B. C.——μη και ὑμεις πεπιστευκατε περι ἡμων, ὁτι δη εσθιομεν ανθρωπες, και μετα την ειλαπινην αποσβεννυντες τας λυχνας αθεσμοις μιξεσιν εγκυλιομεθα; Dialog. Tr. p. 227 B.

[s] Τρια επιφημιζεσιν ἡμιν εγκληματα, αθεοτητα, Θυεστεια δειπνα, Οιδιποδειας μιξεις. Athen. Leg. p. 4. c. Ed. Par. No. iv. p. 15, 16. Ox. 1706.

nagoras, [t] Theophilus of Antioch, [u] Minucius Felix, and Tertullian, [v] from whom it appears that, beside atheism, or impiety towards the established deities, they were charged with having their wives in common, with promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, with incest, and eating human flesh, especially young children, whom they first killed and then ate at their nocturnal meetings, where persons of each sex, and every age, were present.

II. These scandalous reflections were cast upon the christians before the appearance of the Carpocratians, who were not known till the time of Adrian. Mr. Turner says these [w] calumnies seem to have begun with christianity itself. There are proofs of their being very early. Tacitus, speaking of the christians in the time of Nero, says they [x] were generally hated for their wickedness; that is, they lay under a bad character with the people. And, as Mr. Turner observes,[y] Melito of Sardis,[z] an apologist for the christian religion about the year 170, lays the foundation of these lying accusations in the reigns of Nero and Domitian. I shall transcribe largely at the bottom of the page [a] a passage of

Ετι δε, και τροφας και μιξεις λογοποιουσιν αθεους καθ' ήμων, ίνα τε μισειν νομιζοιεν μετα λογου. Ib. p. 34. d. No. xxvii. p. 123. Ox.

[t] Φασκοντων, ὡς κοινας ἁπαντων ωσας γυναικας ήμων, και διαφορῳ μιξει ξυνοντας, ετι μην και ταις ιδιαις αδελφαις συμμιγνυσθαι, και το αθεωτατον και ωμοτατον πασων, σαρκων ανθρωπινων εφαπτεσθαι ήμας. Theoph. ad Aut. l. iii. p. 119. B.

[u] Jam de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detestanda, quam nota est. Infans farre contectus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo farris superficie, quasi ad innoxios ictus provocato, cœcis occultisque vulneribus occiditur. Hujus, proh nefas! sitienter sanguinem lambunt: hujus certatim membra dispertiunt—Et de convivio notum est. Passim omnes loquuntur—Ad epulas solenni die coëunt, cum omnibus liberis, sororibus, matribus, sexûs omnis homines, et omnis ætatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit, et incestæ libidinis fervor ebrietate exarsit, canis, qui candelabro nexus est, jactu ossulæ—ad impetum et saltum provocatur. Sic everso et exstincto conscio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandæ cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis. Et si non omnes operâ, conscientiâ tamen pariter incesti; quoniam voto universorum appetitur, quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum. Min. Fel. cap. ix. p. 86—90.

[v] Dicimur sceleratissimi, de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto;' quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet, tenebras, tum et libidinum impiarum inverecundiam procurent. Tertul. Ap. cap. vii. in. p. 8—24.

[w] The Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians accounted for, p. 2. London, 1727.

[x] Quos, per flagitia invisos vulgus christianos appellabat—Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat. Tacit. Ann. l. xv. c. xliv. Ams. Elz. 1762. p. 1059, 60.

[y] Ib. p. 4.

[z] ——τον καθ' ήμας εν διαβολῃ κατασησαι λογον ηθελησαν Νερων και Δομετιανος· αφ' ὡν και το της συκοφαντιας αλογῳ συνηθειᾳ περι τους τοιουτους ρυηναι συμβεβηκε ψευδος. Ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. xxvi. p. 148. B.

[a] I can by no means allow that the lewdness of Carpocrates, Epiphanes,

Mr. Turner upon this subject. For certain, these accusations were in being and prevailed before Justin became a christian; for he assures us [b] that in the time of his heathenism he thought it impossible that the christians should suffer with such constancy and resolution as they did if they had been men-eaters, and had been addicted to lewdness.

III. Notwithstanding Eusebius [c] mentions the Carpocratians as the heretics on whose account the primitive christians were slandered, yet the ancient writers are not all agreed in this point. Epiphanius indeed joins with Eusebius in saying that the Carpocratians [d] were principally the cause of this: but Cyril, [e] the deacon, lays it on the Montanists; and Toutée [f] on the Ophians or Ophites, and quotes Origen for it; who indeed says, in more places than one, [g] that Celsus objected against the christians holding

and their followers, gave the first occasion for accusing the christians of promiscuous and incestuous lust. For it is generally agreed that Carpocrates began to be a heretic in Adrian's reign, about the same time that Justin became a convert to christianity, A. D. 130. And therefore the imputation of lewdness and incest was prior to Carpocrates. For Justin, whose authority is undeniably good, acquaints us, that the christians were accused of abominable uncleanness before he was a convert. Nay, he dates the three original calumnies of incest, infanticide, and atheism, from our Lord's ascension, or very soon after. If Carpocrates had given the first handle for aspersing christians, how could Justin be ignorant of it, who lived at the same time? and especially since he wrote a confutation of all heretics; and therefore must be presumed to be tolerably acquainted with their errors and immoralities. As before, p. 31, 32. See him again, p. 51, 52.

[b] *Και γαρ αυτος εγω τοις Πλατωνος χαιρων διδαγμασι, διαβαλλομενες ακεων χριτιανες, ορων δε αφοβες προς θανατον και παντα τα αλλα νομιζομενα φοβερα, ενενοεν, αδυνατον ειναι εν κακια και φιληδονια υπαρχειν αυτες· τις γαρ φιληδονος, η ακρατης, και ανθρωπινων σαρκων βοραν αγαθον ηγεμενος, δυναιτο αν θανατον ασπαζεσθαι*; Ap. ii. p. 50. A. B.

[c] Vid. supra, not.[o] p. 311.

[d] *Εισι δε εκ τε Σατανα παρασκευασμενοι και προβεβλημενοι εις ονειδος και σκανδαλον της τε Θεε εκκλησιας· επεθεντο γαρ εαυτοις επικλην χριτιανοι προς το σκανδαλιζεσθαι την της αγιας τε Θεε εκκλησιας ωφελειαν. κ. τ. λ.* Epi. Hær. xxvii. n. iii. p. 104. B. C.

[e] *Διο μεχρις πρωην εν τω διωγμω, τετο ποιειν υποπτευομεθα. δια το κακεινες τες Μοντανες, ψευδως μεν, ομωνυμως δε καλεισθαι χριτιανες.* Cat. xvi. n. viii. p. 247.

[f] Id dedecus contra Ophitas suggessit Origenes. Toutée, x.

[g] *Δοκει δε μοι ο Κελσος εγνωκεναι τινας αιρεσεις μηδε τε ονοματος τε Ιησε κοινωνες ημιν· ταχα γαρ περιηχετο περι των καλεμενων Οφιανων και των Καιανων, και ει τις αλλη τοιαυτη εξ ολων απυφοιτησασα τε Ιησου συνεση γνωμη. Πλην εδεν τετο προς το εγκλητον ειναι τον χριτιανων λογον.* Contra Celsum. l. iii. p. 119. l. xx. Ed. Spenceri. *Δοκειν δε μοι και εκ τετων εκπαρακεσματων ασημοτατης αιρεσεως Οφιανων οιμαι εκτεθεισθαι τα τε διαγραμματος απο μερους. κ. τ. λ.* Ib. l. vi. p. 291. l. xlv. *Τι αν ειη αν ηλιθιωτερον η μανικωτερον, ε μονον των απο τε οφεως——αλλα και Κελσε νομισαντες κατα χριστιανων ειναι κατηγοριας τας κατα των Οφιανων.* Ibid. l. vi. p. 294.

several absurd and impious tenets, peculiar to the Ophians, called otherwise Cainites: but these, he [h] adds, were no christians, for they hated Jesus no less than Celsus himself did; and admitted no one into their society unless he would abjure him. But I shall speak of this hereafter under the chapter assigned to them.

IV. Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, expressly says that [i] he did not know whether those scandalous things, which were commonly laid to the charge of the true christians, were done by the heretics or not. That apology was written, as some think, in the year 145, or about 140 at the soonest. The Valentinians, Carpocratians, and other heretics, were in being before that time; and Justin had written against all heretics in general; and yet he freely owns he did not know them to be guilty of the crimes so much talked of at that time.

V. The most ancient christian apologists do generally ascribe the calumnies then cast upon the christians to other causes, and not to the wickedness of any among them called heretics. Justin Martyr, as was formerly observed, [k] says that their accusers themselves scarcely believed the charges brought against them: and [l] where these had in some measure been credited it arose from the wickedness of the heathens, which disposed them to believe such things of other people as they practised themselves. Tatian [m] and Theophilus of Antioch [n] speak of these calumnies without making heretics the occasion of them. Athenagoras plainly says [o] that the general wickedness of the heathen people was the ground of their charging such base practices upon the christians who were exemplarily virtuous: and exactly

[h] Και Οφιανοι δια τουτο καλουμενοι τοσουτον αποδεουσι του ειναι χριστιανοι, ὡστε ουκ ελαττον Κελσου κατηγορειν αυτους τε Ιησου, και μη προτερον προσιεσθαι τινα επι το συνεδριον εαυτων, εαν μη, αρας Ψηται κατα του Ιησου. Ibid. l. vi. p. 294.

[i] Vid. supra, not. [c] p. 312.

[k] Vid. ibid.

[l] Ap. ii. p. 70. B. C. 71. A. Vid. Credibility, Vol. ii. p. 338, notes [f] [g].

[m] Παρ' ἡμιν ουκ εστιν ανθρωποφαγια, Ψευδομαρτυρες οἱ επιτηδευομενοι γεγονατε. Oratio ad Græcos. No. 42. p. 90. Ed. Worth. Ox. 1700. p. 162. D. Par. 1636. Cred. V. ii. p. 338, note [h].

[n] Ad Au. l. iii. p. 119. B. C. Vid. supra, note [t]. p. 313. et Ad Aut. l. iii. p. 126. D. 127. A. Vid. Cred. Vol. ii. p. 338, note [l].

[o] Legat. p. 4. C. et p. 34. D. ad fin. Vid. supra, note [s]. p. 312. Ει δε λογοποιαι ταυτα και διαβολαι κεναι (φυσικῳ λογῳ προς την αρετην της κακιας αντικειμενης, και πολεμουντων αλληλοις των εναντιων Θειῳ νομῳ) και τα μηδεν τουτων αδικειν ὑμεις μαρτυρες. Ibid. p. 4. D. p. 16, 17. Ox. Αλλα οἱ τοιουτοι (ω τι αν ειποιμι τα απορρητα) ακουομεν τα της παροιμιας, ἡ πορνη την σωφρονα—ουτοι δε ασυνισασιν αυτοις, και τας σφετερας λεγουσι Θεους——ταυτα ἡμας λοιδορουνται· κακιζοντες οἱ μοιχοι και παιδερασται τας ευνουχους και μονογαμους. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 37. C. D. No. 29. p. 131, 2. Ox.

in the same manner speaks the pretended Sibyl.[p] Irenæus likewise, in a place before cited, hints[q] at this cause, as does also Minutius Felix,[r] and Tertullian.[s] Sometimes Justin Martyr says[t] that the Jews had raised and spread these vile reports concerning the first christians: and Tertullian speaks[u] to the like purpose. Origen,[v] in a still stronger manner, brings home this charge to the Jews. Heraldus long ago observed[w] that the ancient apologists, who confuted these calumnies, did not charge the heretics with the like crimes.

VI. It appears from Tertullian[x] that, in his time, it was

[p] Ολβιοι ανθρωπων κεινοι κατα γαιαν εσονται,
'Οσσοι δη στερξεσι Θεον μεγαν ευλογεοντες
Πριν πιειν φαγεειν τε, πεποιθοτες ευσεβιησιν·
— — — — —
'Ως τροπον ευσεβιην τε, και ηθεα ανερες αλλοι
Ουποτε μιμησονται αναιδειην ποθεοντες·
Αλλ' αυτες χλευη τε γελωτιτε μυχθιζοντες,
Νηπιοι αφροσυνησιν επιψευσονται εκεινοις,
'Οσσ' αυτοι ρεξεσιν, ατασθαλα και κακα εργα.
Lib. iv. p. 287. Paris. 1599. V. i. p. 241. Orthodoxogr. Basil. 1569.

[q] Vid. sup. p. 312. note[a]. [r] Hæc enim potius de vestris gentibus nata sunt. Min. Fel. c. xxxi. in. p. 303.

[s] Hæc quo magis refutaverim, a vobis fieri ostendam partim in aperto, et partim in occulto. Per quod forsitan et de nobis credistis. Ap. c. ix. in.

[t] ——Αλλα ανδρας εκλεκτες απο 'Ιερεσαλημ εκλεξαμενοι τοτε, εξεπεμψατε εις πασαν την γην, λεγοντες αἱρεσιν αθεον χριστιανων πεφηνεναι καταλεγοντες ταυτα απερ καθ' ἡμων οἱ αγνοεντες ἡμας παντες λεγεσιν. Dial. cum. Try. p. 234. E.——Κατειποντες δεδιδαχεναι και ταυτα απερ κατα των ὁμολογεντων Χριστον παντι γενει ανθρωπων αθεα, και ανομα, και ανοσια λεγετε. Ib. p. 335. C. D.

[u] Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiæ nostræ; Ad Nat. L. i. p. 59. D.

[v] Και δοκει μοι παραπλησιον Ιεδαιοις πεποιηκεναι, τοις κατα την αρχην τε χριστιανισμε διδασκαλιας κατασκεδασασι δυσφημιαν τε λογε, ὡς ara καταθυσαντες παιδον μεταλαμβανεσι αυτε των σαρκων. και παλιν, ὁτι οἱ απο τε λογε, τα τε σκοτε πραττειν βελομενοι, σβεννυσι μεν το φως, ἑκασος δε τη παρατυχεση μιγνυται. Con. Celsum. l. vi. c. xxvii. p. 651. Bened. p. 293. Spen.

[w] Calumnia ista (de initiandis tirunculis) omnibus christianorum apologiis confutata. Nec inventus quisquam est, qui ejus immanitatis sectam ullam hæreticorum vel lenissimâ suspicione asperserit; ut existimem quæ de Gnosticis et Quintilianis Epiphanius et alii nonnulli postea tradiderunt, ea omnia falsa esse, et in odium sectarum illarum ab hominibus perverse religiosis conficta. Num enim id tacuissent Apologeticorum scriptores? Num tantâ confidentiâ horrendam illam calumniam, tanquam commentum vere diabolicum, confutâssent? Quæ igitur posterioribus seculis de hæreticis tradita sunt ejusmodi, ea non dubitamus falsa esse. Heraldus ad Minutium, c. ix. p. 86. Lugd. Bat. 1672.

[x] Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto; quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet, tenebras tum et libidinum impiarum inverecundiam procurent. Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tamdiu dicimur, eruere curatis. Apol. c. vii. p. 8. Bene autem quod omnia tempus revelat, testibus etiam vestris proverbiis atque sen-

not known that any among christians were guilty of such crimes as were imputed to them by their adversaries. The only ground of these charges, according to him, was common fame, and uncertain report,[y] without any proof. Whereas if such things had been done by any assuming the name of christians, and known to have been done by them, his plea would have been that, though indeed there were instances of such abominable practices among heretics, yet there was no instance of any thing of the kind among genuine christians. Since, therefore, he absolutely denies the charge without any such distinction, it is plain he knew of no heretics who were guilty of such abominations. Theophilus of Antioch likewise says[z] that these reproaches had no other support than common fame. Nor was it known to the martyrs of Jesus[a] that the heretics, or any men whatever, were guilty of the vices then laid to the charge of the christians.

VII. Another argument against the truth of these accounts is, that they are incredible. Trypho the Jew being asked by Justin whether[b] he believed the common reports concerning the christians, readily answers, they were incredible; for human nature was not capable of such things. This is also largely shown by[c] Minutius Felix

tentiis, ex dispositione naturæ, quæ ita ordinavit ut nihil diu lateat, etiam quod fama non distulit. Merito igitur fama tam diu sola conscia est scelerum christianorum. Hanc indicem adversus nos profertis, quæ, quod aliquando jactavit, tantoque spatio in opinionem corroboravit, usque adhuc probare non valuit. Ibid. p. 9. Initio.

[y] Ideo et credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse. Ibid. c. ii. p. 4. B. Quid aliud negotium patitur christianus, nisi suæ sectæ? quam incestam, quam crudelem, tanto tempore nemo probavit. Ad Scap. c. iv. p. 87. Fin.

[z] Και φημη πειθεσθαι—σωματων αθεων ψευδως συκοφαντωντων ἡμας—φασκοντων ὡς κοινας απαντων ουσας τας γυναικας ἡμων, και διαφορῳ μιξει ξυνοντας, ετι μην και ταις ιδιαις αδελφαις συμμιγνυσθαι, και, το αθεωτατον και ωμοτατον παντων, σαρκων ανθρωπινων εφαπτεσθαι ἡμας. Ad. Aut. l. iii. p. 119. B. p. 382. Bened.

[a] Κατεψευσαντο ἡμων Θυεστεια δειπνα και Οιδιποδειους μιξεις, και ὁσα μητε λαλειν μητε νοειν Θεμις ἡμιν, αλλα μηδε πιστευειν ειτι τοιουτο πωποτε παρα ανθρωποις εγενετο. Eus. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. l. p. 156. D.

[b] Τουτο δε εστιν ὁ λεγω, μη και ὑμεις πεπιστευκατε περι ἡμων ὁτι δη εσθιομεν ανθρωπους, και μετα την ειλαπινην αποσβεννυντες τους λυχνους, αθεσμοις μιξεσιν εγκυλιομεθα. Περι δε ὡν οἱ πολλοι λεγουσιν, (εφη ὁ Τρυφων) ου πιστευσαι αξιον. ποῤῥω γαρ κεχωρηκε της ανθρωπινης φυσεως. Dial. cum. Try. p. 227. B.

[c] Illum jam velim convenire, qui initiari nos dicit, aut credit de cæde infantis et sanguine. Putas posse fieri, ut tam molle, tam parvulum corpus fata vulnerum capiat? ut quisquam illum rudem sanguinem novelli, et vix dum hominis, cædat, fundat, exhauriat? Nemo hoc potest credere, nisi qui possit audere. Minut. Fel. cap. xxx. p. 288-9.

and [d] Tertullian, who sometimes appeal to the heathen people, whether they were able to do the like things as they charged upon the christians, with the same circumstances attending them: and at other times ridicule the credulity of those who believed them of others, when they themselves were unable to do the like. In this last argument Tertullian appears to triumph beyond control. With a peculiar energy of expression he challenges any one of the heathen to come into christian assemblies and try whether he could perform such an action himself, or even bear to be present while it was perpetrated by others. He enters minutely into the particular parts of the heinous charge; and proves, by a direct appeal to the human heart, that no creature, constituted as we are, can possibly be guilty of such abominations. On the subject of infanticide he shows the [e] utter incredibility of a charge, directly inconsistent with some of the distinguishing tenets of the christians of those days, who would not at their entertainments make use of blood mixed with any eatables; and who abstained from things strangled, and that died of themselves, lest they should be defiled.

The same arguments will serve for the heretics, for they are [f]

[d] O quanta illius præsidis gloria, si eruisset aliquem, qui centum jam infantes comedisset! Ap. c. ii. p. 2. D. Ut fidem naturæ ipsius appellem adversus eos, qui talia credenda esse præsumunt: Ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercedem, vitam æternam. Repromittunt. Credite interim. De hoc enim quæro, an et qui credideris, tanti habeas ad eam tali conscientia pervenire? Veni; demerge ferrum in infantem, nullius inimicum, nullius reum, omnium filium. Vel, si alterius officium est, tu modo assiste morienti homini——excipe rudem sanguinem: eo panem tuum satia; vescere libenter. Interea discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi soror. Nota diligenter, ut, cum tenebræ ceciderint caninæ, non erres——Talia initiatus et consignatus, vives in ævum. Cupio, respondeas, sit tanti æternitas? Aut si non, ideo non credenda. Etiam si credideris, nego te velle. Etiam si volueris, nego te posse. Cur ergo alii, si vos non potestis. Cur non possitis, si alii possunt? Aliâ nos, opinor, naturâ, Cynophanes aut Sciapodes; alii ordines dentium; alii ad incestam libidinem nervi? Qui ista credis de homine, potes et facere. Homo es et ipse, quod christianus. Qui non potes facere, non debes credere. Homo est enim et christianus, et quod et tu. Ib. cap. viii.

[e] Erubescat error vester christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea quoque suffocatis et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo modo sanguine contaminemur, vel intra viscera sepulto—— Porro quale est, ut quos sanguinem pecoris horrere confiditis, humano inhiare credatis. Ib. c. ix.

[f] *Εαν δε εγκυμονησῃ ἡ γυνη,——κατασπασαντες το εμβρυον, εν ολμῳ τινι κοπτεσιν ὑπερῳ, και εγκαταμιξαντες μελι και πεπερι και αλλα τινα αρωματα, και μυρα προς το μη ναυτιαν αυτες——μεταλαμβανεσιν ἑκαστος τῳ δακτυλῳ απο τε κατακοπεντος παιδιε, και ουτως την ανθρωποβοριαν απεργασαμενοι ευχονται λοιπον τῳ Θεῳ——και δηθεν τετο το τελειον πασχα ἡγενται.* Epiph. Hær. xxvi. No. v. p. 87. B. C. I give the English of this in Mr. Turner's words: 'The Gnostics,' says Epiphanius, 'by some violent method or other

charged by later writers with the same things which were before [g] imputed to the primitive christians.[h]

If they are incredible with regard to the one, they are so likewise with regard to the other. Besides, there are some things related of the Gnostics, by Epiphanius[i] and Theodoret,[k] which in all probability were never practised by any individuals, not even the most vicious and abandoned; much less were they the rites or sacraments of any religious sect. When all this is considered, I cannot help thinking that there is too much justice in Mons. Bayle's satire: who, having given an account of the five crimes charged on the Cainites, adds: 'When[l] we read these 'things in the fathers of the church, one can scarce forbear 'thinking that the case was the same with them, with re- 'spect to heretics, as with the heathens in respect to christi- 'anity. The heathens imputed to christianity an hundred 'extravagances and abominations that had no foundation.

'used to draw a child out of its mother's womb, and beat it to pieces in a 'mortar, and lest this odd sort of food should be nauseous to a squeamish 'stomach, they mixed it with honey and pepper, and other spices, when 'this was done they all tasted of it: and this they called a perfect passover. 'Upon this monstrous and incredible story I observe,' &c. &c. Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians, p. 54, 55. The like things were also said of the Montanists, as we shall see hereafter.

[g] Vid supra, p. 313. note [f]. The English part of that quotation I shall give in the words of Mr. Turner. 'They,' the primitive christians, 'were 'charged with infanticide, or murdering infants, and with eating them. A 'very young sucking infant was brought covered over with paste, lest any 'one should be shocked at the intended barbarity. Then the child was 'pricked all over with pins or bodkins, and as soon as it was dead, they cut 'the body in pieces and ate it. This was said to be the christian method of 'initiation.' Calumnies, p. 10.

[h] Τινες (τες Καρποκρατιανες)φασι, και τινας αλλες ζηλωτας των ομοιων κακων, εις τα δειπνα αθροιζομενες· ᾳ γαρ αγαπην ειποιμι αν εγωγε την συνελευσιν αυτων· ανδρας ομᾳ και γυναικας, μετα δη το κορεσθηναι, εν πλησμονῃ τῃ κυπριῃ, φασι——εκποδων ποιησαμενες φως τῃ τε λυχνε περιτροπῃ, μιγνυσθαι ὁπως εθελοιεν αἰς βελοιντο. Clem. Alexan. Strom. l. iii. p. 430. C. D. Αυτην γαρ την συναξιν αυτων εν αισχροτητι πολυμιξιας φυρσιν εσθιοντες τε και παραπτομενοι και ανθρωπινων σαρκων και ακαθαρσιων, ὡς ᾳτε τολμησω το παν εξειπειν. κ. τ. λ. Epiphan. Hær. xxvi. No. iii. p. 84. D.

[i] Και ὁ μεν ανηρ της γυναικος ὑποχωρησας, φασκει λεγων τῃ ἑαυτε γυναικι, ὁτι ανασα, λεγων, ποιησον την αγαπην μετα τε αδελφε. οἱ δε ταλανες μιγεντες αλληλοις, και ως επι αληθειας αισχυνομαι ειπειν τα παρ τοις αυτοις αισχρα πραττομενα. Ep. Hær. xxvi. No. iv. p. 86. A. B. see also No. viii. ix. xi. &c. where a multitude of incredible things are related of them to the last degree shocking and absurd.

[k] Οἱ γαρ τρισαθλιοι την σαρκικην και την συνοικιαστικην κοινωνιαν ἱεροφαντεσι και ταυτην οιονται εις την βασιλειαν αυτες αναγειν τε Χριτε——ειεν δε αν εν ταις μειζοσιν παρ' αυτοις ελπισιν αἱ προεστωσαι τε τεγες πορναι ανεδειν εκδεχομεναι τες βελομενες ἁπαντας——τοιαυτα δε οἱ——ψευδωνυμως Γνωστικες σφας αυτες αναγορευοντες δογματιζεσιν. Hær. F. lib. i. No. vi. Tom. iv. p. 197. D.

[l] Bayle's Dict. Vol. ii. article Cainites.

'The first who forged these calumnies were undoubtedly 'guilty of the blackest malice; but the greatest part of 'those who vented them abroad after they had been so ma- 'liciously sown, were only guilty of too much credulity; they 'believed common fame, and never troubled themselves to 'dive into the bottom of it. Is it not more reasonable to 'believe that the fathers did not, with all the patience re- 'quisite, thoroughly inform themselves of the real princi- 'ples of a sect, than it is to believe that those very men, 'who held that Jesus Christ by his death was the Saviour 'of mankind, should at the same time hold that the beast- 'liest pleasures are the ready way to paradise?'

SECTION IX.

The ancient heretics believed the unity of God.

THE ancient heretics believed one God only. So say several learned and judicious moderns, who have made diligent search into the opinions of these men, and are far from sparing them, or showing them favour. Massuet, in particular, observes, that[a] Irenæus, in his long and particular arguments with Valentinus and other Gnostics, does

[a] Tantum abest, ut Valentinus Dei unitatem negaret, quin potius, Irenæo teste, aperte profiteretur. 'Omnes enim,' inquit, lib. i. cap. xxii. n. i. 'fere quotquot sunt, hæreses Deum quidem unum dicunt, sed per sententiam immu- 'tant. Non ait 'multiplicant,' sed 'immutant.'——Alium a supremo omnium Patre mundi conditorem constituentes——Et hoc ipsum explicat Irenæus, lib. iv. c. xxxiii. n. 3. 'Judicabit autem et eos qui sunt a Valentino omnes, 'quia linguâ quidem confitentur unum Deum Patrem, et ex hoc omnia; 'ipsum autem, qui fecerit omnia, defectionis sive labis fructum esse dicit.' Aperte igitur professus est Valentinus unum Deum. Et certe abhorret a verisimili, aut priores Gnosticos—aut Valentinum, eosque omnes, qui spretâ Gentilium superstitione christianam religionem amplexi fuerant, omnes aliquam saltem evangelio fidem habere se confessos, profanum exsecrandumque christianis omnibus polytheismum ab interitu excitare, aut immensum personarum divinarum numerum profiteri voluisse. Nec tantum nefas inultum abire sivisset Irenæus, qui hominum flagitia omnia, et errorum portenta detegenda, et pro merito castiganda, sibi susceperat. Is vero, licet sæpius arguat quod mundi conditorem a supremo Patre dividerent, unumque et eundem esse rerum opificem ac supremum patrem demonstret,——nunquam tamen, ut πολυθεως, aut divinarum personarum numerum supra modum augentes, traducit; argumentari conquirit, quibus patres Dei unitatem persuadere solebant———Quod cum non præstiterit,——eos non sensisse suos æonas totidem veros deos aut personas divinas fuisse, pro certo æstimare possumus, quamvis deos nominare solerent. Mass. Diss. Præv. in Iren. p. xxxiii. n. 52.

not charge them with polytheism, or multiplying gods: but says they did not think rightly of God. And he shows that the world was made by the one supreme God the Father. Nor does he, in his discourses with them at any time, make use of the common arguments for the unity of God.

They supposed the creator of the world, that is, of this visible material world,[b] not to be God, but an angel. They may sometimes call him God. Nevertheless they plainly show that they use the word improperly, and that they do not take him to be God truly and by nature. So Massuet, chiefly from Irenæus.

To the like purpose Beausobre, discoursing of the Marcionites. But[c] though they might hold two or three principles, yet it ought not to have been thence concluded that they admitted two or three gods, if thereby we understand three equal and independent beings. Never any heretic denied the fundamental article of the unity of God, as I have shown elsewhere. This may be seen in the dialogue ascribed to Origen. 'Your three[d] principles,' says the orthodox disputant, 'are they equal in power?' 'Far be 'it,' says the Marcionite, 'they are not equal.' 'Which then 'is the most excellent?' replies the orthodox. 'It is the 'principle of good that is the most powerful,' answers the Marcionite. 'The others are subject to him,' says the orthodox. The heretic acknowledges they are so. The orthodox still argues: 'If so, the inferior principles do 'nothing but according to the will of the more excellent.' The Marcionite answers, 'When they do ill they do not act 'according to his will: nevertheless he is infinitely more 'powerful than they. So when Christ came, he vanquished 'the devil, and abolished the religion of the Creator.' It is therefore very wrong to accuse the Marcionites of holding two or three supreme gods. All that can be reasonably

[b] Ab his fontibus effluxit communis Gnosticorum omnium sententia, angelis tum creandi tum regendi mundi munus impositum fuisse. Nec secus sensere Valentiniani. Quamvis enim demiurgum Deum et patrem interdum nominarent, reverâ tâmen intra naturæ angelicæ limites concludebant. 'Demiurgum et ipsum angelum esse dicunt, Deo similem,' inquit Irenæus, l. i. cap. v. n. 2. et l. ii. cap. viii. n. 3. Nec minus aperte scribit, l. iv. c. i. n. 1, hanc esse Valentinianorum mentem, 'Demiurgum naturaliter, neque Deum, 'neque patrem esse, sed verbo tenus dici, eo quod dominetur conditioni.' Id. ib. p. xliii. n. 62.

[c] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 90.

[d] Ισοσθενεις εισιν αι τρεις αρχαι, ἡ ἀτερα θατερας διενηνοχε;——Μη γενοιτο· εκ εισιν ισοι.——Η τ̃ αγαθ̃ ισχυροτερα——υποκεινται——ουκην κατα βελησιν τ̃ κρειττονος αι ἡττονες αρχαι παντα πραττουσιν;——Ου κατα βελησιν αυτ̃ οὐτοι τα πονηρα πραττουσιν· απαξ δε ισχυροτερος αυτων εστιν· και γαρ ὁ ελθων Χριστος και τον διαβολον ενικησε, και τα τ̃ δημιουργ̃ δογματα ανετρεψεν Dialog. contr. Marcion. p. 6. Bas. 1674.

said is, that they did not think the title of God to be an incommunicable title, nor that it expressed the nature and perfections of the Supreme Being; for which reason they did not scruple to give it to the Creator. As for the devil, in calling him a god, they said they only followed the style of scripture, where [e] he is called the god of this world; for they knew very well that [f] he was no more than an angel, as Tertullian expressly says.

In another place the same learned writer shows [g] that though Bardesanes held two principles, one good, the other evil, he never admitted two gods. Therefore the Bardesianist, in the dialogues ascribed to Origen before quoted, protests that [h] he believed but one God, and he good. He held that [i] this one God had all perfections; he alone is immortal, all-powerful, infinite, containing all things, governing [k] all things, so that no being in heaven or on earth can withdraw from his dominion.

Tertullian says in general of the [l] heretics, who denied the Father to be creator of the world, that is, of this material visible world, that they held it to be made by angels.

The author of the additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, says of Saturninus, that,[m] like Simon and Menander, he held the eternal God to live above, and this lower world to have been made by angels much inferior to him.

He speaks to the like purpose of Basilides, that [n] he did not allow the god of the Jews to be truly God, but only an

[e] *Θεος τȣ αιωνος τουτȣ.* 2 Cor. iv. 4.

[f] ——si non eum Satanam significaret, quem et nos et Marcion angelum novimus. Adv. Marc. l. v. c. xii. p. 600. B. p. 469.

[g] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 133.

[h] *Θεον κᾳγω ἑνα φημι ειναι, ὡς και αυτος.* p. 71. *Εγω ἑνα Θεον οιδα αγαθον.* p. 83.

[i] *Εγω φημι, τον Θεον αφθαρτον, μονον.* ib. p. 78. *παντοκρατορα φημι.* p. 83. *Δηλον, ὁτι περιεχει και ȣ περιεχεται.* ib.

[k] *Εκ ποιας ἐυναμεως περιεχεται, και συγκρατειται, ὁ ȣρανος, η ἡ γη, η ἡ θαλασσα, η ὁ συμπας κοσμος; ὑπο τινος περιεχεται, και περικρατειται;—— Δηλον, ὁτι ὑπο Θεȣ.* Ibid.

[l] ——præstruens adversus conjecturas hæreticorum, qui mundum ab angelis et potestatibus diversis volunt structum; et ipsum creatorem aut angelum faciunt, aut ad alia quæ extrinsecus, ut opera mundi, ignorantem quoque subornatum. Adv. Praxeam, c. xix. p. 650. B. p. 504. Fr.

[m] Secutus est post hæc et Saturninus, et hic similiter dicens, innascibilem virtutem, id est Deum, in summis et illis infinitis partibus, et in superioribus permanere; longe autem distantes ab hoc angelos inferiorem mundum fecisse. De Præscrip. c. xlvi. p. 249. D. p. 214. Fr.

[n] In ultimis quidem angelis, et qui hunc fecerunt mundum, novissimum ponit Judæorum Deum, id est, Deum legis et prophetarum; quem Deum negat, sed angelum dicit. Ibid. p. 250. A. p. 214. Fr.

angel. According to his account then the unity[o] was an article strongly maintained by the heretics. Hippolytus[p] observes, that after all their shifts and evasions, Valentinus, Marcion, Cerinthus, and the rest, were all obliged to recur to one God, who made all things according to his will.

Dr. Cudworth seems to have viewed this matter in a light somewhat similar to the foregoing representation. For having endeavoured to prove that the heathen philosophers did not believe all their gods to be so many unmade self-existent deities, he proceeds in the following manner: 'The[q] next considerable appearance of a multitude of 'self-existent deities, seems to be in the Valentinian thirty 'gods, and æons, which have been taken by some for such; 'but it is certain that these were all of them, save one, 'generated; they being derived by that fantastic deviser 'of them, from one self-originated deity, called Bythos. 'For thus Epiphanius[r] informs us: "This (Valentinus) 'would also introduce thirty gods, and æons, and heavens, 'the first of which is Bythos."'

Having afterwards allowed that there were some who really asserted a duplicity of gods; he however, in the conclusion, adds: 'Wherefore[s] as these ditheists, as to all 'which is good in the world, held a monarchy, or one sole 'principle and original, so it is plain, that had it not been 'for this business of evil (which they conceived could not 'be salved any other way) they would never have asserted 'any more principles or gods than one.'

[o] Postea Basilides hæreticus erupit: hic esse dicit summum Deum——ex quo mentem creatam——inde verbum. Ex illo providentiam, ex providentiâ virtutem et sapientiam. Ex ipsis inde principatus et potestates, et angelos factos, &c. Ibid. p. 250. A. p. 214. Fr.

[p] *Και γαρ παντες απεκλεισθησαν εις τουτο ακοντες ειπειν, οτι το παν εις ἑνα ανατρεχει. Ει ην τα παντα εις ἑνα ανατρεχει, και κατα Ουαλεντινον, και κατα Μαρκιωνα, Κηρινθοντε, και πασαν την εκεινων φλυαριαν, και ακοντες εις τουτο περιεπεσαν, ἱνα τον ἑνα ὁμολογησωσιν αιτιον των παντων, ωστε εν συντρεχωσιν και αυτοι μη θελοντες, τῃ αληθειᾳ ἑνα Θεον λεγειν ποιησαντα ὡς εθελησεν.* Contra Noet. c. xi. p. 14. Ed. Fab.

[q] Intellectual System, p. 212, 213. Lond. 1678.

[r] *Τριακοντα γαρ και ους Θεους και Αιωνας και Ουρανους βουλεται παρεισαγειν, ὡν ὁ πρωτος εστι Βυθος.* Hær. xxxi. No. ii. p. 164. C.

[s] In Sys. p. 213.

SECTION X.

They made great use of the Scriptures.

THE ancient heretics paid a regard to the scriptures. It will hereafter more properly fall in my way to show what parts of the sacred writings they severally used. At present I only observe in the general, that they endeavoured to support their particular sentiments [a] by an appeal to these inspired books. To me indeed it appears very certain, that [b] all who build upon revelation must have recourse either to scripture or tradition; that is, either to written or to oral tradition, provided they happen to live after the first promulgation of the revelation which they profess to receive. Jerom therefore justly [c] blames those who depended too much upon their own reason, in determining matters of pure revelation.

Irenæus has the following passage in his large work against heresies: 'Such [d] is the certain truth of our gospels

[a] Sed ipsi et de scripturis agunt et de scripturis suadent. Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei. Tertul. de Præs. Hæret. c. xv. p. 236. C. p. 205. Fr. Nec periclitor dicere, ipsas quoque scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas, ut hæreticis materias subministrarent, cum legam oportere hæreses esse, quæ sine scripturis esse non possint. Ibid. c. xxxix. p. 246. p. 212. Fr.

[b] Ipsi quoque hæretici cum christianum cogitantur habere nomen, et sacramenta christiana, et scripturas, et professionem, magnum dolorem faciunt in cordibus piorum. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. li. n. ii. Ben. vol. v. p. 184. 3. Venet.

[c] Quis enim philosophorum, quis gentilium, quis hæreticorum, non judicat Christum, ponentium ei leges nativitatis, et passionis, resurrectionisque suæ substantiæ. In Jerem. c. xv. T. iii. p. 601. In.

[d] Tanta est autem circa evangelia hæc firmitas, ut ipsi hæretici testimonium reddant eis, ut ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam. Ebionæi etenim eo evangelio quod est secundum Matthæum solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur non recte præsumentes de Domino. Marcion autem id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens, ex his quæ adhuc servantur penes eum, blasphemus in solum existentem Deum ostenditur. Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverâsse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferentes evangelium, cum amore veritatis legentes illud corrigi possunt. Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Johannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum ex ipso detegentur, nihil recte dicentes, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro. Cum ergo hi, qui contradicunt, nobis testimonium perhibeant, et utantur his, firma et vera est nostra de illis ostensio. Iren. lib. iii. c. xi. n. vii. p. 189, 190. Mass. p. 220. Gr.

'that the heretics themselves bear testimony to them, every 'one of them endeavouring to prove his particular doc- 'trines from thence. But the Ebionites may be confuted 'from the gospel of Matthew, which alone they receive. 'Marcion useth only the gospel of Luke, and that muti- 'lated. Nevertheless, from what he retains, it may be 'shown that he blasphemes the one only God. They who 'divide Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ always re- 'mained impassible whilst Jesus suffered, prefer the gos- 'pel of Mark. However if they read with a love of truth, 'they may thence be convinced of their error. The Va- 'lentinians receive the gospel of John entire, in order to 'prove their pairs of æons, and by that gospel they may be 'confuted, as I have shown in the first book of this work. 'Since therefore persons of different sentiments agree with 'us in making use of this testimony, our evidence for 'the authority of these gospels is certain and unques- 'tionable.'

Many passages may be alleged from other writers to show that the ancient heretics endeavoured to support themselves by the words of the scriptures, either of the Old or the New Testament, or both; and that they who rejected the Old insisted on the authority of the New.

Origen is a good witness here, on account of his antiquity and probity, as well as vast knowledge; and in particular his extensive acquaintance with the doctrines of heretics.[e] He observes that they endeavoured to impose upon people by alleging texts of scripture for their particular tenets, though they quoted them[f] in a very unfair and mutilated manner; and that they appealed to them, because they were the only writings whose authority was universally allowed. Even those of them, who would not believe the giver of the law and the inspirer of the prophets, to be the supreme Lord of the universe, or the father of Jesus Christ,

[e] Τουτῳ δε ηκολουθησε, διαφορως εκδεξαμενων τας αμα πασιν πιστευθεντας ειναι θειας λογας, το γενεσθαι αιρεσεις, Contr. Cels. l. iii. p. 188. Can. Εσωσαν αν εν ημιν οι μη τον αυτον λεγοντες τῳ Ιουδαιων Θεῳ Θεον· αλλα ϑ τι γε παρα τουτο κατηγορητεοι οι απο των αυτων γραμματων αποδεικνυντες. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. l. v. p. 271. Can.

[f] Scis quia, si de aliis ei voluminibus loqui volueris, non decipies, neque habere poterunt auctoritatem assertiones tuæ. Sic legit scripturas Marcion, ut Diabolus: Sic Basilides, sic Valentinus, ut cum Diabolo dicerent Salvatori: 'Scriptum est.' Ex Orig. Stro. T. i. Bened. Primum simpliciter sentientes armemur adversus impios hæreticos, qui dicunt non esse conditorem patrem Jesu, neque Deum legis, nec prophetarum. Erubescant Valentiniani audientes Jesum inquientem: 'In his quæ sunt patris mei, oportet me esse.' Erubescant omnes hæretici qui evangelium recipiunt secundum Lucam, et quæ in eo sunt scripta contemnunt. Ibid.

still acknowledged the divine authority of some parts of the New Testament, and received its declarations as authentic and decisive. In some places he imputes the rise of heresies [g] in the too literal interpretation of scripture. An anonymous author, [h] who lived about the year 212, and who is largely cited by Eusebius, speaks [i] of some heretics in his time, who rejected the law and the prophets, under a pretence of grace. These persons despised the ancient dispensation unreasonably; nevertheless they received the gospel, and greatly respected the scriptures of the New Testament. Epiphanius has given a large and particular account of the manner in which Marcion mutilated the scriptures; yet he says [k] his heresies may be confuted even from what he retains of the gospel and epistles. Of all heretics, he indeed seems to have taken the greatest liberty in altering and curtailing the writings of the New Testament. Nevertheless, after a long argument against him, Tertullian clearly shows [l] that the principal and most important doctrines of the gospel remained equally certain as before, even in his mutilated copy. The same writer says, in another place, [m] that it was the usual custom with heretics to insist upon a text or two without regarding the general tenor of the scriptures. Augustine often blames heretics [n] for perverting scripture in favour of their errors; and makes their fault to lie in this, not that they rejected or despised the scriptures, but that they misunderstood them, and put wrong interpretations upon them. [o]

[g] Hæreses quoque magis de carnali scripturæ intelligentiâ, quam de opere carnis nostræ, ut plurimi æstimant, &c. Ibid. T. i. p. 41. Bened. confer. l. iv. p. 164.

[h] He is particularly spoken of before, ch. xxxii. Vol. ii. p. 402—408.

[i] Αλλ' ἁπλως αρνησαμενοι τοντε νομον και τȣς προφητας, ανομȣ και αθεȣ διδασκαλιας, προφασει χαριτος. Eus. Ec. H. l. v. cap. xxviii. p. 198. B.

[k] Εξ οὑπερ χαρακτηρος τȣ παρ' αυτȣ σωζομενȣ, τȣτε ευαγγελιȣ και των επιστολων τȣ αποστολȣ, δειξαι αυτον εν Θεῳ εχομεν απατεωνα και πεπλανημενον, και ακροτατα εξελεγξαι. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[l] Misereor tui, Marcion: frustra laborâsti. Christus enim Jesus in evangelio tuo, meus est. Ad. Mar. lib. iv. c. xliii. sub fin. p. 575. B. p. 451. Fr.

[m] His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti volunt cedere, cum oporteat secundum plura intelligi pauciora; sed proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum. Adv. Prax. c. xx. p. 651. C. 505. Fr.

[n] Omnes enim hæretici qui eas in auctoritate recipiunt, ipsas sibi videntur sectari, cum suos potius sectentur errores, ac per hoc, non quod eas contemnant, sed quod eas non intelligant, hæretici sunt. Ep. cxx. c. iii. n. xiii. al. ep. 222. T. 2. Sine dubio enim hoc ipsum quod perverse et impie sentiunt, aliquibus testimoniis divinarum scripturarum conantur adstruere; in quibus eis ostendendum est, quam non recte intelligant literas sacras conscriptas ad fidelium salutem. Ep. cclxiv. [al. cxli.] n. iii. T. ii. p. 200.

[o] Et quoniam multi hæretici ad suam sententiam, quæ præter fidem est

All heretics, he says, endeavour to defend their false opinions [p] by the authority of the divine scriptures. Nevertheless, the scriptures ought not to be reckoned the occasion of these errors. He also speaks of some [q] who, though they rejected the Old Testament, attempted to prove their opinions from the gospels and epistles.

In like manner St. Jerom says,[r] if heretics reject the Old Testament, they may be confuted from the New, which they own. The same author sometimes complains [s] that heretics strive to support their doctrines by quotations of scripture that have no connexion together; and says [t] that neither heretics, nor the less knowing among the faithful, understand the scripture in a manner becoming its majesty. The same learned ancient father adds, [u] that heretics corrupt the truth of the gospel by wrong interpretations. They are miserable wine-coopers; they turn wine into water. In his comment upon Jerem. xiii. 23, he says [v] that the heretics, who hold two natures, allege that text against the church. And he speaks elsewhere [w] as if all christian

catholicæ disciplinæ, expositionem scripturarum divinarum trahere consueverunt, &c. De Gen. ad lit. lib. Im. c. i. In. T. iii. p. 158. 4. Venet.

[p] Quandoquidem nec ipsis sanctis divinorum librorum auctoritatibus, ullo modo quisquam tribuerit tam multos et varios errores hæreticorum; cum omnes ex iisdem scripturis falsas atque fallaces opiniones suas conentur defendere. De Trin. l. i. c. iv. n. vi. T. 8.

[q] Et quoniam quoquo modo christianum se videri cupit, unde ex evangelio et ex apostolo ponit aliqua testimonia; etiam ex scripturis ad Novum Testamentum pertinentibus refellendus est; ut ostendatur in reprehensione veterum inconsideratius quam versutius insanire. Con. Adv. Leg. et prop. l. i. c. i. T. vi. p. 188. 4. Venet.

[r] Sin autem scadalizatur hæreticus, qui Vetus non recipit Testamentum, quod 'dominus miscere,' dicatur erroris vel 'vertiginis spiritum,' audiat scriptum in apostolo, hoc est, in Novo Testamento: 'Tradidit eos Deus in de-'sideriis cordis sui in immunditiem.' (Præm. i. 24.) In Is. cap. xix. p. 184. f. Tom. 3.

[s] Neque enim utuntur hæretici testimoniis scripturarum sibi cohærentibus; sed conturbant omnia. In Ezek. cap. xxxii. p. 926. fin. Nostra autem Jerusalem, quæ interpretatur visio pacis, ab hæreticis scinditur, quando unum et alterum testimonium scripturarum de propriis carpentes locis, conantur assuere his, quibus non queunt coaptare. Ibid. cap. xvi. p. 793. f.

[t] Referri potest ad hæreticos et ad simplices quosque credentium, qui non ita scripturam intelligunt ut illius convenit majestati. In Is. c. xxxiii. p. 271. M.

[u] Hæretici quoque evangelicam veritatem corrumpunt pravâ intelligentiâ; et sunt caupones pessimi, facientes de vino aquam. Ad. Is. c. i. v. xxii. p. 18. in. T. 3.

[v] Hoc testimonio utuntur adversus ecclesiam, qui diversas cupiunt asserere naturas, et tantam dicunt esse nigredinem peccatorum——ut in candorem transire non possint. In Jer. c. xiii. p. 594. In.

[w] Hoc faciunt omnes hæretici sub christiano nomine fornicantes, et erroribus suis atque mendaciis obtendentes testimonia scripturarum. In. Amos, c. ii. p. 1384. In.

heretics endeavoured to support their errors and falsehoods by passages of scripture; informing us that[x] it was customary for them to argue from every part of scripture, from the Old and the New Testament, from the prophets, the apostles, and the evangelists. Tertullian speaks much to the same purpose, that[y] heretics endeavour to support their erroneous notions by wrong interpretations of scripture; and he further adds,[z] that they might be confuted from scripture, if they would abide by its determinations, and attend to them alone. Ambrosiaster's[a] definition or description of heretics, is, that[b] they are men who endeavour to support their opinions by scripture, putting their own sense upon the divine word, and attempting to defend their errors by the authority of the sacred writings. Vincentius Lirinensis testifies the same thing, informing us that some in his days, who were called heretics, made great use of scripture, and continually answered their adversaries and calumniators by quotations[c] from the sacred writings. He indeed says, 'It[d] is the devil who puts these arguments into their mouths, and speaks by them.' From which probably some will conclude that many of their arguments from scripture were such as their adversaries could not answer. However, the best way of confuting these diabolical arguments would have been by showing that the meaning they put upon the texts was not their genuine sense; and by producing more numerous passages in confutation of their doctrines. In many cases indeed they certainly

[x] Sic hæretici assumunt testimonia scripturarum de Veteri et Novo Testamento; et furantur verba Salvatoris unusquisque proximo suo, prophetis et apostolis et evangelistis. In Jerem. c. xxiii. p. 640. fin.

[y] Nihil autem mirum, si et ex ipsius instrumento captantur argumenta, cum oporteat hæreses esse, quæ esse non possent, si non et perperam scripturæ intelligi possent. De Resur. Car. c. xli. p. 408. B. c. xl. p. 333. Fran. Scripturas obtendunt, et hac suâ audaciâ statim quosdam movent. In ipso vero congressu, firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt. De Præs. Hær. c. xv. p. 236. C. p. 205. Fran.

[z] Aufer denique hæreticis, cum ethnicis sapiunt, ut de scripturis solis quæstiones suas sistant, et stare non poterunt. De Res. Car. ciii. p. 381. B. p. 315. Fr.

[a] Concerning the author of these commentaries on thirteen epistles of St. Paul, see before, Vol. iii. p. 26. and Vol. iv. ch. cix.

[b] Hæretici hi sunt, qui per verba legis legem impugnant? proprium enim sensum verbis adstruunt legis, ut pravitatem mentis suæ legis auctoritati commendent. Ad. Tit. c. iii. v. 10, 11.

[c] Ac si quis interroget quempiam hæreticorum sibi talia persuadentem: 'Unde probas?'———Statim ille: 'Scriptum est enim.' Et continuo mille testimonia, mille exempla, mille auctoritates parat, de lege, de psalmis, de apostolis, de prophetis. Comment. c. xxxvii. Baluz. p. 359.

[d] Non dubium est, quin auctoris sui callida machinamenta sectentur; quæ ille nunquam profecto comminisceretur, nisi sciret, &c. See the whole of this passage before, Vol. v. p. 48.

argued with little strength, consistency, or regard to the general tenor of the sacred writings. It would be endless to enter into particulars; suffice it to mention one instance: they argued against the resurrection of the [e] body from St. Paul's words: 1 Cor. xv. 50.

SECTION XI.

Some of them also used Apocryphal Books.

HEGESIPPUS, as we are informed by Eusebius, speaking [a] of the books called Apocryphal, says that some of them were forged by some heretics in his time. Irenæus affirms that [b] they quoted an innumerable multitude of apocryphal and spurious books, which they had themselves forged.

Amphilochius is said [c] to have published a book concerning the spurious writings forged by heretics, though it is not mentioned by Jerom [d] in his account of Amphilochius.

We cannot therefore acquit the heretics of this charge. It seems to be supported by sufficient evidence in the testimony of the writers just quoted. I have already had occasion to mention several compositions of this kind: one is the gospel of Peter, censured [e] by Serapion, forged by one of the Docetæ. I have taken notice elsewhere [f] of several pieces ascribed to Leucius, who was of the same opinion. The reader may likewise be pleased to consult the chapter of Eusebius. Perhaps none of the sects were free from

[e] Sed caro, inquis, et sanguis regnum Dei hæreditate possidere non possunt. Scimus hoc quoque scriptum, sed de industriâ distulimus hujusque. Tert. de Resur. Carn. c. xlviii. p. 416. A. B. p. 339. Fr.

[a] *Και περι των λεγομενων δε αποκρυφων διαλαμβανων, επι των αυτω χρονων προς τινων αιρετικων αναπεπλασθαι τινα τετων ἱστορει.* Euseb. l. iv. c. 22. p. 143. B.

[b] *Προς δε τετοις αμυθητον πληθος αποκρυφων και νοθων γραφων, ας αυτοι επλασασαν, παρεισφερεσιν εις καταπληξιν των ανοητων, κ. λ.* Iren. l. i. c. xx. [al. 17.] n. i.

[c] *Περι των ψευδεπιγραφων παρα τοις αἱρετικοις* liber; cujus verba quædam adducit synodus septima. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 253. in Amphilochio. Conf. Fabr. Bib. T. vii. p. 505. Le vii. concile rapporte quelques endroits d'un discours du même saint sur les écrits supposés aux apôtres, dont les hérétiques se servoient. Tillem. Mem. T. ix. Amphil. note v.

[d] Vid. de Viris Illus. c. cxxxiii.

[e] See Vol. ii. of this work, ch. xxvi. p. 264.

[f] See Vol. iii. ch. lxiii. num. ix. 3.

this fault. There were some books that may be called apocryphal, composed by the Unitarians or Ebionites, that is, such as maintained one principle : others by those who held two principles, and were Docetæ.

With regard to this, however, several things may be observed.

I. Most of these apocryphal pieces, whether gospels, or acts, or circuits and travels, or revelations, went under the names of apostles,[g] or apostolical men ; and, in the general, bear testimony to the transcendent excellence of Jesus and his doctrine, and the truth of the main things concerning him.

II. It does not clearly appear what degree of credit was given to these writings ; or that they were equally respected by any, with the genuine and undisputed books of the New Testament; for which, as we have already seen, and may see further hereafter, heretics had a great esteem, and endeavoured to prove their doctrines by them.

III. The catholics themselves are not free from this charge. There were several books forged by them, and ascribed to persons who were not their real authors. Among these may be reckoned the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Sibylline Poems, the books ascribed to Hydaspes, Hermes Trismegistus, and divers others; as much has been owned by several learned writers,[h] particularly Isaac Casaubon. Mr. Mosheim,[i] many years since, published a dissertation showing the reasons and causes of supposititious writings in the first and second century ; and all own that christians of all sorts were guilty of this fraud. Indeed we may say it was one great fault of the times; for truth needs no such

[g] Quæ [evangelia], a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæreseôn fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, duodecimque apostolorum. Hier. Pr. in Matt.

[h] Postremo illud quoque me vehementer movet, quod videam primis ecclesiæ temporibus quam plurimos extitisse, qui facinus palmarium judicabant cœlestem veritatem figmentis suis ire adjutum ; quo facilius videlicet nova doctrina a gentium sapientibus admitteretur. Officiosa hæc mendacia vocabant, bono fine excogitata. Quo ex fonte dubio procul sunt orti libri fere sexcenti, quos illa ætas et proxima viderunt, ab hominibus minime malis, (nam de hæreticorum libris non loquimur) sub nomine etiam Domini Jesu et apostolorum, aliorumque sanctorum publicatos. Casaub. Ex. i. in Baron. n. x. p. 54.

[i] Universe quidem inde hanc pestem natam esse novimus, quod christiani, tam recte quam perverse sentientes, opinionibus suis majorem auctoritatem, pluresque sectatores acquirere se posse crediderunt, si sanctissimos viros, et ipsum christianæ religionis Conditorem, illis favisse ostenderent. J. L. Mosheim Diss. de Causis suppositorum librorum inter christianos primi et secundi seculi. n. i. p. 221. edit. 2da. 1733.

defences, and would [k] blush at the sight of them: she only desires to be shown in open light, and to appear without disguise.

IV. Nevertheless, in all probability, these spurious and supposititious writings have not been of any very bad consequence. Few of them have come down to us; which shows that they were not much esteemed. All did not approve of such methods. The author of the Acts of Paul and Thecla underwent a censure soon after his book was published. What notice has been taken of these things by the ancient writers that remain, I have shown as we passed along.[1] By some writers these books are quoted very sparingly; and when quoted, it is with some diminishing token, showing that they were not of authority. It may indeed be supposed that forgeries of all sorts were despised by some of every denomination, catholics and heretics.

SECTION XII.

They respected the Apostles and apostolic Traditions.

THIS appears in part from the two last particulars, their making use of the scriptures of the New Testament, and forging books (if they forged any) in the names of the apostles, or of apostolical men. It has been often observed by learned moderns, that Basilides pretended to have received his peculiar sentiments from Glaucias, a companion of Peter; and Valentinus from Theodas, a disciple of Paul.[a]

Tertullian, writing against the heretics, assures [b] us that they could not deny, and even owned, that the apostles knew all the doctrines of the gospel, and agreed with one another in what they taught. The most they could pre-

[k] Nostræ columbæ etiam domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis, et ad lucem——Nihil veritas erubescit, nisi solummodo abscondi. Tertull. adv. Valent. cap. iii. p. 284. A. 243. Fr.

[1] See Vol. ii. p. 304, 305. and Vol. iv. p. 223—231.

[a] Καθαπερ ὁ Βασιλειδης, κἀν Γλαυκιαν επιγραφηται διδασκαλον, ὡς αυχθσιν αυτοι, τον Πετρθ ἑρμηνεα· ὡς αυτως δε και Ουαλεντινον Θεοδα ακηκοεναι φερθσιν· Clem. Strom. l. vii. p. 898. ed. Potter. p. 764. D. ed. Paris.

[b] Sed, ut diximus, eadem dementia est; cum confitentur quidem nihil apostolos ignorâsse, nec diversa inter se prædicâsse; non tamen omnia voluntillos omnibus revelâsse; quædam enim palam et universis, quædam secreto et paucis, demandâsse. De Pr. Hær. c. xxv. p. 240. A. B. Fran. 205.

sume to assert in favour of their peculiarities was, that the apostles did not declare the whole truth to all. But this will appear more particularly in the history of the several heretics. I shall here only mention two or three general things to prove that the apostles and apostolic traditions were regarded by them.

Ptolemæus, a Valentinian, in a letter to Flora, having observed [c] that the ceremonial and typical laws of the Pentateuch were disannulled by the appearing of the truth, adds, 'These things the other disciples of Christ taught, and also 'the apostle Paul.' After which he tells Flora, 'he will 'explain to her the particulars of that doctrine he had just 'been mentioning,[d] by the help of tradition received from 'the apostles, and handed down to them.' But he adds: 'All must be tried by, and made to square with the 'doctrine of the Saviour himself, which was to be the 'rule.'

Tertullian, speaking [e] of heretics in the general, challenges them to produce men who held the same opinions with themselves from the apostles' days down to the present time; and says, 'Though all heretics endeavour to 'show that their opinions are derived from the apostles, yet 'they are very far from being able to prove this; or to 'make it appear that they were either held by the apostles, 'or are handed down from them.'

Ptolemæus, the forecited Valentinian, in the passage just quoted,[f] makes mention of the apostolic tradition, and speaks of it as received from the apostles themselves in a continued succession, down to the time in which he lived. From all which it plainly appears that the authority of the apostles was regarded by these men, especially those writ-

[c] Παρϐσης δε της αληθειας, τα της αληθειας δει ποιειν, ϐ τα της εικονος. Ταυτα δε και οἱ μαθηται αυτϐ και ὁ αποστολος εδειξε Παυλος· κ. λ. In appen. ad. Iren. p. 360, 361. vel ap. Grab. Spi. Pat. vol. ii. p. 77, 78.

[d] Μαθηση γαρ, Θεϐ διδοντος, ἐξης και την τϐτϐ αρχηντε και γεννησιν αξιϐμενη της αποστολικης παραδοσεως, ἡν εκ διαδοχης και ἡμεις παρειληφαμεν, μετα και τϐ κανονισαι παντας τϐς λογϐς τῃ τϐ Σωτηρος διδασκαλιᾳ. Ibid. p. 361. vel ap. Grab. ibid. p. 80.

[e] Cæterum si quæ audent interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt; possumus dicere: edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, &c.——Ita omnes hæreses ad utramque formam a nostris ecclesiis provocatæ, probent se quâquâ putant apostolicas. Sed adeo nec sunt, nec probare possunt quod non sunt; nec recipiuntur in pacem et communicationem ab ecclesiis quoquo modo apostolicis. De Pr. H. c. xxxii. p. 243. Fr. 210.

[f] Αξιϐμενη της αποστολικης παραδοσεως, ἡν εκ διαδοχης και ἡμεις παρειληφαμεν. Ap. Grab. Spi. Pat. Vol. ii. p. 80.

ings which were universally believed to be theirs; since even traditions, which could with probability be traced back to them, were treated with great respect.

SECTION XIII.

The ancient Heresiarchs were generally men of letters, and are said to have borrowed most of their peculiar notions from some of the sects of Philosophers.

SOME, if not all, the ancient heresiarchs, or leaders of sects, were men of letters. This is an observation of Jerom, who says[a] as much of all of them in general, but particularly of Valentinus, Marcion, and Bardesanes. The same thing is asserted[b] by Augustine.

It hath been often affirmed, both by ancient and modern writers, that the earlier christian heretics borrowed from the heathen philosophers. The thing is indeed very likely in itself; for some learned converts, whether from Judaism or Gentilism, would naturally bring along with them many of their former prejudices and peculiarities of sentiment.

Tertullian very frequently utters his complaints[c] against heretics for mixing philosophy with christianity, and interpreting divine doctrines by philosophical notions.

Some are said to have borrowed from one, some from another sect of philosophy. According to Tertullian, Her-

[a] Nullus enim potest hæresim struere, nisi qui ardentis ingenii est, et habet dona naturæ, quæ a Deo artifice sunt creata. Talis fuit Valentinus, talis Marcion, quos doctissimos legimus. Talis Bardesanes, cujus etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium. In Os. c. x. p. 1301. In.

[b] In ipsis postremo, erroribus et falsitatibus defendendis, quam magna claruerint ingenia philosophorum atque hæreticorum, quis æstimare sufficiat? Aug. De Civit. Dei. l. xxii. c. xxiv. n. iii. vel T. v. p. 238. 2. D. Venet. 1570.

[c] Nisi quod solus eam Hermogenes cognovit, et hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi. Adv. Hermog. c. viii. p. 269. D. 231. Fran. Doleo bonâ fide Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. De Animâ, c. xxiii. p. 325. B. 275. Fr. Ea est enim materia sapientiæ secularis, temeraria interpres divinæ naturæ et dispositionis——Eadem materia apud hæreticos et philosophos volutatur, iidem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum, et quare? Et unde homo, et quomodo? De Pr. Hær. c. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fr. Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiæ et ecclesiæ——Viderint qui stoïcum et platonicum et dialecticum christianismum protulerunt. Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evangelium. De Pr. c. vii. viii. p. 233. B. 203. Fr.

mogenes [d] and Marcion [e] borrowed from the Stoics, and Valentinus from the Platonists. And the tenets of all the different sects of philosophers [f] were understood by them to be inconsistent with a belief of the resurrection of the body.

In some of their peculiar tenets he supposed them to be influenced by the principles of Zeno and Heraclitus, [g] and in others by those of Epicurus and Plato.

Origen, [h] who often mentions together Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion, charges all three with contemning the christian religion, by introducing philosophical schemes.

Epiphanius says that [i] all heresies in general had arisen out of heathenish fables. But it hath been disputed among the moderns from what philosophy chiefly the heretics borrowed. The origin of the Valentinian æons in particular has been the subject of no small debate, and has afforded matter for the diligent inquiries of learned men.

Some have supposed that these notions were derived from the Jewish Cabbala; this, however, Massuet strongly

[d] A christianis enim conversus ad philosophos de ecclesiâ in academiam et porticum, inde sumpsit a stoïcis materiam cum Domino ponere, quæ ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata neque facta, nec initium habens omnino nec finem, ex quâ Dominus omnia postea fecerit. Adv. Herm. c. i. p. 265. D. 229. Fr.

[e] Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, stoïcæ studiosus? Ubi tunc Valentinus platonicæ sectator. De Pr. Hær. c. xxx. p. 242. A. 209. Fr.

[f] At cum monet cavendum a subtililoquentiâ et philosophiâ et inani seductione, longum est quidem et alterius operis ostendere, hac sententiâ omnes hæreses damnari: quod omnes ex subtililoquentiæ viribus, et philosophiæ regulis constent. Sed Marcion principalem suæ fidei terminum de Epicuri scholâ agnoscat, Dominum inferens hebetem, ne timeri eum dicat; collocans et cum Deo Creatore materiam de porticu Stoïcorum; negans carnis resurrectionem, de quâ proinde nulla philosophia consentit. Cujus ingeniis tam longe abest veritas nostra, ut et iram Dei excitare formidet, et omnia illum ex nihilo protulisse confidat, et carnem eandem restituturum repromittat, et Christum ex vulvâ virginis natum non erubescat, ridentibus philosophis et hæreticis et ethnicis ipsis. Adv. Mar. lib. v. cap. xix. p. 613. D. 477. Fr.

[g] Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophiâ subornantur. Inde æones et formæ nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum. Platonicus fuerat. Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate: a Stoïcis venerat. Et ut anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur. Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de unâ omnium philosophorum scholâ sumitur. Et ubi materia cum Deo æquatur, Zenonis disciplina est: et ubi aliquid de igneo Deo allegatur, Heraclitus intervenit. De Pr. Hær. c. vii. p. 232. D. 203. Fr.

[h] Hoc fecit infelix Valentinus, et Basilides. Hoc fecit et Marcion. Furati sunt isti linguas aureas de Jericho, et philosophorum nobis non rectas in ecclesias introducere conati sunt sectas, et polluere omnem ecclesiam Domini. In Lib. Jes. Nave. Hom. vii. p. 414. D. T. ii. Bened.

[i] Εκ γαρ Ἑλληνικων μυθων πασαι αἱ αἱρεσεις συναξασαι ἑαυταις την πλανην κατεβαλον. Hær. xxvi. n. xvi. p. 98. D.

opposes,[k] and asserts that Valentinus[l] and his followers borrowed from the Gentile poets and philosophers.

SECTION XIV.

This variety of opinion is no just objection against the truth of the christian religion.

NO good argument can be drawn from the number of different opinions among christians, to invalidate the truth of their common religion. Yet Celsus made this an objection, to which Origen has[a] given a good reply.

He observes, 'There never was any thing important in 'itself, or promising great advantages to those who pursued 'it, but different sentiments were formed about it. This 'is the case with physic, which is useful, and even neces- 'sary to mankind; but considered either as a matter of 'science or practice, there are many different opinions con- 'cerning it. The same is the case with philosophy, which 'proposes to lead us to truth, and to teach us to live well; 'yet even here men differ very widely from one another. 'The same is the case with judaism, out of which hath 'sprung a great variety of sects. No wonder therefore that 'christianity, a matter of such infinite importance, could 'excite the speculations of many, and cause different men

[k] Valentinianorum placita ex philosophiâ Hebræorum Kabbalisticâ inseri, auctoribus id gratis supponere placuit; quod ab ipso limine probandum erat, Kabbalam primo et secundo post Christum natum seculo notam fuisse——Et certe quisquis de Kabbalâ mysticâ conscriptos libros addierit, aut peritiores e Rabbinis consuluerit, e vestigio deprehendet admodum recentes esse, vixque ante annos quingentos aut sexcentos exarari potuisse. Massuet, in Iren. præ. p. xx. n. 21.

[l] Idem in Iren. lib. ii. cap. 14.

[a] *Προς τουτο φησομεν, ὁτι ουδενος πραγματος, οὐ μη σπουδαια εστιν ἡ αρχη και τω βιω χρησιμος, γεγονασιν αἱρεσεις διαφοροι· επει γαρ ιατρικη χρησιμος και αναγκαια τω γενει των ανθρωπων,—αἱρεσεις εν ιατρικη εὑρισκονται πλειονες— επει φιλοσοφια αληθειαν επαγγελλομενη—πως δει βιουν—αἱρεσεις συνεστησαν πλειστα—και Ιουδαϊσμος προφασιν εσχε γενεσεως αἱρεσεων—ουτω τοινυν χριστιανισμος—αλλ' ουτ' ιατρικην ευλογως αν τις φευγοι δια τας εν αυτη αἱρεσεις· ουτε φιλοσοφιαν τις αν μισοι· οὑτως ουδε καταγνωστεον των Μωϋσεως και των προφητων ἱερων βιβλιων—ὁ δ' εγκαλων τω λογω (ἡμετερῳ) δια τας αἱρεσεις, εγκαλεσαι αν και τη Σωκρατους διδασκαλια, κ. τ. λ.* Contra Cels. l. iii. p. 118. ed. Cantab. T. i. p. 454, 455. Bened. *Ειπερ δε το ειναι αἱρεσεις πλειονας εν χριστιανοις, κατηγοριαν οιεται χριστιανισμου ειναι· δια τι ουχι και φιλοσοφιας κατηγορια.—Εν ταις αἱρεσεσι των φιλοσοφευντων διαφωνια, ου περι μικρων, και των τυχοντων, αλλα περι των αναγκαιοτατων; ὡρα δε και ιατρικην κατηγορεισθαι δια τας εν αυτη αἱρεσεις.* Ibid. l. v. p. 271. ed. Cantab. T. i. p. 624. Bened.

'to form different opinions concerning some of its doctrines 'and discoveries. But as he would not be reckoned a 'prudent man who totally rejected the use of physic, when 'sickness made it necessary, because there were some dif-'ferences in opinion about the theory of his disease; nor 'he a wise man who abjured all philosophy, because phi-'losophers disagreed among themselves; so neither would 'it be a mark of good sense to reject the writings of Moses 'and the prophets, or to abjure christianity, because of 'some differences in opinion among their adherents.'

We may perceive from many ancient catholic writers that they themselves saw this difficulty, but they answered it very reasonably in the following manner: that these divisions were foretold by Christ[b] himself and his apostles; and that differences of opinion had arisen about certain matters in the times of the apostles, and even of Christ himself. They further observed that[c] when the refuse or chaff should be separated from the wheat, the church would become more pure: and, though some of those in high stations should fall away, the rule of faith was the same, and remained equally[d] firm and stable as before: since, even in the mutilated copies of heretics,[e] the most important doctrines still continued untouched.

The ancient apologists for christianity sometimes affirmed that these differences of opinion were in the event service-

[b] Vid Jus. Mar. Dial. cum Tryp. p. 253. B. C. ed. Paris. p. 207—209. ed. Thirl. Ante omnia scire nos convenit et ipsum et legatos ejus prædixisse, quod plurimæ sectæ et hæreses haberent existere, quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent, &c. Lac. l. iv. c. xxx. p. 448. Min. 516.

[c] Avolent quantum volent paleæ levis fidei, quocumque afflatu tentationum, eo purior massa frumenti in horrea Domini reponetur. Nonne ab ipso Domino quidam discentium scandalizati deverterunt? Nec tamen propterea cæteri quoque discedendum a vestigiis ejus putaverunt: sed qui scierunt illum vitæ esse verbum, et a Deo venisse perseveraverunt in comitatu ejus usque ad finem; cum illis, si vellent et ipsi discedere, placide obtulisset. Minus est si et apostolum ejus aliqui Phygellus, et Hermogenes, et Philetus, et Hymenæus reliquerunt. Ipse traditor Christi de apostolis fuit. Miramur de ecclesiis ejus, si a quibusdam deseruntur——Quin potius memores simus, tam Dominicarum prænuntiationum, quam apostolicarum literarum, quæ nobis et futuras hæreses prænuntiârunt, et fugiendas præfinierunt, &c. Tert. de Pr. Hær. cap. iii. iv. p. 231. Fran. 202.

[d] Solent quidem isti infirmiores etiam de quibusdam personis ab hæresi captis ædificari in ruinam: quare ille vel ille fidelissimi, prudentissimi, et usitatissimi in ecclesiâ, in illam partem transierunt? Ib. c. iii. p. 230. D. Fran. 201. Quid ergo si episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus a regulâ fuerit, ideo hæreses veritatem videbuntur obtinere? Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? Nemo sapiens est nisi fidelis. Ibid. c. iii. p. 231. A. Fran. 201.

[e] Misereor tui, Marcion: frustra laborâsti; Christus enim Jesus in evangelio tuo meus est. Idem. Adv. Mar. lib. iv. cap. xliii. ad finem. p. 451. Fr.

able to the interest of truth, and promoted the christian cause. I formerly quoted[f] divers passages to this purpose from Augustine: I shall now add a few more from him and some other writers.

He, in particular, having spoken of Marcion and some other heretics, observes[g] that his disagreement in opinion was of advantage to the catholic cause, since by means of this opposition between different sects, the truth was more fully cleared, better understood and defended. In another place, where the title of the chapter is that the catholic faith is strengthened by the dissensions of heretics, he observes[h] that this, though an evil in itself, yet turned out in the end to be advantageous to the faithful, by exercising their patience, and increasing their wisdom. It also gave occasion to the clearing up those points[i] which were not so well understood before.[k]

[f] Vol. iii. p. 443. notes[q] and[r].

[g] Illa vero batilla ærea, id est hæreticorum voces, si adhibeamus ad altare Dei, ubi divinus ignis est, ubi vera Dei prædicatio, melius ipsa veritas ex falsorum comparatione fulgebit. Si enim, ut verbi gratiâ dicam, ponam dicta Marcionis, aut Basilidis, aut alterius cujuslibet hæretici, et hæc sermonibus veritatis, et scripturarum divinarum testimoniis, velut divini altaris igne, contuleris: nonne evidentior eorum ex ipsâ comparatione apparebit impietas? Nam, si doctrina simplex esset, et nullis extrinsecus hæreticorum dogmatum assertionibus cingeretur, non poterat tam clara et tam examinata videri fides nostra. Sed idcirco doctrinam catholicam contradicentium obsidet oppugnatio, ut fides nostra non otio torpescat, sed exercitiis elimaretur. Aug. in Num. Hom. vii. T. ii. p. 296. C. D. T. x. ser. 98. p. 270. Ven.

[h] Etiam sic quippe veris illis catholicis membris Christi malo suo prosunt. Inimici enim omnes ecclesiæ quolibet errore cœcentur, vel malitiâ depraventur, si accipiant potestatem corporaliter affligendi, exercent ejus patientiam; si tantummodo male sentiendo adversantur, exercent ejus sapientiam. De Civ. Dei. T. v. l. xviii. cap. li. p. 184. Venet.

[i] Etenim hæreticis asserta est Catholica Ecclesia; et ex his qui male sentiunt, probati sunt qui bene sentiunt. Multa enim latebant in scripturis: et cum præcisi essent hæretici, quæstionibus agitaverunt ecclesiam Dei. Aperta sunt quæ latebant, et intellecta est voluntas Dei.——Ergo multi, qui optime poterant scripturis dignoscere et pertractare, latebant in populo Dei; nec afferebant solutionem quæstionum difficilium, cum calumniator nullus instaret. Num quid enim perfecte de Trinitate tractatum est, antequam oblatrarent Ariani? Numquid perfecte de pœnitentiâ, antequam obsisterent Novatiani? Sic non perfecte de baptismate tractatum est, antequam contradicerent foris positi rebaptizatores. Ejusdem Enar. in Ps. liv. T. iv. p. 22. vel. T. viii. p. 177. 3. Venet.

[k] Multi enim sensus scripturarum sanctarum latent, et paucis intelligentioribus noti sunt; nec asseruntur commodius et acceptabilius, nisi cum respondendi hæreticis cura compellit. Tunc enim etiam qui negligunt studia doctrinæ, sopore discusso, ad audiendi excitantur diligentiam, ut adversarii refellantur. Denique quam multi scripturarum sanctarum sensus de Christo Deo asserti sunt contra Photinum? Quam multi de homine Christo contra Manichæum? Quam multi de trinitate contra Sabellium? Quam multi de

Clemens of Alexandria had long before met with this objection, taken from the variety of opinions among christians, and urged by both Jews and Gentiles as a sufficient reason against embracing the gospel. The sum of what he says, which the reader will find at large in the note[1] below, is to this purpose: 'That among the Jews there were seve-'ral sects. And among the Greeks the followers of their 'most admired philosophers were split into a variety of 'opinions. That our Lord himself had foretold that tares 'should grow up among the wheat; and that corruptions 'will always creep into the best things. Among physicians 'also there are divers prescriptions and opinions, and dif-'ferent methods of cure; yet no sick person would on this 'account decline the use of physic, when his health could 'be thereby restored.' He therefore concludes with asserting, 'That it was very weak and absurd to urge such 'objections as these against embracing those truths which 'tend to correct and purify the bad dispositions of the 'soul.'

There are two observations which seem naturally to arise from the matters treated of in this section. The first is, heresies were so far from being really detrimental to the cause of christianity, that they proved of great service to it. For those alterations which Marcion and Apelles, and some others, made in their copies, in order to suit them to their several opinions, must have put the catholic christians early upon their guard, and induced them to preserve, with the greatest care, their copies genuine and entire, in order to show the falsity of those notions which their opposers had embraced, and the sinister arts they made use of, by cor-

unitate trinitatis contra Arianos, Eunomianos, Macedonianos, &c. Ejusdem Enar. in Ps. lxvii. T. iv. p. 39. vel T. viii. p. 236.

[1] Επειδαν δε ακολεθον εςι προς τα ὑπο Ἑλληνων και Ιεδαιων επιφερομενα ημιν εγκληματα απολογησασθαι—Πρωτον μεν αυτο τετο προσαγαγειν ἡμιν, λεγοντες, μη δειν πιςευειν, δια την διαφωνιαν των αἱρεσεων; παρατεινει γαρ και ἡ αληθεια, αλλων αλλα δογματιζοντων· προς ες φαμεν, ὁτι και παρ' ὑμιν τοις Ιεδαιοις, και παρα τοις δοκιμωτατοις των παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφων, παμπολλαι γεγονασιν αἱρεσεις. Και ε δηπε φατε δειν οκνειν, ητοι φιλοσοφειν ἡ ιεδαϊζειν της διαφωνιας ἑνεκα της προς αλληλας των παρ' ὑμιν αἱρεσεων. Επειτα δε επισπαρησεσθαι τας αἱρεσεις τῃ αληθειᾳ, καθαπερ τῳ πυρῳ τα ζιζανια προς τε Κυριε προφητικως ειρηται, και αδυνατον μη γινεσθαι το προειρημενον εσεσθαι· και τετε ἡ αιτια, ὁτι παντι τῳ καλῳ μωμος ἑπεται—Ηδη δε και ὡς εν πλατει χρωμενοις τῃδε τῃ απολογιᾳ ενεςι φαναι προς αυτες, ὁτι και οἱ ιατροι εναντιας δοξας κεκτημενοι, κατα τας οικειας αἱρεσεις, επ' ισης εργῳ Θεραπευσιν μητι αν καμνων τις το σωμα και Θεραπειας δεομενος, ε προσιεται ιατρον, δια τας εν τῃ ιατρικῃ αἱρεσεις; ε κ αρα εδε ὁ την ψυχην νοσων και ειδωλων εμπλεως ἑνεκα γε τε υγιαναι, και εις Θεον επιςρεψαι, προφασισαιτο ποτε τας αἱρεσεις, κ. λ. Strom. lib. vii. p. 753. B. C. D. 754. A. p. 886, 887. edit. Potteri.

rupting and mutilating the sacred writings, the better to conceal the erroneousness of their opinions, and their inconsistency with the genuine dictates of Divine revelation. A practice thus represented as base in their opponents, and continually held up to public view in all their treatises against heretics as most vile, they themselves would be sure to avoid with the greatest caution.

Secondly, The many heretics which we now hear of, and the number and variety of divisions which there were of old among christians, may serve to satisfy us that the religion of Jesus had made great progress in the world. Besides the more regular and orthodox professors, there were divers others who made a shift to form societies, and to create trouble to the main body of christians. This may convince us, that altogether they must amount to a very great number. At the same time, this diversity of opinion is so far from overthrowing the truth of the christian religion, that it greatly confirms it. For it is to be observed, that all these, though cordially hating one another on account of their mutual opposition, and though differing from each other in a multitude of more minute circumstances, still agreed in the main points, as is very apparent from several preceding articles.

SECTION XV.

Curiosity and an inquisitiveness of mind were dispositions frequently indulged by Heretics.

HERETICS were in the general men of a curious and inquisitive turn of mind, and greatly indulged this disposition, which led them to speculate upon many points of doctrine, concerning which the scriptures had afforded little or no light; which however, according to the philosophy then in vogue, and with which their minds were but too deeply tinctured,[a] were esteemed matters of importance,

[a] Hæ sunt doctrinæ hominum et dæmoniorum, prurientibus auribus natæ de ingenio sapientiæ secularis, quam Dominus stultitiam vocans, stulta mundi in confusionem etiam philosophiæ ipsius elegit. Ea est enim materia sapientiæ secularis, temeraria interpres divinæ naturæ et dispositionis. Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophiâ subornantur. Inde æones et formæ, nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum, &c. Ter. De Pr. H. c. vii. p. 232. D. Fran. p. 203 Vid. sup. p. 334, note [g].

and points that would lead them to many curious and sublime speculations. By giving way to these they imbibed a set of notions which were dignified with the name of wisdom, and which they regarded as true: and unhappily set about engrafting these on the religion of Jesus, to which they were by no means suitable. When the scriptures were in some cases plainly inconsistent with these notions, they were for making them yield to their philosophical opinions.[b] Thus the simplicity of truth was banished, and endless divisions arose. Though in many cases their curiosity and inquisitiveness were carried to an improper extent; yet they set out with just views in order to have a rational and firm foundation for their faith: and they called upon the catholic christians to examine, that they might also be well established in their belief. This is testified by Tertullian[c] in a great variety of places.

The catholics said that they likewise were for inquiry and examination into the foundation of their faith.[d] But

[b] This will plainly appear hereafter in the instance of Marcion, and some others, who rejected many particular passages in the New Testament, as well as three of the gospels, and the whole Old Testament, in order the better to establish their peculiarities.

[c] Cum enim quærunt adhuc, nondum tenent: cum autem non tenent, nondum crediderunt: cum autem nondum crediderunt, non sunt christiani. At cum tenent quidem et credunt, quærendum tamen dicunt, ut defendant: antequam defendant, negant quod credunt; confitentes se nondum credidisse, dum quræunt. De Pr. Hær. c. xiv. p. 236. B. Fran. 205. Cæterum si quia et alia tanta ab aliis sunt instituta, propterea in tantum quærere debemus, in quantum possumus invenire, semper quæremus, et nunquam omnino credemus. Ubi enim erit finis quærendi? Ubi statio credendi? Ubi expunctio inveniendi? Apud Marcionem? Sed et Valentinus proponit, 'Quærite et invenietis.' Apud Valentinum? Sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit, et Ebion, et Simon, et omnes ordine non habent aliud, quo se mihi insinuantes me sibi addicant. Ibid. cap. x. p. 234. C. D. Fran. 204. Venio itaque ad illum articulum, quem et nostri prætendunt ad ineundam curiositatem, et hæretici inculcant ad importandam scrupulositatem. Scriptum est, inquiunt, 'Quærite et invenietis.' Ibid. c. viii. p. 233. B. Fran. 203. Notata sunt etiam commercia hæreticorum cum magis quampluribus, cum circulatoribus, cum astrologis, cum philosophis, curiositati scilicet deditis. 'Quærite et invenietis,' ubique meminerunt. Ibid. c. xliii. p. 248. B. Fran. 213. Nam et mathematici plurimum Marcionitæ; nec hoc erubescentes de ipsis etiam stellis vivere creatoris. Adv. Mar. l. i. c. xviii. 442. B. Fran. 358.

[d] Omnibus dictum sit, 'Quærite et invenietis.'—Sed in primis hoc propono, unum utique et certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo, quod credere omni modo debeant nationes, et idcirco quærere, ut possint, cum invenerint, credere. Unius porro et certi instituti infinita inquisitio non potest esse: quærendum est donec invenias, et credendum ubi inveneris; et nihil amplius nisi custodiendum quod credidisti; dum hoc insuper credis, aliud non esse credendum, ideoque nec requirendum, cum id inveneris et credideris, quod ab eo institutum est, qui non aliud tibi mandat inquirendum, quam quod instituit. De Pr. Hær. c. ix. p. 234. Fran. 204. Nobis curiositate opus non est post

when once they had received the christian religion as coming from God, they thought they ought to be satisfied, and to suppress all further inquiries; because it did not appear to them a right method to mix philosophical speculations with the plain facts and important discoveries of the gospel.

SECTION XVI.

Heretics were not in general solicitous about little matters, and were moderate towards those who differed from them.

THINGS which related to external order[a] and church discipline were not the things which greatly drew the attention of those called heretics; they regarded these as matters of rather a trifling nature; such, for instance, as not keeping up regular orders[b] and different classes among the several members of the churches; such as admitting catechumens to be present[c] while the Lord's supper was administering, and permitting even heathens to remain in their churches[d] while these religious services were carrying on. This, it should seem, was contrary to the custom of the catholic christians. They also formed churches,[e] each

Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evangelium. Cum credimus nihil desideramus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus, non esse quod ultra credere debeamus. Ibid. cap. viii. p. 233. Fran. 203. Fides in regulâ posita est.—Cedat curiositas fidei, cedat gloria saluti. Certe aut non obstrepant, aut quiescant. Adversus regulam nihil scire, omnia scire est. Ib. cap. xiv. p. 236. Fran. 205.

[a] Non omittam ipsius etiam conversationis hæreticæ descriptionem, quam futulis, quam terrena, quam humana sit; sine gravitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplinâ, ut fidei suæ congruens. In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est. Pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant. Ter. De Pr. Hær. cap. xli. p. 247. Fran. 213.

[b] Nunc neophytos conlocant, nunc seculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros, ut gloriâ eos obligent, quia veritate non possunt. Nusquam facilius proficitur, quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic promereri est. Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus, qui cras lector: hodie presbyter, qui cras laïcus. Nam et laïcis sacerdotalia munera injungunt. Ibid. Simplicitatem volunt esse prostrationem disciplinæ, cujus penes nos curam lenocinium vocant. Ibid.

[c] Μυστηρια δε δηθεν παρ' αυτω επιτελειται των κατηχεμενων ὁρωντων. Epiph. Hær. xlii. n. iii. p. 304. B.

[d] Etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt. Ter. De Pr. H. cap. xli. 247. Fran. 213.

[e] Cæterum nec suis præsidibus reverentiam noverunt.—A regulis suis variant

according to his own plan, both as to discipline and doctrine: and this variety the catholics unreasonably objected to as a mark of error;[f] forgetting that the very same arguments which they used against the heathens might be retorted upon themselves with equal force by the heretics. They however[g] bear witness to the moderation and charity which these people manifested in their religious differences with each other; whilst they ascribe this good temper, very uncharitably, to their desire of making an united opposition to the truth.

SECTION XVII.

Pernicious consequences supposed to arise from some of their doctrines, were charged upon them, though they did not admit them.

ONE of the calumnies thrown out against some of the ancient heretics by their enemies was,[a] that they considered

inter se, dum unusquisque proinde suo arbitrio modulatur quæ accepit, quemadmodum de arbitrio suo ea composuit ille qui tradidit. Idem licuit Valentinianis quod Valentino, idem Marcionitis quod Marcioni, de arbitrio suo fidem innovare. Denique, penitus inspectæ, hæreses omnes in multis cum auctoribus suis dissentientes deprehenduntur. Plerique nec ecclesias habent; sine matre, sine sede, orbi fide, extorres, sine lare vagantur. Ibid. c. xlii. p. 248. A. B. Fran. 213.

[f] Nihil enim interest, illis licet diversa tractantibus, dum ad unius veritatis expugnationem conspirent. Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni, quam edocti. Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere. Ordinationes eorum temerariæ, leves, inconstantes. Ibid. cap. xli. p. 247. Fran. 213.

[g] Schismata apud hæreticos fere non sunt: quia cum sint, non patent schismata: est enim unitas ipsa. Ibid. cap. xlii. Pacem quoque passim cum omnibus miscent. Nihil enim interest, &c. Ibid. cap. xli.

[a] Negant Deum timendum, itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta. Ter. De Pr. H. cap. xliii. p. 248. B. Fran. 213. Sic enim neque æmulatur, neque irascitur, neque damnat, neque vexat, utpote qui nec judicem præstat; non invenio quomodo illi disciplinarum ratio consistat. ' Quale est enim, ut præcepta constituat, non executurus? ut delicta prohibeat, non vindicaturus? quia non judicaturus: extraneus scilicet ab omnibus sensibus severitatis et animadversionis. Cur enim prohibet admitti, quod non defendit admissum? —Imo et permisisse directo debuit, sine causâ prohibiturus, ut non defensurus. Ejusdem adv. Mar. l. i. c. xxvi. p. 449. D. Fran. 363. Aut si hoc erit divinæ virtutis, sive bonitatis, nolle quidem fieri, et prohibere fieri, non moveri tamen si fiat. Ibid. Atque nihil Deo tam indignum, quam non exsequi quod noluit et prohibuit admitti. Ibid. p. 450. Sed judicat plane malum nolendo, et

themselves as bound by no law, and therefore gave themselves a license to sin. This their adversaries pretended to have a sufficient foundation for, because Marcion and his followers had said[b] that God needed not to be feared, meaning the good God. Though Tertullian declaims vehemently against this principle, especially if it should be considered by any as[c] affording a ground on which to build the impious consequences before mentioned; yet it appears from the very place[d] where he is arguing against it, as held by Marcion, that those consequences drawn from it in favour of a license for sinning, were never allowed by him, and were contrary to his avowed opinion and settled practice; for Tertullian's view is to prove the absurdity of the principle from the virtue and integrity of Marcion's own conduct. It should therefore seem probable in this instance, as well as in some others, that the true import and meaning of his principles were either mistaken or misrepresented by his adversaries.

damnat prohibendo: dimittit autem non vindicando, et absolvit non puniendo, Ibid. cap. xxvii. p. 450. Fran. 364.

[b] Atque adeo præ se ferunt Marcionitæ, quod Deum suum omnino non timeant. Malus autem, inquiunt, timebitur; bonus autem diligetur. Ibid. c. xxvii. p. 450. Fran. 364. Nisi quod Marcion Deum suum timeri negat, dicens bonum non timeri, sed vindicem tantum, apud quem ira æstuat. Ibid. p. 510. Fran. 424. Sane nominatur mitissimus Deus, quia nec judicat nec irascitur. Ibid. l. iv. c. xix. p. 509. Fran. 423.

[c] Audite, peccatores, quique nondum hoc estis ut esse possitis: Deus melior inventus est, qui nec offenditur, nec irascitur, nec ulciscitur; cui nullus ignis coquitur in Gehennâ; cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris; bonus tantum est. Denique prohibet delinquere, sed in literis solis. In vobis est, si velitis, illi obsequium subsignare, ut honorem Deo habuisse videamini: timorem enim non vult. Ibid. lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 450. Fran. 364.

[d] Age itaque, qui Deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebullis?—Quid non frequentas tam solennes voluptates circi furentis, et caveæ sævientis, et scenæ lascivientis? Quid non et in persecutionibus statim, oblatâ acerrâ animam negatione lucraris? Absit, inquis, absit. Ergo jam times delictum, et timendo probâsti illum timeri, qui prohibet delictum. Ibid. p. 450. Fran. 364.

SECTION XVIII.

The seeds of these heresies were sown in the days of the Apostles.

SEVERAL of the ancient fathers[a] understand the apostle Paul as referring to some appearances of this kind, when he exhorts[b] the primitive christians to avoid philosophy, and questions about endless genealogies, and oppositions of science falsely so called.

Eusebius relates that Ignatius,[c] in his way from Antioch to Rome, exhorted the churches to beware of the heresies which were then springing up, and which would increase; and that he afterwards wrote his epistles in order to guard them against these corruptions, and to confirm them in the faith.

This opinion that the seeds of these heresies were sown in the times of the apostles, and sprang up immediately after, is an opinion probable in itself, and is embraced by

[a] Hinc illæ fabulæ et genealogiæ interminabiles, et quæstiones infructuosæ, et sermones serpentes velut cancer, a quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam contestatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses. Ter. De Pr. Hær. c. vii. p. 233. Fran. 203. Adhibeo, super hæc, ipsarum doctrinarum recognitionem, quæ tunc sub apostolis fuerunt, ab iisdem apostolis demonstratæ.—Paulus, in primâ ad Corinthios epistolâ, notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis. Hæc opinio propria Sadducæorum: partem ejus usurpat Marcion, et Apelles, et Valentinus.—Ad Galatas scribens, invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis hæresis est. Timotheum instruens, nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat: ita instituunt Marcion, et Apelles ejus secutor.—Et cum genealogias indeterminatas nominat, Valentinus agnoscitur.—Joannes vero in Apocalypsi idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes jubetur castigare. Sunt et nunc alii Nicolaïtæ. Caiana hæresis dicitur. Ibid. cap. 33. p. 243. D. 244. A. Fran. 210. *Επι την αληθειαν παραπεμπομενοι τινες, επεισαγεσι λογες ψευδεις και γενεαλογιας ματαιας, αἱ τινες ζητησεις μαλλον παρεχεσι, καθως ὁ αποστολος φησιν, ἡ οικοδομην Θεȣ την εν πιστει, κ. τ. λ.* Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. i. præ. in. Dubitabitne idem pronuntiare, has esse fabulas et genealogias indeterminatas, quas apostoli spiritus, his jam tunc pullulantibus seminibus hæreticis, damnare prævenit. Tert. Adv. Valen. cap. iii. p. 284. Fran. 284.

[b] Col. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 20; ch. i. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17; Tit. iii. 9.

[c] *Εν πρωτοις μαλιστα προφυλαττεσθαι τας αἱρεσεις, αρτι τοτε πρωτον αναφυεισας και επιπολαζȣσας παρȣσι.* His. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. xxxvi. p. 130. ed. Reading.

several learned moderns; particularly by Vitringa,[d] and by the late Rev. Mr. Brekel of Liverpool.[e]

[d] Ita enim ubi Paulus in ep. 1ma ad Tim. c. vi. 20. dehortatur ab *αντιθεσεσι της ψευδωνυμε γνωσεως*, 'oppositis parallelismis scientiæ falso sic dictæ, et a 'fabulis et *γενεαλογιαις απεραντοις*, successionibus infinitis,' 1 Tim. i. 4. non est ideo quo illud commodius referri queat quam ad subtilissimas disputationes de divinitate ejusque variis emanationibus, quibus se Judæi, aliique Platonicæ et Pythagoricæ philosophiæ studiosi, occupatos habebant, et in quibus arcanæ et sublimioris scientiæ maximam constituebant partem. Quo modo etiam Irenæus et Tertullianus Pauli mentem accepisse, et mihi recte quidem accepisse videntur. Vid. Ter. De Pr. Hær. c. xxxiii. p. 244. A. Et Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. in Præ. in Vitringæ Obs. in Tit. iii. 9. Tom. ii. p. 161.

[e] In his answer to Mr. Deacon, against the pretended purity of the three first centuries, he observes, that, if this point were thoroughly examined, it would appear that the christian church preserved her virgin purity no longer than the apostolic age, at least if we may give credit to Hegesippus. Vid. Eus. H. E. lib. iii. c. 32. Another ancient writer, Paphias by name, speaks of some persons in his time who inculcated other precepts than those that were delivered by the Lord, and proceeded from the truth itself. Ap. Eus. Ibid. c. xxxix. p. 111. A. To mention the corruptions and innovations in religion of the four first centuries, is wholly superfluous; when it is so very notorious, that, even before the reign of Constantine, there sprang up a kind of heathenish christianity, which mingled itself with the true christian religion. Socr. H. Ec. lib. i. cap. 22. Brekel's MS.

HISTORY OF HERETICS, &c.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

OF SATURNINUS.

SECTION I.

Of his opinions as given us by Irenæus.

IRENÆUS having given some account of Simon and Menander, proceeds: 'From[a] these Saturninus of Antioch, 'and Basilides of Alexandria, took occasion to form different

[a] Ex iis Saturninus, qui fuit ab Antiochiâ eâ, quæ est apud Daphnen, et Basilides occasiones accipientes distantes doctrinas ostenderunt; alter quidem in Syriâ, alter vero in Alexandriâ. Saturninus quidem, similiter ut Menander, unum patrem incognitum omnibus ostendit, qui fecit angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates: a septem autem quibusdam angelis mundum factum, et omnia quæ in eo: hominem autem angelorum esse facturam, desursum a summâ potestate lucidâ imagine apparente.—Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit et incorporalem, et sine figurâ, putative autem visum hominem. Et Judæorum Deum unum ex angelis esse dixit. Et propter hoc, quod dissolvere voluerint patrem ejus omnes principes, advenisse Christum ad destructionem Judæorum Dei, et ad salutem credentium ei; esse autem hos qui habent scintillam vitæ ejus. Duo enim genera hic primus hominum plasmata esse ab angelis dixit; alterum quidem nequam, alterum autem bonum. Et quoniam dæmones pessimos adjuvant, venisse Salvatorem ad dissolutionem malorum hominum, et dæmoniorum, ad salutem autem bonorum. Nubere autem et generare, a Satanâ dicunt esse. Multi autem, qui sunt ab eo, et ab animalibus abstinent, per fictam hujusmodi continentiam seducentes multos. Prophetias autem quasdam quidem ab iis angelis, qui mundum fabricaverint, dictas, quasdam autem a Satanâ; quem et ipsum angelum adversarium mundi fabricatoribus ostendit, maxime autem Judæorum Deo. Iren. l. i. c. 24. [al. xxii.] n. i. ii. p. 100, 101.

'schemes. Saturninus, like Menander, held one Father, 'unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, principali-'ties, and powers. He said that the world and all things 'therein were made by certain (seven) angels: man too 'was made by them. The Saviour he taught to be unbe-'gotten, and incorporeal, and that he was man in appearance 'only. The God of the Jews,' he says, 'was one of the 'angels. And because all the principalities opposed his 'Father, Christ came to the overthrow of the God of the 'Jews, and for the salvation of those who believe in him, 'which are such as have in them the spark of life. For 'this person first taught that there are two kinds of men 'made by the angels, some good, others bad. And because 'dæmons assisted the worst, the Saviour came to the con-'demnation of bad men and dæmons, and to the salvation of 'good men. He says that marriage and generation are of 'Satan. And many of his followers abstain from animal 'food, by such a feigned temperance deceiving many. 'They will have it that some prophecies came from the 'angels who made the world; others from Satan, whom 'they also reckon an adversary to the Maker of the world, 'especially to the God of the Jews.'

SECTION II.

He was an obscure person, and had probably but few followers.

I HAVE thought it not amiss to transcribe this article of Irenæus, hoping that we may make some good use of it in the chapter of Basilides. For I do not intend to enlarge on the history of Saturninus, because he was a very obscure person, and his opinions were so much like those of Basilides.

Beausobre observes, that[a] Clement of Alexandria makes no mention at all of Menander and Saturninus. For which reason he concludes that they made very little figure in the world, and had but few followers.

Saturninus, however, called by some Saturnilus, is in most writers of heresies. Epiphanius makes very little addition to Irenæus; and at the beginning of his article uses an expression denoting[b] his obscurity. Theodoret[c]

[a] Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 1 fin.

[b] Μετα τουτον Σατορνιλος τις ανεστη. H. xxiii. cap. 1. in.

[c] H. Fab. lib. i. cap. 3.

seems to transcribe Irenæus. And the accounts of[d] Philaster and[e] Augustine are so like the rest, that I shall only refer to them. It will be proper just to mention in this place the order of the most early heretics. In Irenæus[f] they stand thus: Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates. In Epiphanius: Simon, Menander, Saturnilus, Basilides, the Nicolaitans, the Gnostics, the Carpocratians; which order is also observed by Augustine. Theodoret's is the same with that of Irenæus. In Philaster it is Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Nicolaitans.

CHAP. II.

OF BASILIDES.

SECT. I. *Of his time.*

I PROCEED to Basilides, who in all the writers quoted in the last chapter, is the third in order among christian heretics, and next after Saturninus. Epiphanius expressly says that these two were fellow-disciples.[a] And Eusebius, agreeably to Irenæus, as before transcribed, and possibly to other ancient writers whom he had read, says, that 'from[b] 'Menander, successor of Simon, proceeded two leaders of 'heresies, Saturninus of Antioch, and Basilides of Alexan-'dria, who set up schools of their hateful doctrine, one in 'Syria, the other in Ægypt.' And I before gave an account from Eusebius of a work of Agrippa Castor against Basilides, supposed to have been written about the year 132, or some short time after.

Though learned moderns may not exactly agree about the time of Basilides, the difference between them is not very great. Tillemont thinks Basilides[c] left the church in the time of Trajan, and appeared chiefly in the time of

[d] Cap. xxxi. [e] Aug. cap. iii. [f] Lib. i. cap. xxiii.—xxv.

[a] Δυο γαρ ϐτοι εγενοντο συσχολαϛαι, Βασιλειδης και Σατορνιλος. H. xxiii n. i. in.

[b] Απο γϐν τϐ Μενανδρϐ, ὀν διαδοχον τϐ Σιμωνος ηδη προτερον παραδεδωκαμεν, αμφιϛομος ὡσπερ και δικεφαλος οφιωδης τις προελθϐσα δυναμις, δυειν αἱρεσεων διαφορων αρχηγϐς κατεϛησατο. H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 147. ed. Reading.

[c] Mem. Ecc. Sub Tra.

Adrian. Basnage[d] speaks of him at the year 121. Mill[e] supposeth him to have flourished about the year 123; Cave[f] about the year 112, or soon after. Grabe says, 'Basilides[g] 'began to spread his notions in the time of Trajan, but 'chiefly under Adrian, and probably did not die before the 'beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious.' Which account cannot be much amiss. It is plain from the order of the most early heresies before taken notice of, that Basilides must have lived near the times of the apostles; as is also observed by the ancient author of[h] the Acts of Archelaus. And by Clement of Alexandria we are informed that[i] Basilides, or his followers, boasted that he had been taught by Glaucias, a disciple of St. Peter: where likewise Clement supposeth that Basilides arose in the time of Adrian, and reached to Antoninus the Pious, who did not begin his reign before the year 138. Theodoret says, that Menander was master to Saturninus and Basilides, and that[k] both were in the time of Adrian.

SECTION II.

The account of him as given by Irenæus and other ancient authors.

HAVING said thus much concerning the time of Basilides, I return to Irenæus, who, immediately after the above-cited passage relating to Saturninus, inserted in the foregoing chapter, proceeds: 'But[a] Basilides, that he might appear

[d] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 121. n. vi. [e] Proleg. n. 264.

[f] Claruit circa ann. 112. juxta alios aliquanto serius. Vixit præcipue sub Hadriano; et sub imperii ejus extrema; saltem ineunte principatum ejus successore, obiisse videtur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 49.

[g] Cœpit enim hæresin condere sub Trajano, et propagavit sub Hadriano, uti prolixe contra Dallæum probavit Pearsonius, P. 2. Vindic. Ignat. cap. vii. Imo at tunc mortuum esse idem vult. Ast quicquid hujus rei sit, id certum est, sub Hadriano maxime floruisse infelicem illam plantam. Grab. Spic. T. ii. p. 36. [h] Fuit—Basilides antiquior, non longe post nostrorum apostolorum tempora. Arch. p. 101.

[i] *Κατω δε, περι τες Αδριανε τε βασιλεως χρονες οἱ τας αἱρεσεις επινοησαντες γεγονασι, και μεχρι γε της Αντωνινε τε πρεσβυτερε διετειναν ἡλικιας, καθαπερ ὁ Βασιλειδης, κἀν Γλαυκιαν επιγραφηται διδασκαλον, ὡς αυχεσιν αυτοι, τον Πετρε ἑρμηνεα.* Cl. Str. p. 764. D. [k] *Αμφω δε επι Αδριανε τε Καισαρος εγενοντο.* H. F. l. i. c. 3. p. 193. D.

[a] Basilides autem, ut altius aliquid et verisimilius invenisse videatur, in immensum extendit sententiam doctrinæ suæ, ostendens Nûn primo ab innato

'to have a more sublime and more probable scheme, went 'much farther, and taught that from the self-existent Father 'was born Nus or Understanding; of Nus, Logos; of Logos, 'Phronesis, Prudence or Providence; of Phronesis, Sophia 'and Dunamis, Wisdom and Power; of Dunamis and So-'phia, Powers, Principalities, and Angels, whom they call 'the superior angels, by whom the first heaven was made; 'from these proceeded other angels, and other heavens, to 'the number of 365, both angels and heavens: and there-'fore there are so many days in the year answerable to the 'number of the heavens. Farther they say that the angels 'which uphold the lower heaven, seen by us, made all 'things in this world, and then divided the earth among 'themselves. And the chief of these, they say, is he who 'is thought to be the God of the Jews. And because he

natum Patre, ab hoc autem natum Logon, deinde a Logo Phronesin, a Phronesi autem Sophian et Dunamin, a Dunami autem et Sophiâ Virtutes, et Principes, et Angelos, quos et primos vocat, et ab iis primum cœlum factum. Dehinc ab horum derivatione alios autem factos, aliud cœlum simile priori fecisse—aliud tertium deformâsse cœlum, et a tertio deorsum descendentium quartum, et deinceps secundum eum modum alteros et alteros principes et angelos factos esse dicunt, et cœlos ccclxv. Quapropter et tot dies habere annum, secundum numerum cœlorum. Eos autem qui posterius continent cœlum angelos quod etiam a nobis videtur, constituisse ea quæ sunt in mundo omnia, et partes sibi fecisse terræ, et earum quæ super eam sunt gentium. Esse autem principem ipsorum eum, qui Judæorum putatur esse Deus. Et quoniam hic suis hominibus, id est Judæis, voluit subjicere reliquas gentes, reliquos omnes principes restitisse ei, et contra egisse. Innatum autem et innominatum patrem videntem perditionem ipsorum misisse primogenitum Nûn suum (et hunc esse qui dicitur Christus) in libertatem credentium ei a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt. Et gentibus ipsorum autem apparuisse eum in terrâ hominem, et virtutes perfecisse. Quapropter neque passum eum, sed Simonem quendam Cyrenæum angariatum portâsse crucem ejus pro eo; et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, qui putaretur ipse esse Jesus; et ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, et stantem irrisisse eos. Quoniam enim virtus incorporalis erat, et Nûs innati Patris, transfiguratum quemadmodum vellet, et sic adscendisse, ad eum qui miserat eum. Et liberatos igitur eos, qui hæc sciant, a mundi fabricatoribus principibus; et non oportere confiteri eum, qui sit crucifixus, sed eum qui in hominis formâ venerit, et putatus sit crucifixus, et vocatus sit Jesus, et missus a Patre, uti per dispositionem hanc opera mundi fabricatorum dissolveret. Animæ autem solæ esse salutem: corpus enim naturâ corruptibile existit. Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem legem a principe ipsorum, qui eduxerit populum de terrâ Ægypti. Contemnere autem idolothyta, et nihil arbitrari, sed sine aliquâ trepidatione uti iis: habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem, et universæ libidinis. Utuntur autem et hi magiâ, et incantationibus. Trecentorum autem sexaginta quinque cœlorum locales positiones distribuunt, similiter ut mathematici. Illorum enim theoremata accipientes in suum characterem doctrinæ transtulerunt: esse autem principem illorum Abraxas, et propter hoc ccclxv. numeros habere in se. Iren. lib. i. cap. 24. [al. cap. 22, 23.] p. 101, 102.

'would bring other nations into subjection to the Jews, the 'other princes opposed him, and other nations opposed that 'people. But the self-existent and ineffable Father seeing 'them in danger of being ruined, sent his first begotten 'Nus, who also is said to be Christ, for the salvation of such 'as believe in him, and to deliver them from the tyranny 'of the makers of the world; and that he appeared on 'earth as man and wrought miracles; but he did not suf-'fer; for Simon of Cyrene being compelled to bear the 'cross, was crucified for him; he was transformed into the 'likeness of Jesus, and Jesus took the shape of Simon, and 'stood by looking on, and laughing at the error and igno-'rance of those who thought they had him in their power; 'after which he ascended to heaven. They who understand 'these things are to be delivered from the princes of this 'world. They also hold that men ought not to confess him 'who was crucified, but him who came in the form of man, 'and was supposed to be crucified, and was called Jesus, 'and was sent of the Father, that by this dispensation he 'might destroy the works of the makers of the world. He 'likewise taught that the soul only would be saved, for the 'body is in its own nature corruptible, and incapable of im-'mortality. He moreover says that the prophecies are from 'the princes, makers of the world, and that the law was 'given by the chief of them who brought the people out of 'the land of Ægypt. They make light of things offered to 'idols, and partake of them without scruple. And all other 'actions, and all kinds of lewdness, are looked upon by 'them as indifferent. They practise magic also, and incan-'tations. They have distributed the local positions of the 'three hundred and sixty-five heavens, just as the mathe-'maticians do. For they have adopted their theorems, and 'introduced them into their scheme; the prince of which 'they call Abraxas, that name having in it the number three 'hundred and sixty-five.'

Eusebius, agreeably to what Irenæus says at the begin-ning of this article, observes, as from him, that 'Saturninus[b] 'contented himself with the scheme he had received from 'Menander; but Basilides aimed at farther innovations.' And to the like purpose[c] Theodoret. And perhaps for this reason Origen calls his scheme a long story or heap of fictions.

[b] *Τα μεν εν πλειστα τον Σατορνινον τα αυτα τῳ Μενανδρῳ ψευδολογησαι ὁ Ειρηναιος δηλοι· προσχηματι δε απορρητων τον Βασιλειδην εις το απειρον τεινα-τας επινοιας, κ. λ.* H. E. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 119. D.

[c] Tab. lib. i. cap. 4, 7.

SECTION III.

An examination of several of the opinions attributed to him.

LET us now go over the several particulars in Irenæus, some slightly, others more distinctly; for I do not intend to insist on their account of the creation of the world, or the formation of man, or their doctrines concerning two natures and election. These last especially are abstruse and intricate notions. After all I could say, I might not give a right explication of them. I therefore content myself with referring to Beausobre, who hath bestowed great pains in examining these points.[a]

Clement of Alexandria has several times hinted these[b] things.

Basilides believed that there is one God, self-existent, and ineffable, or without a name.

He likewise supposed that there were several æons, or emanations from the eternal Father. But it has been observed that[c] the account of Irenæus, and the authors who follow him, is defective; for Clement of Alexandria mentions two more, Justice and Peace. I shall place in the note a part of Philaster's[d] article of Basilides, to show how that Latin author represented his æons.

[a] See Hist. de Manich. T. ii. 32, 37.

[b] Vid. Str. lib. ii. p. 363, 409. lib. iii. p. 473. lib. iv. 540. D. lib. v. p. 545. D.

[c] Ita Irenæus, Epiphanius, Theodoretus. At Basilidis genealogiam integram non referunt. Nam ex Clemente Alex. l. 4. Str. p. 539. *Βασιλειδης αποστατησας—δικαιοσυνην δε και την θυγατερα αυτης την ειρηνην υπολαμβανει εν ογδοαδι μενειν ενδιατεταγμενας.* Nec dubium quin in primâ suâ conjugatione *Εννοιαν* seu *Σιγην* habuerit, masculosque cum feminis in ogdaode copulaverit. Massuet. Diss. Iren. p. lxi. n. 116.

[d] De innato et solo Deo natum fuisse intellectum, de intellectu verbum, de verbo sensum, de sensu autem et virtute sapientiam, de virtute autem et sapientiâ principatus et potestates et angelos factos diversos. H. 32. p. 65, 66.

SECTION IV.

Concerning his notion of three hundred and sixty-five heavens.

BASILIDES is said by Irenæus and others to have believed that there were three hundred and sixty-five heavens, according to the number of the days of the Ægyptian year; which account is generally admitted by moderns, as true. Perhaps it is not needful for us to make any particular inquiries into this point. For if this was only an error in philosophy, and not brought into their religious or theological scheme, we are little concerned about it. But Beausobre[a] does not give credit to it. He thinks that Irenæus must have made some mistake. The absurdity is so great that it ought not to be ascribed to a learned astronomer, as Basilides was. Moreover Irenæus says that herein Basilides followed the mathematicians. But were there ever any astronomers of this opinion from whom he could take it? Whence this supposition proceeded it is not easy to guess. But possibly Basilides said that there were three hundred and sixty-five angels, who presided each over one day of the year; a notion which seems to have been entertained by some in the East. The same learned writer farther argues in this manner: 'Clement of Alexandria was 'well acquainted with the Basilidian theology.' And in one of his remaining works he treats the question,[b] whether there are more heavens than one. He cites some words of the prophet Zephaniah, though not in our Hebrew copies, where mention is made of a fifth heaven; and the words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 2, where he speaks of a third heaven. He likewise takes notice of the opinion of some philosophers, who spake of seven heavens below the sphere of the fixed stars. How could he here omit so uncommon an opinion as that of three hundred and sixty-five heavens, if held by the Basilidians; especially when he lays hold of every opportunity to confute them, because this heresy had then many followers at Alexandria?

[a] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 9, 10.

[b] Ποτερον εν ορθως ἑνα ϑρανον ειρηκαμεν η πολλους και απειρους. Str. lib. v. p. 586. B.

SECTION V.

He believed the world was made by angels, the chief of whom presided over the Jews.

BASILIDES supposed this lower world to have been made by angels. This is an opinion which many went into out of respect, though a false respect, for the Deity. They[a] thought it below the Supreme Being to meddle with matter in order to give it form and beauty. They judged it to be unworthy of him to make perishing and mortal beings. Above all, they could not endure the supposition that God was the author of the many evils that are in this world. If God had made this world, they argued it would have been perfect. But as there are in it many imperfections, it cannot be the work of God, infinitely perfect, and infinitely good.

They chose therefore to ascribe this world to angels; who seeing matter which was eternal, agitated in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, determined to reduce it to order; and having in their mind the world of spirits, to which they belonged, and which served as a model to them, they would make one like it in matter. God, who knew their design, did not interpose to prevent it. Our world therefore was made by angels with the tacit consent of the Supreme Being. This opinion of theirs concerning the formation of the world, was opposite to the opinion of the orthodox or catholic christians. For, as Beausobre[b] observes, 'they always endeavoured to preserve the unity of 'the creating principle; but the philosophers who made 'profession of christianity obstinately maintained the con-'trary error.' Their design was to justify Providence, and to represent the material principle as the cause of all evil. The intention was commendable, but the execution was bad; for the systems they formed did not solve, but only palliate, these difficulties. And in their very first principles they directly opposed the divine authority of Moses and the prophets, and consequently in the end the divine authority of Jesus Christ: but they denied this consequence, and always maintained a high veneration for the Son of

[a] See Beausobre, as before, p. 10, 11. [b] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 2. No. 1.

God. Wherefore it is unjust to attribute to them impious sentiments which they never held, but in their whole conduct disavowed.

By some Basilides is said to have ascribed the formation of this world to the inferior angels. But that, I think, is not clear; for if he did, he herein differed from Saturninus, who, according to Irenæus, seems to have taught that the world was made by seven angels, whom he does not represent of an inferior rank, but rather of the first order; as next to the æons, or first emanations from the eternal and ineffable Father. Moreover in Clement of Alexandria, who did not write upon hearsay reports, but who has given us the very words of Basilides himself, he is spoken of as maintaining honourable thoughts of the angel creator, or the chief of the angels who made the world. For he said that[c] the creator formed the world for the honour of the invisible God, whose image and prophet he was; and that the creator[d] was worthy to be praised, and a very great God.

When a distribution was afterwards made of things, the chief of the angels, creators, had the people of the Jews particularly to his share. A doctrine which, in the main, was received by many ancients, and is in part founded upon Deut. xxxii. 8; which, according to the version of the Seventy, is to this purpose: 'When the Most High divided 'the nations, and separated the sons of Adam, he set the 'bounds of the people according to the number of the an-'gels of God.' And this opinion they endeavoured to support by Dan. x. 13, 21—xii. 1.

SECTION VI.

His opinion concerning the Person of Christ.

WE proceed to the account which Irenæus gives of their doctrine concerning the person of Christ. 'The eternal 'Father, seeing the ruin of the world, sent his first-begot-

[c] *Ου γαρ αυθεντικως εὑρεθη μορφη, αλλα το ονομα επληρωσαν το ὑϛερησαν εν πλασει, συνεργει δε και το τȣ θεȣ αορατον εις πιϛιν τȣ πεπλασμενȣ· τον μεν γαρ δημιȣργον, ὡς θεον και πατερα κληθεντα, εικονα τȣ αληθινȣ Θεȣ, και προφητην προσειπεν, ζωγραφον δε την σοφιαν, ἡς το πλασμα ἡ εικων, εις δοξαν τȣ αορατȣ.* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. p. 509. D.

[d] *Τον μεγιϛον και προς αυτων ανυμνȣμενον Θεον.* Ib. l. ii. p. 376. B.

'ten Nus, or Understanding, for the salvation of them that 'believe in him, and to deliver them from the power of the 'angel creators. He appeared as man, and wrought many 'miracles; but he was not crucified, the Jews having 'through mistake crucified Simon the Cyrenian in his 'stead.'

Here it is fit to observe what Basilides said to the honour of Jesus. He supposed him to be the first-begotten of the Father, and to have come into this lower world for the salvation of men, and with an express order and commission from the Father. He likewise supposed Jesus to have wrought here many miracles.

But he did not think Jesus to be really man, but in appearance only. So say many ancient[a] writers: insomuch that it is difficult to deny or contest this; and yet perhaps we may presently see somewhat that may make us hesitate about it. 'For,' as Beausobre[b] says, 'undoubtedly Basi-'lides did not believe the incarnation, or the hypostatic 'union of the Son of God with flesh; but then he never 'denied that Jesus was a real person, in whom the under-'standing or Son of God displayed his power, whom he 'filled with his gifts and illuminations, and invested with 'extraordinary influence.'

SECTION VII.

Of the story of Simon the Cyrenian, and whether he believed that Christ suffered.

AS for Jesus taking the shape of Simon the Cyrenian, and transforming Simon into his own, it is so absurd a story that I must confess it appears to me incredible. It must certainly be a misrepresentation founded in some mistake, possibly upon the consequences drawn by others from some opinions of theirs, which consequences they did not allow.

Beausobre too says plainly, 'the[a] ridiculous comedy of 'Simon transformed into Jesus, and crucified in his stead,

[a] — in ipsâ prius carne ejus erraverunt: aut nullius veritatis contendentes eam secundum Marcionem et Basilidem; aut propriæ qualitatis, secundum hæreses Valentini, et Apellem. Tertul. de Res. Car. cap. 2. p. 379. D. p. 314. 29. Και αυτος περι Χριστ, ὡς δοκησει πεφηνοτος, ὁμοιως δοξαζει· ειναι δε φησιν αυτον φαντασιαν εν τῳ φαινεσθαι, μη ειναι δε ανθρωπον, μηδε σαρκα ειληφεναι. Epiph. H. 24. n. iii. [b] Ib. p. 25. n. vi. [a] Ib.

'is a fable, which Irenæus found I know not where, And,' as the same acute writer observes, 'Massuet[b] perceived that 'this account is contradicted by Clement of Alexandria; 'but he chose to correct Clement by Irenæus, rather than 'Irenæus by Clement. But,' says[c] Beausobre, 'I cannot 'be of that mind. The testimony of Clement appears to 'me vastly more valuable than that of Irenæus, because he 'knew the Basilidians, and had read their books and cites 'them: especially is his testimony preferable here upon 'this occasion, as it is not so much Clement that speaks as 'Basilides himself.'

The argument is this: Basilides acknowledged that the attributes of goodness, holiness, and righteousness belong to God. As good, he can never do evil to any one; as holy, he cannot but hate sin, of which he never is the author; as righteous, he may and will correct sinners; but for the same reason he never will permit the innocent to be punished. The orthodox acknowledged the same divine attributes; but they did not approve of the consequences which Basilides drew from them. They believed God to be righteous, and yet supposed that he might permit innocent beings to suffer. As a proof of this, they instanced in the martyrs delivered up to the most grievous pains, for the exercise of their virtue, and the confirming the gospel. Basilides answered,[d] that 'martyrs are not perfectly inno- 'cent, forasmuch as there is no man without fault: and if 'any suffer, God punisheth in them evil desires, or actual 'sin, though secret and unknown to others; or sins which 'the soul had been guilty of in some other body. God, 'who knows all things the most secret, never punishes any 'who have not deserved it. The favour shown to martyrs 'lies in this, that their pains appear to have an honourable 'cause, though they are indeed the punishment of their 'sins, committed either in this life, or in a pre-existent 'state.'

For overturning this notion, which must tend to discourage martyrdom, and lessen the virtue of it, the catholics

[b] Ad eam distinctionem—haud satis attendisse videtur Clemens Alex. dum scripsit. lib. iv. Strom. quod Basilides 'hominem peccandi potestate prædi- 'tum ausus esset dicere Dominum:' quod falsum videtur, si ad verum Christum referatur, quem hominem quidem esse fatebatur: utcumque ferri potest, si de ementito Christo, nempe Simone Cyrenæo intelligatur, qui sub Christi specie ac figurâ cruci affixus fuit. Mass. Diss. Iren. p. lxi. n. 117.

[c] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 25. n. vi.

[d] *Αλλα τῳ Βασιλειδῃ ἡ ὑποθεσις προσμαρτησασαν φησι την ψυχην εν ἑτερῳ βιῳ, την κολασιν υπομενειν ενταυθα· την μεν εκλεκτην επιτιμως δια μαρτυριαν· την αλλην δε, καθαρομενην οικειᾳ κολασει.* Clem. Al. Strom. p. 506. D. 507.

alleged the example of Jesus Christ, who had undergone the pain of the cross, and whose innocence Basilides could not contest. This argument reduced him to great distress; for it was difficult for him to extricate himself without blasphemy. However, Clement thus represents his manner of evading it: 'Basilides,[e] speaking of our Lord as a man, 'explains himself openly in these terms: "If without at-'tending to what I have said, and in order to throw me into 'confusion, you allege certain persons: for example, this 'person has suffered, therefore he has sinned; you must 'allow me to answer, in the first place, that he has not sin-'ned, but he has suffered like infants. If you still press 'me, I will add, of whatever man you can mention, that he 'is man, and God is just. For there is no man free from 'spot, as one says. And I would say any thing rather than 'censure Providence."' Clement confutes this opinion,[f] and concludes in this manner: 'Must not we reckon that 'man profane who dares to say that the Lord was a sinner, 'or capable of sinning!'

All this, as Beausobre[g] farther argues, is inconsistent with what is said by Irenæus. If we rely upon him, Basilides taught that Jesus did not suffer, and was not crucified; but Simon the Cyrenian was crucified in his stead; and the Lord triumphed over the Jews, who thought they had crucified him. But if that had been the sentiment of Basilides, what ground had the catholic writers to instance in the sufferings of the Lord Jesus? If they did, his answer was easy: What do you mean? Did I ever say that Jesus suffered? Do not all know that my opinion is that the Lord was not a man, and that Simon, a miserable sinner, suffered in his stead? Having been called to bear the cross, Providence put him in the room of the Saviour. So, to refer to an ancient history, Providence formerly substituted a ram in the place of Isaac.

Since therefore Basilides, as appears from his own words cited by Clement, was greatly pressed by the example of

[e] Ουτωσι δε και τον αναμαρτητον, ὁν λεγω, εαν ιδω πασχοντα, καν μηδεν ᾖ κακον πεπραχως, κακον ερῳ τῳ θελειν αμαρτανειν. Παντ' ερω γαρ μαλλον, η κακον το προνοειν ερῳ. Ειθ' ὑποβας, και περι τε Κυριε αντικρυς, ὡς περι ανθρωπε λεγει. Εαν μεντοι παραλιπων τετες ἁπαντας τες λογες ελθης επι το δυσωπειν με, δια προσωπων τινων, ει τυχοι, λεγων· Ὁ δεινα εν ἡμαρτεν· επαθεν γαρ ὁ δεινα· εαν μεν επιτρεπῃς, ερω· εχ ἡμαρτεν μεν, ὁμοιος δε ην τῳ πασχοντι νηπιῳ. Ει μεν τοι σφοδροτερον εκβιασαιο τον λογον, ερω, ανθρωπον, ὁντιν' αν ονομασης, ανθρωπον ειναι, δικαιον δε τον Θεον, καθαρος γαρ ᾖδεις, ὡσπερ ειπε τις, απο ῥυπε. Ibid. lib. iv. p. 506. C. D.

[f] Πως δε εκ αθεος—ανθρωπον ἁμαρτητικον τολμησας ειπειν τον Κυριον. Ib. p. 507. B.

[g] Ibid. p. 27. n. vii.

the Lord, insisted on by the catholics, we are led to conclude that he supposed Jesus to have really suffered, and that somehow or other Irenæus has been mistaken.

SECTION VIII.

Beausobre's view of the sentiments of Basilides concerning Christ.

AFTER this argument Beausobre sums[a] up the sentiment and doctrine of Basilides concerning the Saviour: 1. According to him Jesus was a real true man since he suffered: but whether he believed Jesus to be born of a virgin does not appear. 2. The Divine Understanding, Nus, which is the same as the Son of God, descended into this man, and made use of him as an instrument, to give to mankind the knowledge of the true God and the means of salvation. By him he published his doctrine, and wrought great miracles in confirmation of it. 3. The exact manner in which he conceived of the union of the divine intelligence with the human nature of Jesus, we cannot say; but he did not think him to partake of any of the infirmities of the human nature, or to be so united as to suffer. 4. Jesus being a man only, though a most excellent man, in whom the first-begotten of the Father chose to dwell, it may be said without blasphemy, not that he ever sinned, but that it is not impossible that he might. And it is better to make this supposition, than to allow Providence to be the cause of any evil, as it would be if an innocent person suffered. 5. If Jesus committed any fault, (which Basilides did not affirm,) it must have been before the Christ or the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism. 6. The ministry of the Saviour being finished, Jesus was taken and crucified, but not the Christ, or the first-begotten of the Father, who was no farther united to Jesus than was necessary for the functions of his charge. The Jews therefore fastened to the cross a man only, who for some time had been the organ of the divinity. 7. From whence it might possibly be concluded by some, that Basilides did, or would, say, as Irenæus tells us, that we ought not to believe in him that was crucified. For the Son of God is the only object of faith, not a man, who was only his instrument during the course of his ministry. 8. As

[a] Ibid. p. 28. n. viii.

Basilides believed the death of Jesus, though not of the Son of God, probably he believed his resurrection: that is, that his soul ascended to heaven, and the body was left to lie in the grave, or was dissipated into the air, and among the elements of which it was composed. As the ancient catholic writers do not particularly say that he denied the resurrection of Jesus, though they assure us he and his followers denied the resurrection of the body, it is not unlikely that he admitted the resurrection, or the advancement and glorification of the soul of Jesus.

SECTION IX.

He believed the baptism of Jesus.

THE examining what Irenæus says of the substituting Simon the Cyrenian in the room of Jesus, has carried us a great way. But we must not forget to observe that Basilides believed the fact of the baptism of Jesus. Clement says that[a] his followers celebrated the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the whole preceding night in reading, and very likely in prayers. They placed it on the fifteenth day of the Egyptian month Tubi, which answers, as is supposed, to the ninth or tenth of our January, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. It is probable that this was with them the time of the coming of the Son of God into the world: then Jesus was consecrated by baptism; then the Christ or Spirit descended, and took up his abode in Jesus, filled him with abundance of gifts, and qualified him for teaching his doctrine and working miracles. The same Clement informs us that[b] the Valentinians supposed the dove at Christ's baptism to have been the Spirit himself; but the Basilidians the minister of the Spirit.

There is a passage of Basilides concerning our Lord's baptism, quoted by Clement of Alexandria,[c] upon which Beausobre has[d] made curious remarks.

[a] Οἱ δε απο Βασιλειδε και τε βαπτισματος αυτε την ἡμεραν ἑορταζεσι προδιανυκτερευοντες αναγνωσεσι, κ. λ. Str. lib. i. p. 340. B.

[b] — ἡν οἱ μεν το ἁγιον πνευμα φασιν. Οἱ δε απο Βασιλειδε τον διακονον. Οἱ δε απο Ουαλεντινε το πνευμα της ενθυμησεως τε πατρος, κ. λ. Exc. Theod. n. xvi.

[c] Str. lib. ii. p. 315.

[d] Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 31, 32.

SECTION X.

He is said to have partaken of things offered to idols, and to have denied the necessity or reasonableness of suffering martyrdom.

IRENÆUS, in the place above cited, says they make light of things offered to idols, and partake of them without scruple. But how far they did so, we cannot certainly say. St. Paul forbids eating of them at some times, and upon some occasions only, and undoubtedly he enjoins this agreeably to the directions of the council of Jerusalem.

Basilides is supposed by some to have denied the necessity or reasonableness of our suffering martyrdom for Jesus. Irenæus is thought to point at his followers[a] when he speaks of some heretics, who had a like opinion; and he may be supposed also to intend the same thing when he says they make no scruple to eat of things offered to idols. Origen too informs us[b] that at least they detracted from the honour of martyrdom. The author of the additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions[c] plainly says they denied the necessity of it; as[d] doth Philaster and Epiphanius,[e] who all probably copied one from another. However, I do not think that we ought hence to conclude that there were no martyrs among the Basilidians; or that they thought themselves excused from suffering for the truth's sake. But we perceive from the notion of Basilides before taken notice of, that he might be reasonably said to have detracted from the honour of the martyrs. And some might be willing to conclude that he denied martyrdom to be a duty, or that confessing Jesus in times of danger was required of us. But this is a consequence drawn for him by others, from some of his opinions,

[a] Et cum hæc ita se habeant, ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam, ut etiam martyres spernant, et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur. Iren. lib. iii. cap. 18. n. iv.

[b] Basilidis quoque sermones detrahentes quidem iis qui usque ad mortem certant pro veritate, ut confiteantur coram hominibus Jesum. Ir. Matt. Tom. iii. p. 856. F. Bened.

[c] Martyria negat esse facienda. De Pr. c. 46. p. 250. D. 215. 3.

[d] Prohibet etiam pati martyrium homines pro nomine Christi, dicens ita; Ignoras, quid desideras. Non enim natus est, inquit, Christus, neque crucifixus est. Philast. H. 32.

[e] *Διδασκει δε—μη δειν μαρτυρειν.* Epiph. H. 24. n. iv. p. 71.

and not what he himself allows. For it appears from several passages before quotod from Clement, that he esteemed martyrdom an honourable suffering, though some sins were therein accounted for.

SECTION XI.

He believed that only the soul would be saved.

IRENÆUS also assures us[a] that Basilides taught that the soul only would be saved; but the body is in its nature corruptible, and incapable of immortality. And here undoubtedly we may rely upon Irenæus. All in general who held two principles, and had a disadvantageous opinion of matter, as evil in itself, and the cause of all evils in this sublunary world, denied the resurrection of the flesh, or the body.[b] And possibly this too was one reason why some said that Basilides discouraged martyrdom, and denied that we ought to confess the name of Jesus in times of danger. For to deny that the body which suffered should have any share in future recompences, was to discourage martyrdom, and to take away one motive for engaging men to submit to death in the cause of Christ.

SECTION XII.

He is falsely accused of believing that actions are indifferent in their own nature.

IRENÆUS farther says of the Basilidians[a] that all actions whatever, and all kinds of lewdness, are looked upon by them as indifferent. To the like purpose some other ancient writers, as Philaster[b] and Epiphanius.[c]

[a] Vide note [d], in p. 350, 351. [b] Carnis resurrectionem graviter impugnat, negans salutem corporibus repromissam. Tertul. Pr. cap. 46. p. 250. B. p. 215. 3. ηρνηθη δε και ετος της σαρκος την αναστασιν. The. H. F. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 195. C. [a] Habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem et universæ libidinis. Iren. ubi sup. l. i. cap. 23. 98. Gr. [b] Hic etiam male permittit vivere, et dat licentiam vitiis secularibus adhærere. Philast. H. 32. p. 69.

[c] Πασαν επιτηδευσιν κακομηχανιας και ασελγειας επιτρεπει τοις αυτω μαθη-

On this last assertion of Irenæus, from whom the others copied, it is proper to observe,

1. That the making no difference in things, or saying that all actions are indifferent, is absolutely inconsistent with the notions of Basilides concerning the Deity, expressed in the passage before cited, that no evil thing was to be imputed to Providence: and his great aversion to allow what seemed to be the consequence of this doctrine, relating to martyrs, farther confirms this. Certainly such an one could not esteem all actions alike, or make no difference between virtue and vice, righteousness and unrighteousness. No; he thought that the one ought to be inviolably adhered to, and the other to be abhorred. Moreover, in the article of Saturninus, from whom Basilides, it is likely, did not differ on this head, Irenæus expressly says that it was his opinion that the Saviour came for the condemnation of bad men and dæmons, and for the salvation of good men; and that many of his followers practised great temperance. Therefore there are good and bad actions from which men are denominated; and God approves those who do the one, and dislikes those who do the other.

2. There are still in Clement of Alexandria remaining passages of Basilides, wherein he shows that he had right sentiments concerning these matters, and condemns the thought and intention of evil, as well as the outward action. In the passage which I refer to,[d] he seems to have an eye to our Lord's words in Matt. v. 21—28, and his doctrine is the same. In another place Clement represents[e] the comment of Basilides and his followers upon Matt. xix. 10—15, to be to this purpose: 'Some,' say they, 'have a 'natural aversion for women. They who have this consti- 'tution, do well not to marry. These,' say they, 'are such 'as are eunuchs from their birth. Others are so out of 'necessity, as they who exercise in the theatre, who for 'the sake of glory practise continence. Some have been 'mutilated by some accident, and are also eunuchs by ne- 'cessity, not by choice. Finally, there are some who make 'themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, who,

ματευομενες, επιτελειν ανδρας μετα γυναικων πολυμιξιαν. Epiph. H. 24. n. iii. p. 71 B.

[d] *Ὡς γαρ ὁ μοιχευσαι θελων μοιχος ετι, καν τε μοιχευσαι μη επιτυχῃ· και ὁ ποιησαι φονον θελων, ανδροφονος ετι, καν μη δυνηται φονευσαι. κ. λ.* Str. l. 4. p. 506. C.

[e] *Οἱ δε απο Βασιλειδε, πυθομενων, φασι, των αποστολων μη ποτε αμεινον ετι το μη γαμειν, αποκρινασθαι λεγεσι τον Κυριον—οἱ δε ενεκα της αιωνιε βασιλειας ευνουχισαντες ἑαυτες, δια τα εκ τε γαμε φασι συμβαινοντα.* Strom. lib. 3. p. 426. A. B.

'though they have a desire of marriage, decline it, fearing 'the incumbrances of that state.'

Whereupon Beausobre observes: 'Here[f] we see the true 'sentiments of Basilides upon the subject of continence, 'about which men thought differently at that time. Some 'made it a necessary virtue, and condemned marriage as a 'work of the flesh. Others exalted continence as the most 'sublime virtue, though they did not condemn marriage as 'evil and sinful. Others considered it not as a virtue in 'itself, but as a state of life which had its usefulness and 'convenience, especially in times of persecution, because it 'delivered a christian from the cares and concerns insepa-'rable from the marriage state. This last seems to have 'been the sentiment of Basilides. He did not esteem con-'tinence a virtue in itself. If there were two honest and 'faithful men, he did not give the preference to him who 'continued single above the other who lived in lawful mar-'riage. He was willing that all should follow the condition 'to which they were called by nature. He despised an af-'fected and hypocritical continence. He set no value upon 'forced virginity, or upon those who made ostentation of it, 'that they might be preferred to others; but he approved 'of that continence which was pure, free, and chosen for 'the kingdom of heaven's sake. There needs no great 'penetration to discern that all the fault of Basilides lay in 'not extolling continence to the heavens, in not giving it 'the preference above honest marriage, in not promising 'particular crowns and thrones to such as made profession 'of it. This too was the fault of Jovinian. And the man-'ner in which Jerom treated him gives just ground to think 'that he treated Basilides no better for an opinion that was 'very right, at least very innocent. Few persons of anti-'quity thought justly of marriage and continence, and 'abstinences in general, and all that is called the ascetic 'life.' So Beausobre.

3. Finally, Clement of Alexandria has borne testimony to the moral principles of Basilides and his son Isidore. There were Basilidians at Alexandria that were vicious. Having put down the passage before taken notice of, and some others from Isidore, 'I have alleged[g] these passages,' says Clement, 'to confound those Basilidians who live ill; 'for the first authors of their sect did not allow them to do

[f] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 43.

[g] *Ταυτας παρεθεμην τας φωνας εις ελεγχον των μη βιεντων ορθως Βασιλιδιανων'—επει μηδε ταυτα αυτοις πραττειν συγχωρησιν οι προπατορες των δογματων.* Str. lib. iii. p. 427. C. ed. Paris. p. 510. ed. Potteri.

'so.' I cannot help observing farther that there is another passage of Basilides in Clement of Alexandria, expressing great strictness, if not severity, which must surely show that he did not favour corruption of manners; for he held that[h] of sins committed even before faith, or baptism, those only would be forgiven which were involuntary, and done through ignorance.

SECTION XIII.

A probable account of the foundation of this charge.

IT may be here asked, if this be so, how came it to pass that Irenæus and others charge Basilides and his followers with immoral doctrines and practices?

I answer, this may have proceeded from divers causes. Men are too susceptible of wrong impressions to the prejudice of such as are of different sentiments, and whom they think to be in error; and if some professors of it are bad, they are ready to infer that all are so, or that they act upon principle. Besides, some of the ancient heretics did hold principles which were liable to be abused, and their adversaries might possibly conclude that they actually were abused by those who maintained them. The Basilidians[a] and some others[b] had a notion that God was not to be feared, but loved only. Tertullian indeed represents it as the common opinion of heretics[c] that God was not to be feared; and thence he infers that they were given up to all kinds of licentiousness. I therefore entirely agree with Beausobre, who[d] thinks it to be highly probable that this induced many to impute licentiousness of manners to the Basilidians and other Gnostics. Another principle liable to be abused

[h] Πλην ϑδε πασας ὁ Βασιλειδης φησι, μονας δε τας ακουσιϑς και κατα αγνοιαν, αφιεσθαι. Str. lib. iv. p. 536. B.

[a] Vid. Clem. Str. 375. C. D. ed. Paris. p. 448. ed. Potteri.

[b] Ναι, φησιν, ου χρη Θεον φοβεισθαι, αλλα αγαπαν—Αλλ' ὁ φοβος εκπλησσει την ψυχην. Simon. ap. Hom. Clem. 17. n. xi. p. 735.

[c] Negant Deum timendum. Itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta. De Præs. Hær. c. 43. p. 248. B. p. 213. 43. See also many quotations to the same purpose under the chapter of Marcion.

[d] Il est bien vraisemblable, que c'est là ce qui fit attribuer aux Basilidiens, et aux autres Gnostiques, des mœurs impures et profanes. Que doit on penser de gens, qui font profession de ne point craindre Dieu? Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 32. n. ii.

was the doctrine concerning two natures, one good in itself, the other bad; which was the opinion of Saturninus, and with which agreed the Basilidian doctrine concerning election. Clement seems to have thought that possibly some of the Basilidians did abuse this last-mentioned doctrine, and reckoned themselves licensed to sin; but then he assures us that their first leaders did not allow of this consequence, or encourage their followers to act as these corrupt ones did. Nor does Clement impute this to them as what was really their opinion. He only says of those who did not live well, that 'they lived[e] as if they had liberty to sin, 'because of their perfection, or as if they must certainly be 'saved by nature, and through election, however they sin 'now.'

SECTION XIV.

He is also accused of using magic and incantations.

IRENÆUS farther says, that the Basilidians make use[a] of magic, and incantations, and invocations, and other curious arts. It should be observed here that Tertullian, the most ancient copier of Irenæus, says nothing of this kind; and as we have only a Latin translation of this chapter of Irenæus, and various readings even in that,[b] it is not unlikely that this may be a corrupted place: especially, as neither Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, who omit no opportunity of reproaching the Basilidians, lay any thing of this kind to their charge. It may be farther remarked that the ancient fathers perpetually confound astronomy and astrology with magic; mathematician and magician are with them the same. All these considerations make me very doubtful about the truth of this accusation. I would not however be understood to deny their using some superstitious practices, in order to deliver themselves from certain maladies. Others, even orthodox christians, did this at

[e] *Ὡς ητοι εχοντων εξεσιαν και τϐ αμαρτειν δια την τελειοτητα, η παντως γε σωθησομενων φυσει, καν νυν αμαρτωσι δια την εμφυτον εκλογην.* Clem. Strom. lib. iii. p. 427. C. ed. Paris. p. 510. ed. Potteri.

[a] Utuntur autem et hi magiâ, et incantationibus, et invocationibus, et reliquâ universâ periergiâ. Ad. Hær. lib. i. cap. 23. p. 98. Gr.

[b] Massuet reads *magiâ et imaginibus.* Feuardentius has rejected *imaginibus*, and so has Grabe. Epiphanius and Theodoret have only magic. See Beaus. H. M. T. ii. p. 45. n. 18. Grabe. not. in loc.

Antioch, long after the Basilidian heresy was extinct, as will appear in the sequel. The notion of dæmons, or the souls of dead men having the power over living men, was universally prevalent among the heathens, and was believed by many[c] christians. The Valentinians[d] said that baptism in the name of Jesus was sufficient to deliver christians from the power of these. Perhaps the Basilidians, who resembled the Valentinians in many respects, might be of the same opinion. Many of the fathers were believers in the efficacy of certain names to expel dæmons. Justin Martyr,[e] in his dispute with Trypho the Jew, assures us that 'all dæmons 'submit to the name of Jesus; but when you use any other 'name, either of kings, righteous men, prophets, or patri-'archs, they will not submit: but if any one adjure them 'by the God of Abraham, of Isaac, or of Jacob, they per-'haps will obey. Wherefore your exorcists use some cer-'tain arts, as well as those of the Gentiles, in adjuring them, 'together with certain fumes and ligatures.' Irenæus[f] himself says that the Jews even now use this invocation, the name of God, to drive away dæmons. Origen[g] likewise informs us that the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, joined to the name of God, have such power, that not only the Jews use them in their prayers to God, and in casting out dæmons, but also all other exorcists. And he in another place asserts[h] that 'many use this expression, the God 'of Abraham, to cast out dæmons, without knowing who 'Abraham was.' If therefore Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Origen, believed the use of certain names to be thus powerful in expelling dæmons, it is not at all improbable that the Basilidians, who undoubtedly were filled with the same notions of dæmonism which had overrun the whole world,

[c] *Δαιμονας αψυχες, νεκρων ειδωλα καμοντων.* Sibyllinor. lib. viii. p. 684. ed. Gallæi. See also p. 27. note A, under the article Lucius. C. H. section 10.

[d] In Eclo. Theod. sect. 74. et seq. See before, B. 1.

[e] *Κατα γαρ τ̃ ονοματος αυτ̃ τ̃τε τ̃ υἱ̃ τ̃ Θε̃—παν δαιμονιον εξορκι-ζομενον νικαται, και ὑποτασσεται· εαν δε κατα παντος ονοματος των παρ' ὑμιν γεγενημενων, η βασιλεων, η δικαιων, η προφητων, η πατριαρχων, εξορκιζητε ὑμεις, ακ ὑποταγησεται ακ̃εν των δαιμονιων· αλλ' ει αρα εξορκιζοι τις ὑμων κατα τ̃ Θε̃ Αβρααμ,—ισως υποταγησεται, κ. τ. λ.* Jus. Mar. Dial. 2. p. 320, 1. ed. Thirlby.

[f] Et propter hoc Judæi usque nunc hac ipsâ adfatione dæmonas effugant. Iren. lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 123. ed. Grabe.

[g] *'Ων τοσ̃τον ὑναται τα ονοματα συναπτομενα τ̃ τ̃ Θε̃ προσηγοριᾳ, ὡς ὁ μονον τ̃ς απο τ̃ εθνους χρησθαι εν ταις προς Θεον ευχαις, και εν το κατεπᾳδειν δαιμονας, τ̣ῳ, ὁ Θεος Αβρααμ, και ὁ Θεος Ισαακ, και ὁ Θεος Ιακωβ· αλλα γαρ σχεδον και παντας τ̃ς τα των επῳδων και μαγειων πραγματευομενους.* Con. Cel. lib. iv. p. 183, 4. ed. Spenceri. Opp. Tom. i. p. 526. n. xxxiii. ed. Bened.

[h] *Παραλαμβανουσι την, Θεος Αβρααμ, λεξιν, ουκ επισ̃αμενοι δε τις εσ̃ιν ὁ Αβρααμ.* Ib. lib. i. p. 17. ed. Spenceri. Opp. Tom. i. p. 339. n. xxii. Bened.

should use the name of Jesus to deliver those whom they supposed to be possessed from the power of dæmons; or should regard baptism and faith as sufficient preservatives against their influence. But they ought not on this account to be accused of magic. Superstitious and faulty they undoubtedly were, but not more so than many of the catholics. 'The magicians,' says Clement of Alexandria, 'boast[i] that 'they have dæmons as ministers of their impiety, and, as it 'were, enrolled in the number of their domestics; and that 'they force them to become their servants by their incan-'tations.' But this is very different from believing that baptism in the name of Jesus, or invoking him, will deliver them from the power of dæmons, when they think themselves possessed; or be a preservative against such influence. The former is in a high degree criminal, and what no consistent christian could ever comply with. The latter was the general sentiment of christians for many centuries.

SECTION XV.

Of the meaning of Caulacau, and his definition of faith and hope.

THE Basilidians use the word Caulacau,[a] and apply it to a person: Theodoret says[b] to the Saviour of the world. It

[i] *Μαγοι δε ηδη, ασεβειας της σφων αυτων υπηρετας δαιμονας αυχȣσιν, οικετας αυτȣς ἑαυτοις καταγραψαντες τȣς κατηναγκασμενȣς, δȣλȣς ταις επαοιδαις πεποιηκοτες.* Coh. ad Gentes, p. 39. C. ed. Paris. p. 52. ed. Potteri.

[a] Quemadmodum et mundus nomen esse, in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse Salvatorem, esse Caulacau. Igitur qui hæc didicerit, et angelos omnes cognoverit, et causas eorum, invisibilem et incomprehensibilem eum angelis et potestatibus universis fieri, quemadmodum et Caulacau fuisse. Iren. l. i. cap. 23. p. 98, 99. ed. Grabe. Beausobre would amend this, which Grabe says is corrupted, by changing *mundus* into *mundi*, and leaving out the first *esse*. But this, he owns, will not agree with the following sentence, where *Caulacau* is attributed to a person, and is not the name of the world. This is agreeable to what Theodoret says. I think a sense may be made out by reading in connexion with the preceding context, as follows: Et deinceps nituntur 365 ementitorum cœlorum nomina, et principia, et angelos, et virtutes exponere quemadmodum et mundi nomen; in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse Salvatorem, qui est Caulacau. The meaning then will be, they endeavour to explain the names, elements, angels, and virtues of these 365 feigned heavens, as also the name of this world, (that is, the name assigned it in their system of astronomy,) into which the Saviour descended, and then ascended from it again, who himself was called Caulacau: and that he who knows all these angels, and can explain their origin and causes, will himself become invisible and incomprehensible to all these angels and powers, as Caulacau or the Saviour himself was.

[b] *Τον δε Σωτηρα και Κυριον Καυλακαυαν ονομαζȣσι.* Hær. Fab. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 195. D.

is taken from Isaiah xxviii. 10,[c] where we have translated it, line upon line, but the Seventy render it, 'hope upon 'hope,' ελπιδα επ' ελπιδι. The only meaning that can be drawn from which, if understood in the sense of the Seventy, is, that they regarded our Saviour as the foundation and support of all their hopes; a sentiment becoming christians, though expressed in an affected, enigmatical manner.

I would just observe farther concerning the opinions of Basilides, that he defines faith to be[d] an assent of the soul to the truth of things which are not perceivable by the senses, because they are not present, and hope he calls an expectation of good.

SECTION XVI.

Of the name Abraxas, which he is said to have given to the prince of the heavens.

WE come now to what Irenæus says farther, that 'they[a] 'call the prince of the heavens Abraxas, that name having 'in it the number three hundred and sixty-five.' The very same thing is said by Theodoret, who seems to have copied him.[b]

Upon this occasion we are led to consider a common notion among the moderns, that the Basilidians had amulets, or preservatives, or magical figures, with certain inscriptions. There are in the cabinets of the curious great numbers of stones or gems, which are usually ascribed to them. When I read the account of these things in Montfaucon's Anti-

[c] The words in the original are קו לקו. If we consider this as derived from קוה to *stretch out*, it may metaphorically refer to the stretching of the mind towards an object, and therefore may signify hope or expectation. Thus the Seventy understood it. And as the Basilidians were most prevalent in Ægypt, they undoubtedly used this translation, and would therefore naturally understand the words in the sense there given. If understood in that sense, and applied as a name to our Saviour, it seems to imply what is asserted above.

[d] Ὁριζονται γαν οἱ απο Βασιλειδη την πιστιν, ψυχης συνκαταθεσιν προς τι των μη κινητων αισθησιν, δια το μη παρειναι. Ελπις δε προσδοκια κτησεως αγαθη. Clem. Strom. lib. ii. p. 371. A. B. ed. Paris. p. 443. ed. Potter.

[a] Esse autem principem illorum (cœlorum) Αβραξας, et propter hoc ccclxv. numerum habere in se. Iren. lib. i. cap. 23. p. 99. ed. Grabe.

[b] Ειναι δε τον αρχοντα αυτων φησιν Αβραξας, ἡ γαρ ψηφος τη ονοματος των τ. ξ. ε. ερανων σημαινει τον αριθμον. H. E. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 195. D.

quity explained, where the collection is very large, I thought they were too numerous, too costly, and too heathenish, to be remains of any christian sect.

SECTION XVII.

Of the number, costliness, and heathenish origin of those gems called Abraxæi.

THEY are, I say, very numerous. The collections that have been made of these things are very large: and many more may be in being, not yet discovered; and others undoubtedly totally lost. The costliness appears in the number and in the materials. They are indeed too considerable to have been the production and possession of all the christians of the first three centuries, though they had all taken delight in such things. That they are heathenish, and Ægyptian, is obvious at first sight. And truly Montfauçon was in the right to let his plates of Abraxas follow his Ægyptian deities. I put in the margin[a] some passages from him, acknowledging all these three particulars—their numbers, costliness, and heathenish origin. For, he says, there are in the cabinets of Europe almost innumerable engraved gems of this kind; and they have on them the figures or images of the cock, the dog, the lion, the ape, and the sphinx, all well known to be symbols of heathen deities, some of one god, some of another. They have also on them, beside Iao, Adonai, and Abraxas, the names and images of Isis,

[a] I. Quis putaret portentosam illam religionem a viris christianam religionem profitentibus adoptandam, et cum sacris ejus mysteriis commiscendam fore? Quis illam de diis ineptam monstrosamque opinionem nationis omnium superstitiosissimæ cum arcanis sanctissimisque veræ religionis mysteriis conjungendam unquam credidisset? Illud tamen secundo ecclesiæ seculo fecêre Gnostici, Basilidiani, et Valentiniani. Irenæus, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, aliique patres, hæreticæ hujusmodi impietatis ceu specimen tantum dederunt: monumenta ab illis hæreticis relicta, quæ ad usque nostram ætatem devenerunt, multa nos docent, quæ, iis indiciis destituta, in æternam inducta oblivionem fuissent. II. Musea multa per Europam innumeras pene insculptas gemmas subministrant, ubi cum nominibus sacris Iao, quod idem est atque Jehova Sabaoth, Adonai, frequentius cum nomine Abraxas, figuræ visuntur sive galli, sive canis, leonis, item simiæ, sphingis. In iis etiam conspiciuntur Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Canopus, Scarabæus, et quicquid Ægyptii in deorum numerum retulerant. Illud autem docent gemmæ illæ, quæ ideo Abraxas vocantur, quia illud nomen frequentius, quam alia nomina, ibi occurrit. Montf. Antiquité expliquée. Lib. iii. cap. 1. Tom. ii. P. ii. p. 353.

Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Canopus, Scarabæus, and every kind of thing which the Ægyptians placed among their gods. Of these figures Montfauçon has six-and-thirty plates well filled. They are so numerous that he found it needful, for the sake of order and perspicuity, to divide them into several classes, seven in number, which I place in the margin.[b]

SECTION XVIII.

Of the derivation and meaning of the word Abraxas, and to what the Basilidians applied it.

BEFORE I proceed any farther in this argument, I would observe concerning the word Abraxas, that many learned men have inquired into its derivation and meaning. Beausobre, in whom the opinions of some others may be seen, hath given a probable solution[a] of it, which I shall notice hereafter.

I must also premise that many learned moderns affirm that the[b] Basilidians used to call the supreme God Abraxas. For this they have the authority of Jerom,[c] and of the author of the additions to Tertullian's book[d] of Prescriptions.

[b] Ex istâ, ut videtur, officinâ diffusus est ille ingens lapillorum numerus, qui in multis Europæ museis visuntur, quorumque copia in dies nova eruitur. Plusquam sexaginta in hoc cœnobio sunt. c. 3. n. i. p. 357. Alia hujusmodi bene multa variis ex locis amuleta corrasimus. Hæc cum iis conjuncta, quæ Chiffletus in editione libelli Joannis Mæcarii publicavit, et cum iis quæ aliis in libris sunt emissa, amplam efficient collectionem, quam septem in classes distribuimus. Prima classis est Abraxæorum schematum cum capite galli: secunda eorum, quorum vel caput vel corpus leonis est, quorum inscriptio sæpe est Mithras: tertia eorum, quæ vel inscriptionem vel figuram Serapidis habent: quarta eorum quæ vel Anubim vel Scarabæos, vel serpentes aut sphingas, aut simias præferunt: quinta eorum, quæ figuras exhibent humanas, vel alatas, vel alis carentes: sexta est inscriptionum absque figuris, et inscriptionum Hebræarum: septima eorum quæ insolitam, portentosioremque formam præ se ferunt. Ibid. n. ii. p. 358.

[a] Histoire de Manich. T. ii. p. 55, 56.

[b] Ibid. T. ii. p. 52—54. See also Grabe's notes upon Irenæus, on the word Abraxas, p. 99.

[c] Tunc Basilides summum Deum Abraxas cum 365 Æonibus commentatus est. Adv. Lucif. p. 304. In. Ut Basilides, qui omnipotentem Deum appellat Abraxas, et eundem secundum Græcas literas, et anni cursûs numerum dicit in solis circulo contineri; quem ethnici, sub eodem numero aliarum literarum, vocant Mithram. In Os. c. iii. p. 1392.

[d] Postea Basilides hæreticus erupit: hic esse dicit summum Deum nomine Abraxan, a quo mentem creatam, quam Græce νεν appellat. De Præs. cap. 46. p. 214. 41. Fran. 1597.

But these writers are mistaken, as we may conclude from Irenæus, whose authority is much better. From him we learn their opinion was that[e] the Father of all was ineffable, or without a name. He also assures us that Abraxas[f] was the first of their three hundred and sixty-five heavens, or the prince of the angels that resided in them. Indeed I think if Abraxas had been their name for the Supreme Deity, Irenæus would have mentioned it at the beginning of his article, and not at the end, in his account of their notion about the heavens.

Epiphanius seems to say they[g] place the power or prince Abrasax at the head of their powers or principalities. Philaster has not one word about Abraxas in his article of Basilides, though it be longer than usual. Augustine only says,[h] it was with them a sacred name, because it contained in it the number three hundred and sixty-five. Tillemont says little of the meaning of Abraxas, because he found I suppose but little of it in the ancient authors which he perused. I have inserted in the note below[i] all that he says of the Basilidians; likewise[k] what he further mentions concerning this name.

[e] Innatum autem ei innominatum patrem. Iren. lib. i. cap. 23. p. 98. Gr.

[f] Vid. p. 370, note [a].

[g] Λεγει δε την υπερανω τετων δυναμιν ειναι, και αρχην αβρασαξ. κ. τ. λ. Hær. 24. n. vii.

The name is found written both ways in ancient authors, Abraxas and Abrasax. Il est vrai que on lit Abrasax et Abraxas, en mettant un X (Ξ) pour une S (Σ) mais outre qu'il l'a fallu, a fin que les lettres numérales fissent le nombre de trois-cens soixante cinq, c'est qu'il est assez ordinaire aux Grecs de mettre le Ξι pour Σιγμα, un X pour une S. Les exemples en sont frequens dans Platon. Les Athéniens en particulier le fasoient. Beausobre, His. de Manich. Tom. ii. p. 56.

[h] Quod trecentos sexaginta quinque cœlos esse dicebat, quo numero dierum annus includitur. Unde etiam quasi sanctum nomen commendabat, quod est Αβραξας: cujus nominis literæ, secundum Græcam supputationem, eundem numerum complent. Hær. iv. T. vi. p. 4. Venet. 1570.

[i] S. Jérome comptoit apparemment ces cieux imaginaires lorsqu'il dit, que Basilide avoit inventé 365 éons ou siécles avec un soverain Dieu Abraxas. Car, à cause que ce mot d' Abraxas, ou Abrasax, selon d' autres contient dans le chiffre Grec le nombre de 365, les Basilidiens en fasoient un nom sacré. Mem. Eccle. Basilid. Tom. ii. p. 220.

[k] Abraxas ou Abrasax, nom superstitieux parmi les Basilidiens, et peut-être leur Dieu. H. p. 220.

SECTION XIX.

It probably referred to their philosophical Arcana.

IF the Basilidians made use of the word Abraxas, as it appears from Irenæus[a] they did, it is very probable they applied it to the arcana of their philosophy, and not to their theology. Jerom assures us[b] that it is the same with Mythras. Now Mythras is the deity which the Persians worship, or the Sun. This at once explains why Abraxas is said to be the chief of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, or angels who reside in them, and rule over the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. For the sun being the fountain of light, and the immediate cause of day, may with great propriety be said to preside over all the days of the year. He may also, in the hieroglyphical language, be said to contain in himself the parts of which the year is composed, and to rule over it. The word Abraxas is made up of those elements of the Greek alphabet, which in numeration[c] have the value of three hundred and sixty-five. It is therefore a technical term, and is much in the spirit of the cabalistic or oriental philosophy; this, joined with that hieroglyphical turn for which the Ægyptians were remarkable, will account for the emblematical figures that appear on several of those gems and stones called by Montfauçon,[d]

[a] Vid. p. 370, of this chap. note [a]. [b] Ibid. p. 372, note [c].

[c] $\alpha=1\ \beta=2\ \rho=100\ \alpha=1\ \xi=60\ \alpha=1\ \sigma=200$; $1+2+100+1+60+1+200=365$. Μιθρας eundem numerum valet. Vid. Spanh. His. Ecc. secundi seculi de Basilidianis.

[d] Extra seriem vulgarium, quæ in nummis et marmoribus adhibentur, formarum ponimus eas, quæ in amuletis, vulgo Talismans, usurpantur. Amuleta autem hujusmodi, in gemmis et lapillis variæ formæ et magnitudinis insculpta, Abraxas etiam vocantur, et magno numero visuntur in museis variis, in nostroque nominatum non pauca, portentosis figuris, præstigiis characteribusque non vulgaribus oppleta.—Hi vero Basilidiani, a Basilide parente nuncupati, virtutes et angelos multos esse putabant; quorum primum et præcipuum, atque, ut ait Epiphanius, superiorem angelorum virtutem ac principium, Abrasax nuncupabant: quia hæ literæ, si numerice accipiantur, τξέ, id est, 365, conficiunt, quot scilicet diebus sol cursum absolvit—totidemque virtutes numerabant—His itaque 365 virtutibus totidem anni dies designabant; vel singulas singulis diebus præesse somniabant: quibus omnibus præfici ac dominari Abraxam suum, sive solem, opinabantur. Hinc est, quod hanc virtutem Αβρασαξ, (frequentur item Αβραξας conscribunt,) cum radiis aliisque solaribus symbolis depingant; videlicet, in lapillis et gemmis.—His porro omnibus solem subindicant. Nam gallus gallinaceus, utpote solis prænuntius,

Abraxæi. There is, however, no sufficient evidence to prove that all his classes are entitled to that name, because on very many that word is not found; and there is still less proof that they belonged to the Basilidians.

SECTION XX.

The gems called Abraxæi were used by the heathens as charms.

EVERY one knows that, in the system of ancient mythology, Apollo and the sun were the same; Apollo was also the god[a] of healing. On this account, in the true spirit of hieroglyphics and mythology, these gems were undoubtedly used by the heathens, and probably were used by some superstitious christians, who being but lately converted, still retained a relish for their former absurdities, as amulets or charms, to drive away agues and other diseases. It is not unlikely that such were found among the orthodox as well as among the Basilidians. For Montfaucon acknowledges it, and indeed proves it[b] by a quotation from Chrysostom, that long after the Basilidian heresy was extinct, the christians at Antioch used to bind brass coins of Alexander the

solis symbolum est. Flagellum autem, equis solaribus agitandis instrumentum: unde in multis hujusmodi Abraxæis gemmis equorum quadriga præfertur, aurigante juvene radiato, videlicet sole.—Leo item, maxime radiatus, solem designat, stellisque stipatur, ut subindicetur, quemadmodum leo inter animalia, sic solem inter astra, principem obtinere locum. Est ubi etiam ad typum leonis Μιθρας, aliquando Μιθραξ, inscribitur; quo nomine solem gentiles vocabant. Hic vero cultus à Persis ad Romanos et Græcos emanaverat. Montfaucon. Palæogra. Græc. l. ii. c. 8. p. 177, 178.

[a] Inventum medicina meum est; opiferque per orbem
Dicor; et herbarum subjecta potentia nobis.
Ovid. Met. lib. i. v. 521.

[b] Consuetudo illa superstitiosa gestandi numismata Alexandri Magni, ac si vim quandam opitulandi habuissent, apud christianos Antiochenos vigebat. In quem vere damnandum morem sic invehitur Chrysostomus in catachesi secundâ ad populum Antiochenum: Quid de illis dicatur, inquit, qui incantationibus et ligamentis utuntur, quique capiti pedibusque suis nummos æneos Alexandri Macedonis alligant? Hæccine spes nostra? An, post crucem et mortem Servatoris, in regem profanæ religionis spem nostram habebimus? Montfaucon's Antiq. Expl. p. 373. Jam supra vidimus in multorum lapillorum inscriptionibus, eos ad morbos curandos fuisse datos. Hujusmodi præstigiæ in omnibus pene christianismi seculis usurpatæ sunt. Ibid. 377, 8.

Great about their feet and heads, to keep off or drive away diseases. It is nothing wonderful then if in Ægypt, a country overrun with superstition, some of the new converts to christianity should weakly join with the heathens in the use of charms and amulets.

SECTION XXI.

The christians accused of worshipping Serapis.

THIS appears to be fact from a letter of the emperor Adrian, preserved by Vopiscus.[a] A common report was, it seems, then spread in Ægypt, that the christians worshipped Serapis. The letter[b] goes so far as to say that the Jews, the Samaritans, and the christians, that even the chief master of the synagogue, the christian presbyters and bishops, and even the patriarch himself, worshipped Serapis, as well as Christ. Had this accusation been confined to a part of the christians or Jews, or had any particular sort of heretics been mentioned, one might have thought it possible; but the charge is so general that it can never be true. We must therefore seek for something in the customs of those times which will account for the rise of such a calumny. And I think the use of amulets, which it is not improbable prevailed among some of the christians in Ægypt, as we are sure it afterwards did at Antioch, will account for it. The emperor makes no mention of the Basilidians, but charges the christians at large with the crime. It may therefore as well be attributed to the catholics as to them. The truth of the matter seems to be this: the emperor knew very little about the christians, and took up this opinion from common report. He very probably heard that some christians did use such kind of amulets, on which, among other things, the name of Serapis was engraved: and as the hea-

[a] Hist. August. Script. T. ii. p. 719. et seq. ed. Lug. Bat. 1671.

[b] In Ægypto orta fama et calumnia est, christianos Serapin colere. Unde Hadrianus in epistolâ suâ apud Vopiscum hæc habet: 'Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illi, qui Serapin colunt, christiani sunt; devoti sunt Serapidi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archi-synagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo christianorum presbyter; non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille patriarcha, cum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. Montf. Palæo. Græ. p. 178.

thens, in a like situation, would pay a particular regard to the god from whom they expected the cure, and were continually in the use of joining together the worship of all sorts of deities; to him it would appear a very natural conclusion, that the christians who used these amulets worshipped Serapis as well as Christ.

SECTION XXII.

An examination of Montfaucon's figures.

BY an examination of particulars, as given by Montfaucon himself, I shall clearly prove that these gems are of heathenish origin. Many of the figures and inscriptions on them are to the last degree obscene and idolatrous, and consequently could not be the production of any christian sect whatever: they must be pagan, and for the most part Ægyptian. 'It appears to me,' says[a] Beausobre, 'altogether incredible that a sect which made profession of christianity, should have adopted the monsters adored by the 'Ægyptians: or that a man, who boasted of deriving his 'doctrine from Matthias, and from an interpreter of St. Peter, and who received the gospels and the epistles of St. 'Paul, should make images of the Deity, at a time when 'christians had the most excessive aversion to all sorts of 'images, even the most innocent.'

The first class of figures in Montfaucon is of such as have at the top a cock's head, which refers to the Sun,[b] or his influences, as he himself owns. The figures in this class are thirty-six, and are all after the Ægyptian manner. Notwithstanding therefore the word Abraxas be found on some of these, it is no proof that they were the productions of the Basilidians, since they refer to no doctrine of christianity, nor to any of their peculiar notions. It may be rather conjectured from hence, with some degree of probability, that the word was of heathenish origin, perhaps

[a] Hist. Manich. T. ii. cap. 4. p. 51.

[b] Abraxas cum galli capite triginta sex numero proferimus. Gallus sine dubio symbolum solis est, qui flagellum tenet, quasi concitandis equis. Aliquando etiam sol vocatur. Huic galli caput tribuitur, qui hæc avis solem prænuntiat: ubi observandum, schemata hæc omnia Abraxæa vel ad solem, vel ad ejus operationes referri, quemadmodum et aliæ pene omnes Ægyptiacæ figuræ. Mont. ubi sup. p. 358.

invested and used by the oriental cabalists, from whom they adopted it, together with other philosophical arcana.

His second[c] class is of such as have the head, or body, of a lion. The inscription on these is most commonly Mythras. The lion we know to be an Ægyptian hieroglyphic for strength, and also for the vehement heat of the sun; from the figure being radiated, there can be no doubt but it refers to the sun; this, joined with the inscription Mythras, shows that it is of heathenish and Ægyptian origin.

His third class is of those stones, which either have[d] the figure of Serapis, or his name, inscribed on them. One of these represents, on one side, Isis sitting on a lotus naked, with the moon placed on a radiated head; her right hand is raised up, and in her left hand she holds a whip; before her stands an ape, or cercopithecus, in a very obscene posture. The inscription is, 'Serapis is the one Jupiter.' This, and several others in the same plate, are extremely obscene; and though the word Abraxas is found there, yet from several of the symbols it plainly appears that they are pagan, and the God to whose honour they were consecrated was Bacchus, as will be more apparent from some under the next class. The situations of some of the figures, which are particularly mentioned in the quotations, together with the introducing Serapis, Cerberus, and Apis, demonstrate plainly that these stones are monuments of pagan Ægyptian superstition.

On the gems of the fourth class[e] are sphinxes, apes, and

[c] Abraxæa secundæ classis schemata frequentissime occurrunt, variisque modis. Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 4. n. 1. p. 360. Aliquando item leonem designant, modo stellis stipatum, modo radiis fulgentem. Sæpe figuram radiatam effingunt capite leonino, serpentino corpore. Pal. Gr. p. 178. See also p. 371, of this chapter, note [b]. secunda classis, and p. 374, note [d].

[d] In aliquâ vero gemmâ Capelliani Musei. Isis loto insidens nuda, cum lunâ impositâ capiti radiato dexteram erigit, sinistrâ flagellum tenet: in conspectu vero ejus simia erecta cum ithyphallo. Circum autem inscribitur, Εἷς Ζευς Σεραπις, unus Jupiter Serapis. Ab alterâ vero gemmæ facie altera inscriptio legitur, ubi Abraxas memoratur. Ibid. p. 178. In tabulâ sequenti alia D. Capelli Senatoris Veneti Isidem repræsentat flori loti insidentem, ante quam simia est aut cercopithecus cum inscriptione, Εἷς Ζευς Σεραπις. In posticæ partis inscriptione nihil intelligitur usque ad nomen Abraxas. Alia imago Serapidem repræsentat victoriam manu tenentem.—Serapis hic canem Cerberum trino capite ad pedes habet, quo confirmabatur id, quod supra dicebamus, nempe, Serapidem pro Plutone habitum fuisse. Antiq. Ex. p. 362. In aliis lapillis Isis loto insidens, vel Apis stipatus stellis, conspicitur. Est ubi videas ranas insculptas, cancros, monstra varia ex animalibus composita. Obscœnæ passim figuræ, inter hujusmodi symbola deprehenduntur; phalli, ithyphalli, et similia: quæ omnia quâ mente cum christianis mysteriis homines illi, qui sese christianos mentiebantur, admiscuerint, quis divinare possit? Pal. Gr. p. 179.

[e] Sphinges atque simiæ similiter in hisce lapillis occurrunt. Quæ ex museo

other animals of that sort. He particularly describes one having on it a winged sphinx, with a serpent placed just before it. The head of the serpent is ornamented with those insignia which are appropriated to Ægyptian deities; and on the reverse is this inscription, 'To the honour of father 'Bacchus.' From which inscription, considered in connection with the symbols which we have mentioned as belonging to this class, it plainly appears that Bacchus was the deity in honour of whom these gems were wrought. And as Macrobius[f] hath informed us that Apollo and Bacchus are the same deities, the conjecture and observations of Beausobre[g] are confirmed, that Abraxas, or Abrasax, is

sanctæ Genovesæ est imago, sphingem exhibet alatam, quæ serpentem coram se positum habet, et ornatum capitis gestat Ægyptiacis numinibus proprium. In posticâ parte circa uvam legitur hæc inscriptio, Hon. Pat. Bib. quæ significat, ut R. P. Molinetus putat, Honori Patris Biberi aut Liberi. Ibid. p. 364.

[f] Aristoteles, qui theologumena scripsit, Apollinem, et Liberum patrem unum eundemque Deum esse, cum multis argumentis asserit, &c. Euripides, in Licymnio, Appollinem Liberumque unum eundemque Deum esse significans, scribit, Δεσποτα φιλοδαφνε, Βακχε, Παιαν, Απολλον, ευλυρε. Nulla ex his dubitatio sit Solem ac Liberum patrem ejusdem numinis habendum. Absolute tamen hoc argumentis liquidioribus adstruetur. In sacris enim hæc religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut sol cum in supero, id est, in diurno hemisphærio est, Apollo vocitetur: cum in infero, id est nocturno, Dionysus, qui est Liber Pater, habeatur.—Solem Liberum esse, manifeste pronuntiat Orpheus hoc versu:

Ἡλιος, ὁν Διονυσον επικλησιν καλεῦσιν.
Macrobii Sat. l. i. c. 18. p. 199, 200, 202.

[g] Je croi donc qu' Abraxas ou Abrasax est composé de deux mots Grecs. Le premier est Αβρος, qui a diverses significations, mais, entr' autres, celles de *Beau de Magnifique;* C'est une epithete ou un attribut du Dieu appellé Iao, comme on le voit dans cet oracle d'Apollon de Claros:

Χειματι μεν τ' Αϊδην, Δια δ' ειαρος αρχομενοιο
Ηελιον δε θερει, μετοπωρῳ δ' ἀβρον Ιαω.

Mais ἀβρος signifie aussi *Beau, Superbe, Majestueux;* de la vient ἀβρα βανειν de Euripide, pour dire une démarche superbe, majestueuse.—Dans les vers que je viens d'alléguer, Iao est Bacchus. Mais Bacchus est le Soleil—ἀβρος est une epithète du Soleil. Le second mot Grec dont Abrasax est composé, est ou celui de Σαω qui est souvent employé dans Homère, et qui veut dire, 'sauver, guérir,' ou celui de Σα qui signifie 'salut, santé.'—Et ce qui confirme encore cette conjecture, c'est la figure LXIX. de Chifflet, dont l'inscription commence par les mots Grecs, Εγω σα Σαω α Α. Ω. Ces paroles sont prononcées par Abraxas, dont le nom vient aussi-tot après. C'est moi, dit il, qui vous conduis, vous et tout ce qui vous regarde. C'est moi, qui vous conserve, ou qui vous sauve. Je suis Alpha et Omega. Il y a au dessous de l'inscription un serpent qui tient sa queue dans sa gueule et dans le cercle qu'il décrit, ces trois lettres Greques ΤΞΕ, qui sont le nombre 365. Le serpent, qui est d' ordinaire un emblème de l'éternité est ici celui du soleil et de ses revolutions. Hist. de Manich. Tom ii. p. 55, 56. n. vii.

derived from two Greek words, which signify, Magnificent Saviour. For the epithet *αβρος*, the first part of Abrasax, is particularly applied to Apollo and to Bacchus. No objection can be framed against this from the name Serapis being so often used in those of the former class; for Serapis is there said to be the one Jupiter. On other gems, as Montfaucon asserts,[h] he was considered as the same with Pluto. It seems therefore that the attributes and insignia of Apollo and Bacchus may with propriety, in the Ægyptian mythology, be also given to him. This appears to have been really the case; for the further back we trace the Greek theogony, which undoubtedly owed its origin to the Ægyptian and oriental mythology, the more clearly we see that Jupiter, Pluto, Sol, and Bacchus, are the same.[i] It is to the present purpose to observe that *αβρος* is an epithet applied to the god Ιαω,[k] which is a name frequently found on these gems, and even joined with Abraxas.

This name is frequently found on the gems of Montfaucon's fifth class. On these also there are human figures, and joined with the name Iao, are the names[l] Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloai, &c. It is from hence that the strongest argument hath been drawn to prove that these gems belonged to some christian sect, because these are the names of the true God in the Old Testament. But an observation of Origen in his answer to Celsus,[m] will set aside the force of this. He says they who framed these incantations, being neither well skilled in magic, nor rightly understanding the sacred scriptures, have mixed together things of different sorts. Thus from magic they have got Jaldabaoth, Astaphæus, and Horæus. From the Hebrew scriptures they have taken the Hebrew names Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloai.

[h] Serapis hic canem Cerberum trino capite ad pedes habet: quo confirmabatur id quod supra dicebamus, nempe Serapidem pro Plutone habitum fuisse. Mont. An. Ex. p. 362.

[i] Εἷς Ζευς, εἷς Ἀδης, εἷς Ἡλιος, εἷς Διονυσος. Hujus versûs auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii. Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 18. p. 202.

[k] See p. 379, note [g].

[l] Quinta eorum, quæ figuras exhibent humanas vel alatas vel alis carentes. Mont. An. Ex. p. 358. Voces Ιαω, Σαβαωθ, Αδωναϊ, Αβραξας, Μιθραξ, frequentissime occurrunt. In aliquo lapide juspide ejusdem Capelliani musei, ubi ab alterâ gemmæ facie figura visitur humano corpore galli gallinacei capite, cruribus et tibiis in serpentum capita desinentibus, quæ dextrâ flagellum, sinistrâ scutum, tenet, voce Ιαω inscriptum, barbaris aliis circumpositis nominibus. Pal. Græ. p. 179.

[m] Ὁτι οἱ ταυτα συνταξαμενοι, ὁτε τα μαγειας νοησαντες, ὁτε τα των Θειων γραφων διακριναντες, παντ' εφυραν· απο μεν μαγειας τον Ιαλδαβαωθ, και τον Ασαφαιον, και τον Ὡραιον, απο δε των Ἑβραικων γραφων, τον Ιαω παρ' Ἑβραιοις ονομαζομενον, και τον Σαβαωθ, και τον Αδωναιον, και τον Ελωαιον, κ. τ. λ. Contra Cels. l. vi. p. 297. Cantab. Opp. T. i. p. 656. D. Bened.

Wherefore Origen esteemed it no proof that these incantations belonged to christians, because the Hebrew names of the true God were mixed with others. On the contrary, he asserts,[n] that they belonged not to any christian sect, but to those who were aliens from our common salvation, and who never would give the title of Saviour, or God, or Master, or Son of God, to Jesus. One of the gems of this fifth class which hath Iao on the face,[o] is inscribed on the reverse with these words: 'Grant me favour and victory, because 'I have uttered thy hidden and ineffable name.' This is founded on a superstitious notion which was entertained among some of the Jews, that whoever could rightly pronounce the name Jehovah, had great favour with God, and could even work miracles. This then is more likely to be the work of some magician, than an amulet belonging to any christian sect. Montfauçon mentions[p] two under this class with the name Alexander on each of them. These are undoubtedly of heathenish origin, and were probably intended for the same purpose as those mentioned before, which the people of Antioch used in order to drive away diseases.

In the sixth class is inserted the description of a costly[q]

[n] Ὡς ϐ χριϛιανων λογϐς, αλλα παντῃ αλλοτριων σωτηριας, και ϐδαμως επιγραφομενων Ιησην, η Σωτηρα, η Θεον, η Διδασκαλον, η Υἱον Θεϐ. Con. Cels. lib. vi. p. 296. Cantab. Opp. Tom. i. p. 654. D. Bened.

[o] Ab alterâ gemmæ facie ita legitur, Δος μοι χαριν νικην ὁτι ειρηκα σϐ το κρυπτον και αλιχωφνον ονομα, reliqua ignota et barbara sunt. Eorum vero sensus est. 'Da mihi gratiam et victoriam, quia occultum et ineffabile nomen 'tuum pronuntiavi.' Illud autem ineffabile nomen in alterâ gemmæ facie expressum est. Ιαω apud Græcos, veteres autem יהוה exprimunt. Vocem Αλιχωφνον barbaram, forte pro ανεκφωνητον positam, ineffabile vertimus. Pal. Gr. p. 179.

[p] In aliâ ejusdem (Capelliani Musei) Δος χαριν Αλεξανδρϐ, 'da gratiam Alexandri.' In aliâ vero gemmâ legitur Αλεξανδρα. Quo pertineat autem Alexander vel Alexandra, ignoramus. Pal. Gr. p. 179.

[q] En duo Abraxæa schemata.—Ambo in lapide nigro Ægyptiaco, quem vocant basalten. Primum est quinque pollicum longitudine, latitudineque trium. In sublimiore lapidis parte est quadratum oblongum et fastigiatum ut frontispicium templi. In fastigio autem Ιαω descriptum est—et nomen Abrasax. Ad dextram et ad sinistram frontispicii illius hinc et inde duo cercopitheci manus efferentes versus Ιαω, quasi venerabundi, hoc gestu, και τῃ τϐ αιδοιϐ εγερσει, honorare videntur. Sub frontispicio illo vir, cujus caput ornatu Ægyptiaco distinguitur, alas et caudam avis habet. Hic etiam stupendus τῃ τϐ αιδοιϐ εγερσει. In hoc item schemate Osiris conspicitur. Isis loto insidens, et aliquot aves. Sequens schema, non minus singulare, ejusdem circiter atque præcedens magnitudinis est, ex lapide nigro quem basalten vocant, qui lapsis ad utramque partem insculptus est. In alterâ facie Osiris, insolitam habens formam, qui duobus pedibus, duorum crocodilorum capitibus insistit. Capite gestat caput aliud suo majus, cui imponitur calathus, Serapidis symbolum frequens. An. Ex. p. 370. Pl. 167.

monument, with the word Abraxas on it. The figures are exceedingly obscene, and undoubtedly heathenish. In the same plate is another, with an Osiris treading upon the heads of two crocodiles. Can any thing be more plainly pagan and Ægyptian?

SECTION XXIII.

These gems were all undoubtedly heathenish.

THESE and many others are so clearly of pagan origin, that it is somewhat wonderful Montfauçon could make such large collections, and yet not perceive this. And it is more wonderful still that a learned writer of our own, who is sometimes sufficiently cautious, especially with respect to charges brought against heretics, should approve of such explications. His opinion of the Basilidians must be very low indeed, to think that they who professed themselves christians, could adopt the Roman and Ægyptian deities into their worship, and even be the means of transmitting the Ægyptian idolatry to the Romans. He carelessly quotes a passage from Prudentius as if to prove this;[a] when it is most evident that Prudentius is inveighing against the heathen Ægyptians and Romans, on account of that multiplicity of senseless, stupid objects, which they abhorred as gods. Are the Basilidians to be blamed because the Romans adopted the Ægyptian deities? It is well known they had done this before Basilides was in being, with respect to other nations as well as Ægypt.

[a] Hæc Basilidis figmenta ex Ægypto Romam migrâsse constat. Nam in gemmis hisce Basilidianis, Romanorum interdum deorum figuras ex unâ parte, et vocabula illa Abraxæa ex alterâ; atque in nonnullis, Deorum simul Latinorum, Ægyptiorumque symbola commixta cernimus: ad quod Prudentius sane alludere videtur:

> Isis enim, et Serapis, et grandi simia cauda,
> Et crocodilus, id est, quod Juno, Laverna, Priapus.
> Hos tu, Nile, Deos colis, et tu Tybris adoras.
> Contra Symmach. l. ii. v. 868. Middleton Antiq. p. 76.

SECTION XXIV.

From hence came the superstitious custom of using Abrasadabra as a charm.

IT is not improbable that from this word Abrasax came the superstitious custom of writing the word Abrasadabra[a] upon a slip of paper, in order to cure a semitertian ague. The most ancient writer, who speaks of this, is Serenus Samonicus,[b] preceptor to the younger Gordian. He certainly did not make profession of christianity; and from hence there is a collateral probability that it was a heathenish charm. Notwithstanding this, Montfauçon, for what reason I do not know, unless because he was determined to father every thing superstitious upon the Basilidians, makes[c] him one of that sect.

SECTION XXV.

Beausobre's observations on Chifflet, and arguments against these gems being christian.

I HAVE argued from the figures given us by Montfauçon. Beausobre, whose remarks are directed principally against

[a] On ecrit ordinairement Abracadabra, mais il faut ecrire Abrasadabra. Le C, dans les inscriptions Grecques, est un S. comme tout le monde le sait. Beaus. Hist. M. p. 56. note.

[b] Mortiferum magis est, quod Græcis hemitritæum
Vulgatur verbis, hoc nostrâ dicere linguâ
Non potuere ulli, puto, nec voluere parentes.
Inscribis chartæ, quod dicitur Abracadabra,
Sæpius et subter repetis, sed detrahe summam,
Et magis atque magis desint elementa figuris
Singula, quæ semper rapies, et cætera figes,
Donec in angustum redigatur litera conum
His lino nexis collum redimire memento, &c.
Serenus Samonicus de Medic. N. 53. p. 1598, Fol. Mattaire.

[c] Quod inventum Quintus Serenus Samonicus, Basilidianus (medecin Basilidien. Gal.) in carminibus suis posuit, ubi suadet ut in chartâ describatur. Ann. Ex. p. 377.

Chifflet, is much of the same opinion; and though he gives due condemnation to Chifflet's performance, yet he[a] asserts, in opposition to him, that the engravings on these stones are evidently Ægyptian figures of the Sun, of Mercury, of Bacchus, of Hecate or the Moon, of Isis, Serapis, and other deities worshipped in Ægypt. And he argues against these gems being the invention of the Basilidians.

First, from the incredibility of the thing in itself, that a professor of the religion of Jesus, and a philosopher, should make images of the Deity, at a time when christians had an unconquerable aversion to such figures; and especially, that he should make such monstrous and obscene ones.

Secondly, he further argues from the silence of the fathers, who wrote against and confuted the Basilidians. Irenæus says not a word of such usages. But should it be said Irenæus wrote in the west, and therefore might not be so well acquainted with their customs, he observes that Clement, who lived at Alexandria, in the very centre of the Basilidian heresy, would certainly have taken notice of, and reproached them for such impurity and gross idolatry, if it had prevailed among them. Besides, as most of these antiquities were precious stones, they were not used merely as amulets, but as seals or rings. Clement therefore would have had occasion to speak of such things in his Pædagogue. For he mentions,[b] and inveighs against superfluous ornaments, particularly pearls and precious stones. The figures attributed to the Basilidians are engraved on such kind of stones. As he never inveighs against these, or accuses the Basilidians of using them, it is most certain they were not accustomed to have such. To which may be added, that in his treatise of the best manner of living,[c] where he lays down rules concerning the rings, which christians may wear consistently with their profession, he strictly forbids their having on their stones or seals, the representation of idol deities; because they are objects on which a christian cannot even look without sin. He earnestly warns them against every representation which was contrary to decency and

[a] Hist. de Manich. Tom. ii. p. 50, 51, 57.

[b] *Λιθος δε πελιος η χλωρος—μειρακιωδες εστι τεθηπεναι, επι γαρ τα διαυγη των λιθιδιων—ιεσθαι—δεν αλλ' η ανοητων εστιν ανθρωπων—τελεως δε ηγνοηκοτων το θελημα τυ θευ, κ. τ. λ.* Clem. Pædag. l. ii. cap. 12. p. 206. B. C. 207. B. ed. Paris. p. 241, 242. ed. Potteri.

[c] *Ου γαρ ειδωλων προσωπα εναποτυπωτεον· οις και το προσεχειν απειρηται—η κυπελλα τοις σωφρονασιν· πολλοι δε των ακολαστων γεγυμνωμενες εχασι τες ερωμενες, η τας εταιρας· ως μηδε εθεληασιν αυτοις ληθην ποτε εγγενεσθαι δυνηθηναι των ερωτικων παθηματων, δια την ενδελεχη της ακολασιας υπομνησιν.* Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. iii cap. 11. p. 247. A. Paris. p. 289. Potteri.

modesty. Could he then omit cautioning the faithful at Alexandria against the use of those abominable figures which are now ascribed to the Basilidians; especially as he scruples not, on all fair occasions, to attack the followers of this sect? These figures have every characteristic of the things which he absolutely forbids: they are idolatrous, they are immodest, they are to the last degree obscene.

To Clement succeeded Origen. But Origen, so curious to dive into the sentiment and practices of heretics, says not one word either about the Abraxas of Basilides, or the magic and obscene figures of his followers, though he had the fairest opportunity to have done it, when treating at large about the oriental cabalistic philosophy, and the magic of others, in his answer to Celsus.

Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Jerom, and Theodoret, who all lived in the East, are equally silent on this head; and yet certainly there must at that time have been a very great number of these precious stones; since after the lapse of so many ages such quantities are every where found in the cabinets of the curious.

SECTION XXVI.

Further observations on Chifflet.

BEAUSOBRE, after a particular examination of many of the figures in Chifflet, observes, that they rather overthrow than confirm the system advanced by that writer; because it evidently appears from the figures themselves that they are pagan, and of Ægyptian origin, and could not belong to any sect of christians. He mentions one of these engravings,[a] which represents the figure of a man carrying a sheep on his shoulders, the idea of which he thinks might be taken from the parable of the good shepherd; and he imagines it might belong to the Simonians; since the impostor Simon, in imitation of our Saviour's expression in

[a] On y voit un homme nud, mais sans aucune marque immodeste, qui charge avec beaucoup de peine une brebis sur son épaule. Cela a tout à fait l'air de la parabole du Bon Pasteur. Le fameux imposteur Simon avoit imité la pensée du Siegneur, et disoit, que son Hélène, qui n'est autre chose que l'amé, étoit la brébis égarée, qu'il etoit venu chercher et sauver. Je ne doute pas que cette figure XC ne soit des Simoniens. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 60. N. IX. 5.

that parable, said that his Helena[b] was the wandering sheep, which he, the good shepherd, was come to seek and to save.

Beausobre proceeds to show that those gems which have the names of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob on them; or the God of either of those patriarchs; or which have the words Sabaoth, or Adonai, or Eloai, are the inventions of the cabalists, or of the Ægyptian magicians. Whoever reads him with attention, will plainly see the same conclusion following from his observations on Chifflet's figures, which I have drawn from those of Montfaucon.

SECTION XXVII.

Of the names of angels found on those gems.

AS to the names of angels, which Montfaucon[a] asserts were in use among the Basilidians, it is evident that those which he mentions were derived from the Ophites, as Origen plainly[b] informs us. This is confirmed by the fifteenth figure in Chifflet, and by Beausobre's observations,[c] to which I refer for particulars.

SECTION XXVIII.

Conclusions drawn from the foregoing observations.

UPON a review therefore of the whole of this long discourse, concerning the Abraxas of the Basilidians, and the figures which have been attributed to them, I cannot help concluding, very much in the words of Beausobre: 1. That

[b] Τουτο γαρ εστιν το γεγραμμενον εν τω ευαγγελιῳ, το προβατον το πεπλανημενον. Epi. Hær. XXI. No. 3. p. 58. A.

[a] Totidemque (365) virtutes numerabant. Virtutum autem hujusmodi nomina quædam in gemmis Abraxæis expiscamur, nempe nota ista, Μικαηλ, Γαβριηλ, Ραφαναηλ, Ουριηλ, hæc etiam ignota Αναναηλ, Προσοραιηλ, Κεσιηλ, Σεριηλ, quibus addas Satouiel, ut Latine in gemmâ quâdam legitur. Pal. Gr. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 177. [b] Μηδαμως μεν ὑπο χριστιανων ονομαζομενων, οιμαι δε ὑπο Οφιανων παραλαμβανομενων, κ. τ. λ. Con. Cel. lib. v. p. 295. ed. Cantab. Opp. 1. p. 653. D. Bened.

[c] Hist. de Manich. Tom. ii. n. xiii. p. 64, 65.

Abraxas was not the god of the Basilidians. 2. That this name signifies nothing but the sun, which was never worshipped by them. 3. That the figures both in Chifflet and Montfaucon are, for the most part, Ægyptian. 4. That there is no kind of proof that any of them belonged to the Basilidians. 5. That those which have Iao, Sabaoth, &c. upon them, were the works of magicians, who never made any profession of christianity. 6. That some of these figures derived their origin from the Simonians and Ophites, who were not christians either in belief or profession.

SECTION XXIX.

Of the scriptures received by Basilides.

I SHALL finish this article by giving an account of the scriptures which were received by Basilides.

According to Irenæus,[a] he must have disregarded the Old Testament; or at least he could not give the same authority to that, as he did to the New: because he asserted that the prophecies in the Old Testament were given by those angels who were the makers and princes of the world; and that the law in particular was promulgated by their chief, by him who brought the people of Israel out of the land of Ægypt. Since therefore Jesus Christ, according to him, came to deliver the human race from the power of the princes of the world, and to destroy their works, there must be a kind of opposition between the law and the gospel. As a christian therefore he could pay no great regard to it. But he looked upon the law[b] as a proper rule, established by the Creator, for the direction of the people of Israel; and though he did not believe it to come from the true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, yet he considered it as a revelation given by an angel, of whom he spoke with respect.

[a] Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem legem a principe eorum, eum qui eduxerit populum de terrâ Ægypti,—Patrem misisse Nûn suum (et hunc esse qui dicitur Christus) in libertatem credentium ei a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt.—Et liberatos igitur eos a mundi fabricatoribus. Adv. Hær. lib. i. cap. 23. p. 98.

[b] Esse autem principem ipsorum (angelorum) eum qui Judæorum putatur esse Deus. Et quondam is suis hominibus, id est Judæis, voluit subjicere reliquas gentes, &c. Ibid.

As to the New Testament, it doth not appear but he received the whole, or at least[c] the greater part of it.

Jerom indeed says,[d] that 'both Marcion and Basilides 'were not content with rejecting the Old Testament, but 'that they also disputed some parts of the New, corrupting 'the gospels, and cutting off from St. Paul the two epistles 'to Timothy, the epistle to Titus, and the epistle to the He-'brews.' But Jerom frequently wrote with precipitation and passion when he was reproaching heretics. It ought also to be observed that Marcion and Basilides were very different in their opinions on many points. Marcion[e] received only the gospel of St. Luke. Basilides certainly received the gospel of St. Matthew; for there are several references to it in his explanations of doctrines or practices, which are given us by Clement of Alexandria,[f] and there is no proof that he rejected the other three. Neither Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Origen, or Theodoret, accuse him of this, or of rejecting any of St. Paul's epistles. On the contrary, there is positive evidence from the same Clement that Isidore, his son,[g] received the first epistle to the Corinthians. And there is from Origen a clear proof to the contrary of what Jerom lays to his charge, when he ranks Basilides with Marcion as a corrupter of the gospel; for the former writer, in his answer to Celsus, who accused the christians in general of corrupting the scriptures, says that 'he[h] knew of no christians who had altered the text of the 'gospel, except the followers of Valentinus and Marcion, 'and perhaps those of Lucian.' This confirms the explanation hereafter given of that passage of Origen, where mention is made of the gospel of Basilides; that Origen means nothing more by that expression than his Commentaries upon the gospel. Ambrose and Jerom copied from Origen.

That Basilides paid great respect to the gospel, is evident

[c] Beausobre, Hist. de Manich. Tom. ii. c. 1. n. iv. p. 5. c. 4. n. iii. p. 51.

[d] Marcionem loquor et Basilidem—qui Vetus laniant Testamentum; tamen eos aliquâ ex parte ferremus, si saltem in Novo continerent manus suas; et non auderent vel evangelistas violare, vel apostolos—Nonnullas (epistolas) integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum. Hieron. in ep. ad Tit. in Proem. vol. iv. p. 407. Martiaraynay.

[e] Μονῳ δε κεχρηται τουτῳ τῳ χαρακτηρι τῳ κατα Λουκαν ευαγγελιῳ. Epi. ad Hær. 42. p. 309. D. Οὐτος εκ μεν των ευαγγελιων το κατα Λουκαν εδεξατο μονον. Theo. Hær. Fab. lib. i. cap. 24. p. 210. D.

[f] Strom. lib. iv. p. 506. G. et lib. iii. p. 426. A. B. See p. 364, of this chapter, notes [d] and [e].

[g] Strom. lib. iii. p. 427. A. et D.

[h] Contra Cels. lib. ii. p. 77. Can. p. 411. Ben. See the passage at length under Lucian, p. 5. note 2.

from his writing commentaries[i] upon it, which he divided into twenty-four books. Two fragments of these may be seen in Grabe,[k] one taken from the thirteenth, the other from the twenty-third book of these Commentaries.

He also certainly received the epistle to the Romans, as appears from Origen's Commentary upon the fifth chapter, where he quotes the words of chap. vii. 9, "when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Upon this he observes, that 'Basilides,[l] without attending to the sense and 'connection, endeavoured to deduce from the former part 'of the verse, viz. "I was alive without the law once," his 'absurd and nonsensical notion of a Pythagorean metempsychosis;' therefore he must have allowed the authority of this epistle; and as he is not accused of rejecting any other of the books of the New Testament, except by St. Jerom, and this in a cursory manner, his name being joined with that of Marcion, there is reason to believe that he received the whole New Testament as authentic, though he perverted the meaning of many places, and drew from many others very absurd and foolish consequences.

SECTION XXX.

Of the gospel of Basilides.

THERE is mention made in Origen's Commentary[a] on Luke of a gospel of Basilides. Ambrose has spoken[b] of the same, as hath Jerom[c] also. The two last undoubtedly copied it from Origen. The most probable opinion is, that the twenty-four books of Commentaries, which Agrippa Castor speaks of,[d] were the very gospel of Basilides. This is

[i] *Φησιν αυτον εις μεν το ευαγγελιον τεσσαρα προς τοις εικοσι συνταξαι βιβλια.* Eus. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 120. A.

[k] Spicileg, Tom. ii. p. 39, &c.

[l] Ego, inquit (Paulus), mortuus sum, cœpit enim mihi jam reputari peccatum. Sed hæc Basilides non advertens de lege naturali debere intelligi, ad ineptas et impias fabulas sermonem apostolicum traxit in Pythagoricum dogma: id est, quod animæ in alia atque alia corpora transfundantur, ex hoc apostoli dicto conatur adstruere. Orig. Com. in Epis. ad Rom. cap. 5. Tom. ii. p. 530. Basil. 1571. Vid. etiam Grab. Spici. T. ii. p. 43.

[a] Ausus est Basilides scribere evangelium, et suo illud nomine titulare. Homil. in Luc. l. i. in init.

[b] Ausus est etiam Basilides scribere, quod dicitur, secundum Basilidem. Ambro. Præf. in Com. in Luc. init.

[c] Hæresium fuere principia, ut est illud——Basilidis atque Apellis, &c. Hieron. Præf. in Com. in Mat.

[d] Eus. Hist. Ecc. l. iv. c. 7. p. 120. A.

the opinion of Beausobre,[e] of Fabricius,[f] and of Mr. Jones.[g] It indeed appears improbable that he should compose an apocryphal history of our Saviour, and give it his own name, when he received the other authentic gospels.

SECTION XXXI.

Of the prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph.

AS to the prophecies of the prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph, or Parchor,[a] they were undoubtedly some oriental books which Basilides met with in his journey into the East, and brought with him to Alexandria; and not forgeries of his own, as Eusebius would have us believe.

SECTION XXXII.

Of the Odes of Basilides.

CAVE[a] makes him, on the authority of Origen, the author of some odes. Grabe seems to doubt the exactness of the reference,[b] but he afterwards says that he found in a manuscript copy some words of Origen to this purpose, that 'they,' the heretics, 'repeat the hymns of Valentinus and 'the odes of Basilides.'

[e] Origene appelle ce livre l'evangile de Basilide.—Mais S. Clément d'Alexandrie ne nous permet pas de douter, que ce ne fût simplement un commentaire sur l'evangile qu' Origene a jugé à-propos d'appeler l'evangile de Basilide. Hist. Manich. T. ii n. 2. p. 3, 4. On parle d'un evangile de Basilide; c'étoit un commentaire sur les evangiles. Ibid. Tom. i. p. 454, and p. 39.

[f] Sed potuit etiam Origenes hos libros Commentariorum in evangelium appellare evangelium Basilidis. Cod. Ap. N. T. Tom. i. p. 343.

[g] Canon of the N. T. V. 1. p. 217, 218.

[a] Προφητας δε ἑαυτω ονομασαι Βαρκαββαν και Βαρχωφ, και αλλες ανυπαρκτες τινας ἑαυτῳ συνησαμενον. Eus. Hist. Ecc. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 120. A. Ισιδωρος τε, ὁ Βασιλειδε υἱος ἁμα και μαθητης, εν τῳ πρωτῳ των προφητε Παρχωρ εξηγετικων, και αυτος κατα λεξιν γραφει. Clem. Strom. lib. vi. p. 641. C.

[a] His. Lit. Basilides, p. 31. Geneva.

[b] Spici. Pat. Tom. ii. p. 38.

SECTION XXXIII.

These things prove the authenticity and wide spread of the scriptures of the New Testament.

FROM this whole chapter it appears that the writings of the New Testament were early spread abroad among christians, and that commentaries and expositions were very soon written on different parts of them, particularly on the gospels. This would tend to make the knowledge of them more general, and to keep them uncorrupted; for by this means those who might attempt to falsify them in any respect would be the sooner and the more easily detected.

CHAP. III.

OF CARPOCRATES AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

SECTION I.

Some account of Carpocrates and Epiphanes, from Clement of Alexandria and other ancient authors.

WE come now to the Carpocratians. I shall observe their history and time, their principles in general, their moral principles and manners, and, lastly, their testimony to the scriptures.

Clement of Alexandria says of them in these very words: 'The[a] followers of Carpocrates and Epiphanes think that 'women ought to be common: from whom much reproach 'has been derived to the christian name.' He informs us that Epiphanes, whose works also are extant, was the son of Carpocrates, who was an Alexandrian; his mother's name was Alexandra, born in the island of Cephalene. He lived

[a] Οἱ δε απο Καρποκρατους και Επιφανους αναγομενοι, κοινας ειναι τας γυναικας αξιουσιν. Str. lib. iii. p. 428. A.

to be seventeen years of age only; and after his death was honoured as a god at Sama, in the afore-mentioned island. There they erected to him a temple made of stone, with altars, a grove, and a museum. And every new moon, on the day when Epiphanes was consecrated, the Cephalenians met together, and celebrated that birth-day of his with hymns, libations, sacrifices, and feastings. He was[b] instructed by his father in the whole circle of sciences, particularly the Platonic philosophy. He was the author of the monadic science, from whom arose the heresy of the Carpocratians. Clement then proceeds to quote a long passage out of a book of Epiphanes, entitled, Of Justice, or Righteousness; which passage Clement supposes to teach licentiousness, contrary to the doctrine of the gospel.

Theodoret too says that[c] Carpocrates was an Alexandrian; but Epiphanius[d] calls him a Cephalenian, probably by mistake, his wife having been of that country. Epiphanius gives the like acccount that Clement does of the worship paid to Epiphanes by the Cephalenians; and says that 'his 'vast learning was a great inducement to that people to pay 'him such honour.'

May I be permitted to question the truth of this? Surely it could not be a christian to whose honour these idolatrous rites were practised; nor could they be christians that performed them; that temple must have been raised by heathens. Probably therefore the Epiphanes to whom those honours were given, was some other person, and not Epiphanes the son of Carpocrates, the christian heretic. Theodoret takes no notice of these things in his chapter of Carpocrates; though Epiphanes is there mentioned; and of whom he says that 'he[e] amplified or improved upon his 'father's doctrine.' Nor does Irenæus say any thing of this matter. Indeed Epiphanes is but once mentioned, or occasionally referred to, by[f] Irenæus. Nor is he at all mentioned by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History; though he has twice mentioned the Carpocratians: and in one of those places, beside Jewish and Samaritan heresies, all these following, the[g] Menandrians, the Marcionites, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and Saturnilians. I might add that it was not customary for christians to erect

[b] Επαιδευθη μεν ων παρα τω πατρι την τε εγκυκλιον παιδειαν, και τα Πλατωνος. Καθηγησατο δε της μοναδικης γνωσεως, κ. λ. Ibid. C.

[c] H. F. lib. i. cap. 5. in.

[d] H. 42. n. iii. p. 210. D.

[e] Και Επιφανης δε, τουτω παις, δια Πλατωνικης ηγμενος παιδειας, την τουτω μυθολογιαν επλατυνεν. Ibid. p. 197. B.

[f] Vid. l. i. c. xi. [al. v.] p. 52. Mass. p. 51. Gr. et conf. Epiph. H. 32. n. vii.

[g] Lib. iv. cap. 22. p. 142, 143. Conf. cap. 7. p. 120.

temples in the former part of the second century, in which time Epiphanes is supposed to have died.

That I may at once take in the chief things relating to Epiphanes, I would now farther observe, that[h] Epiphanius speaks of Epiphanes in the chapter of Secundus the Valentinian. And it is now common with learned[i] moderns, to consider him as a Valentinian; whether rightly or not, I cannot stay to inquire.

SECTION II.

Of the time in which Carpocrates lived.

BARONIUS speaks of the Carpocratians at the year 120: Basnage at the year 122; Tillemont[a] thinks they might appear about the year 130; Dodwell conjectures that[b] Epiphanes died about the year 140; Irenæus says that[c] Marcellina came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, which Dodwell[d] computes to have been about the year 142; Massuet[e] about the year 160; Theodoret expressly placeth[f] Carpocrates and Epiphanes in the reign of Adrian. By all ancient writers of heresies in general, the Carpocratians are reckoned an early heresy; for they are the twenty-seventh in Epiphanius, or the seventh christian heresy. The order is the same in Augustine, who follows Epiphanius. They are supposed by some to have been mentioned[g] by Celsus; but that is not certain. How long they subsisted I do not know: but they are continually spoken of by Irenæus, as in being in his time.

[h] Vid. H. 32.

[i] Diss. Iren. p. xlvii. xlviii.

[a] Mem. E. T. ii. Les Carpocratiens.

[b] Diss. Iren. iv. n. 25, 26.

[c] Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, multos exterminavit. l. i. c. 25. [al. 24.] p. 104. Gr. 101.

[d] Ib. n. 26.

[e] Diss. Iren. p. lxii.

[f] *Αδριανε δε ουτοι βασιλευοντος τας πονηρας αιρεσεις εκρατυναν.* H. F. lib. i. cap. 5. p. 197. B.

[g] *Κελσος μεν εν οιδε—Καρποκρατιανες απο Σαλομης.* Orig. c. Cels. l. v. p. 272. Sp. 626. Ben.

SECTION III.

Of the principles of the Carpocratians concerning the creation.

THE Carpocratians are often mentioned by Irenæus; but[a] there are only two or three passages of his containing divers particulars relating to them, on which I shall chiefly insist.

He there assures us that[b] Carpocrates and his followers say the world was made by angels, much inferior to the eternal Father. To the like purpose[c] Theodoret: and Epiphanius, that 'he[d] held one supreme principle, the Fa- 'ther of all, unknown and unnamed, or incomprehensible; 'and that the world, and the things therein, were made by 'angels, much inferior to the unknown Father.' The author of the Additions to Tertullian's Book of Prescriptions does not much differ[e] from the authors already quoted.

SECTION IV.

Of their opinion concerning the person of Jesus Christ.

IRENÆUS immediately proceeds to say what they thought of the person of Jesus: that 'he[a] was born of Joseph, and

[a] Et adversus eos qui sunt a Saturnino, et Basilide, et Carpocrate, et reliquos Gnosticorum, qui eadem similiter dicunt, idem dicatur, lib. ii. cap. 31. [al. 56.] p. 164. Mass. 185. Gr. Super hæc arguentur qui sunt a Simone, et Carpocrate, et si qui alii virtutes operari dicuntur. Ibid. Mass. p. 186. Gr. Si itaque et nunc nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi beneficia præstat,—sed non Simonis, neque Menandri, neque Carpocratis. Ibid. cap. 32. [al. 57.] p. 166. Mass. p. 189. Gr. [b] Carpocrates autem, et qui ab eo, mundum quidem, et ea quæ in eo sunt, ab angelis multo inferioribus ingenito Patre factum esse dicunt. Lib. i. cap. 25. [al. 24.] p. 103. Mass. p. 39. Gr.

[c] Ὑπο μεν των αγγελων και αυτος κτισιν εφησε γεγενησθαι. p. 196. B.

[d] H.72. n. ii. p. 102. C. D. [e] Carpocrates præterea hanc tulit sectam. Unam esse dicit virtutem in superioribus principalem: ex hac prolatos angelos, atque virtutes: quos distantes longe a superioribus virtutibus mundum istum in inferioribus partibus condidisse. De Pr. cap. 48. p. 252. A. 216. 7. Fran.

[a] Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et, cum similis reliquis hominibus fuerit, distâsse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima ejus firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in eâ circumlatione, quæ fuisset ingenito Deo; et propter hoc ab eo missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi

'was like other men, except that his soul was more firm 'and pure, and that he remembered what he had seen with 'the eternal Father: that he was educated among the Jews, 'and obtained power to surmount his sufferings, and after 'that ascended to the Father: and that those souls who 'believed in him should do so likewise; that is, only as to 'their souls. Epiphanius says, their[b] opinion concerning 'Christ was, that he was born of Joseph and Mary; but 'excelled other men in temperance, and the holiness and 'virtue of his life.' He also speaks of their supposing the mind of Christ to have had a wonderful strength, or firmness, and to have remembered what he saw in his pre-existent state, and the like. Theodoret's account likewise is, 'that they[c] believed Jesus to have been a man, born of Jo-'seph and Mary, like other men: but that he excelled in 'virtue; and having a pure soul, he remembered his con-'versation with the eternal Being.' With these accounts agree[d] Philaster, and the[e] author of the additions to Tertullian, whom I transcribe largely at the bottom of the page.

SECTION V.

They are accused of saying, that some may excel Jesus.

MOREOVER, as Irenæus proceeds, 'some[a] of them have 'the vanity to think that they may equal, or in some respects

fabricatores effugere posset, et—ascenderet ad eum: et eas, qui similia ei amplecterentur, similiter. Jesu autem dicunt animam in Judæorum consuetudine nutritam contemsisse eos, et propter hoc virtutes accepisse, per quas evacuavit quæ fuerunt in pœnis passiones, quæ inerant hominibus. Ibid. p. 203.

[b] Ιησεν δε τον Κυριον ἡμων απο Ιωσηφ λεγει γεγενησθαι, καθαπερ και παντες ανθρωποι εκ σπερματος ανδρος και γυναικος,—Βιῳ δε διενηνεχεναι, σωφροσυνῃ τε και αρετῃ και βιῳ δικαιοσυνης. Επειδη δε, φησιν, ευτονον ειχε ψυχην παρα τες αλλες ανθρωπες, κ. λ. H. 27. n. ii. p. 102. D.

[c] Αρετη δε αυτον διαπρεψαι, και καθαραν εσκηκοτα ψυχην, και μεμνημενην της μετα τε αγεννητε διαγωγης. p. 196. B.

[d] Christum autem dicit non de Virgine Mariâ, et Divino Spiritu natum, sed de semine Joseph hominem natum arbitratur.—Qui post passionem, inquit, melior inter Judæos vitâ integrâ et conversatione inventus est, cujus animam in cœlum susceptam predicat. Carnem vero in terram dimissam æstimat. Animique salutem solum, carnis autem non fieri salutem opinatur. Hær. 35. al. 7. post Christum.

[e] Christum non ex Virgine Mariâ natum, sed ex semine Joseph, hominem tantummodo genitum: sane præ cæteris justitiæ cultu, vitæ integritate meliorem; hunc apud Judæos passum: solam animam ipsius in cœlo receptam, eo quod et firmior et robustior cæteris fuerit. Ex quo colligeret, tentatâ animarum solâ salute, nullas corporis resurrectiones. Pr. c. 48. p. 252. B. 216. 20.

[a] Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt, ut quidam quidem similes

'exceed, Jesus himself, or at least Peter and Paul, and the 'other apostles; and that if any one did more completely 'despise all things here below than he did, he might be 'better than he.' So also says Epiphanius, that 'some[b] of 'them thought, they might excel Jesus. Others, who went 'not so far, yet supposed they might excel Peter, Andrew, 'Paul, and the other apostles.' Theodoret in like manner says, that 'if[c] any man had a purer soul than that of Jesus, 'he might excel the son himself.' Tertullian[d] too speaks of this notion of theirs: though, perhaps, after all, it is only a consequence drawn by some from their opinion concerning Christ, that he was a mere man. At least, there may be reason to apprehend that their notion is not expressed to advantage. At the utmost, it seems not to be a positive assertion, but a case put: supposing a man to have a very pure soul, and that he despise this world and the things of it, and be steadily virtuous in very trying circumstances, he might equal, and in some respects excel, Christ and his apostles. And that it is only made for argument sake is evident from hence, because they thought Jesus much excelled all men in capacity and firmness of mind, and holiness of life: though others may resemble him, as all good christians will allow.

SECTION VI.

And are said to have used magical arts.

IRENÆUS next[a] says, and Eusebius,[b] as from him, that 'they were magicians, and put in practice all the methods

sese dicant Jesu; quidam autem adhuc et secundum aliquid illo fortiores, qui sunt distantes amplius quam illius discipuli, ut puta quam Petrus et Paulus, et reliqui apostoli. Siquis autem plus quam ille contemserit ea quæ sunt hic, posse meliorem quam illum esse. Ibid. Gr. 109.

[b] Ἑαυτες προκριτες ἡγενται και αυτε τε Ιησε. Αλλοι δε εξ αυτων, εκ Ιησε φασιν, αλλα Πετρε και Ἀνδρεε και Παυλε και των λοιπων αποστολων ἑαυτες ὑπερφερεστερες, ειναι δια την ὑπερβολην της γνωσεως, και το περισσοτερον της διαπραξεως διαφορων διεξοδων. H. 27. n. ii. p. 103. D.

[c] Ει δε και καθαρωτεραν τις σχοιη ψυχην, ὑπερβησεται, φησι, και τε υἱε την αξιαν. p. 196. B.

[d] Sed et Carpocrates tandundem sibi de superioribus vindicat, ut discipuli ejus animas suas jam et Christo, nedum apostolis, et peræquent, et, cum volunt, præferant: quas perinde de sublimi virtute conceperint, despectrice mundi potentium principatuum. De Anim. cap. 23. p. 325. B. 275. 5.

[a] Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtra quoque, &c. Ib. p. 103. Gr. 100.

[b] L. iv. cap. 7. p. 120. B, C.

'of such people.' Epiphanius[c] and[d] Theodoret join in this charge: which I shall not now concern myself about, having in other places said what is sufficient.

SECTION VII.

Of marking their disciples, and incensing the pictures of Christ and others.

IRENÆUS says farther, that 'they[a] mark their disciples 'on the back part of one of their ears: then, that Marcel-'lina came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, bishop of that 'city.' He moreover says that 'they call themselves Gnos-'tics, and that they have pictures and images of Christ and 'his apostles, and also of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, 'and other eminent persons; and that they crown them, 'and honour them with rites of the Gentile superstition.' Epiphanius too says that 'they have pictures of Jesus, and 'Paul, and also of Homer, Pythagoras, and other philoso-'phers; and that they honour them with incense and wor-'ship.' But then it is observable that, both in his[b] summary, and his larger work, he[c] says, 'it was in private that 'they had or honoured these images or pictures, and in pri-'vate only.' Perhaps therefore this story is not true: or, however, not the whole of it. If they had pictures of the philosophers as well as of Jesus, it is likely a superior regard was paid to him: and as for what is said of incensing them, and other superstitious rites, it may be all mere fiction.

[c] Epiph. ubi supra, n. iii. p. 104. A. [d] P. 196. C.

[a] Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus extantiæ dextræ auris. Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant. Et imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliquâ materiâ fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et præponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum—Pythagoræ, et Platonis, et Aristotelis, et reliquorum. Et reliquam observationem circa eas, similiter ut gentes, faciunt. Ibid. p. 104, 105. Gr. 101, 102.

[b] Εικονας δε ποιησας εν κρυφῃ Ιησε, και Παυλε, και Ὁμηρε,—ταυταις ἐθυμια και προσεκυνει. p. 53. [c] Κρυβδην δε τας τοιαυτας εχεσιν εικονας, κ. λ. H. 27. n. 6. p. 108.

SECTION VIII.

A general view of what they believed.

FROM all which we now perceive that the Carpocratians believed one God, eternal and incomprehensible, who made angels and powers of different orders. By some of these was made this lower and visible world. They said that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; in whom was a most pure soul, of great capacity and understanding, who retained the remembrance of the things which he had seen with the Father, which[a] also he here revealed to men: that he wrought miracles, and excelled in the holiness of his life, and all virtue: that he lived among the Jews, and suffered death: after which his soul ascended to heaven, and returned to God. We perceive likewise that they believed the pre-existence of human souls: that they expected the salvation of the soul only, and not the resurrection of the body.

I now proceed to observe the accounts of their moral principles and manners.

SECTION IX.

They are accused of asserting there is no difference in the nature of things.

IRENÆUS says,[a] 'they lived a voluptuous and luxurious 'life, and justified it by their principles. For they said, 'that there is no difference in things: that they are not 'good or evil in themselves, but only according to the 'judgment and opinion of men.' He adds, that[b] 'such

[a] Ελεγε δε τον Ιησεν ψυχην νοεραν ειληφεναι ειδοτα δε τα ανω εντανθα καταγγελλειν. Id. ib. p. 53.

[a] Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum nomine abutuntur. Et in tantam insaniam effrænati sunt, uti et omnia quæcumque sunt irreligiosa et impia in potestate habere, et operari se dicant. Solâ enim humanâ opinione negotia mala et bona dicant. Ibid. p. 103, 104. Gr. 100.

[b] Και ει μεν πρασσεται παρ' αυτοις τα αθεα, και εκθεσμα, και απειρημενα, εγω εκ αν πιστευσαιμι. Εν δε τοις συγγραμμασιν ουτως αναγεγραπται, και αυτοι ουτως εξηγενται, τον Ιησεν λεγοντες εν μυστηριω τοις μαθηταις αυτε και αποστολοις κατ' ιδιαν λελαληκεναι, και αυτες αξιωσαι τοις αξιοις και τοις πειθομενοις

'things are done by them as I should not believe, if it were 'not made evident from their writings. For they affirm 'that Christ told his disciples privately that nothing is ne- 'cessary to salvation but faith and love; and that all other 'things are indifferent, being good or evil only in the judg- 'ment or opinion of men, not in their own nature.'

In another place Irenæus, speaking of some heretics, and particularly the Carpocratians, and having recited our Lord's excellent precepts of sublime virtue, goes on: 'Since[c] then he whom they glory in as their master, and 'say that he had a much better and firmer mind than other 'men, with great earnestness required the doing of some 'things as good and excellent, and the forbearing other 'things as hurtful and wicked; I say, when they allow that 'their master was better and greater than other men, how 'can they teach things manifestly contrary to his doctrine, 'and not be ashamed! How can they say there is nothing 'good or evil, righteous or unrighteous, but in the opinion 'of men, when he said in his doctrine, "Then[d] shall the 'righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their 'Father:" and that he shall bid the unrighteous, and those 'who do not works of righteousness, "to[e] depart into ever- 'lasting fire,[f] where their worm dies not, and the fire will 'not be quenched."'

SECTION X.

And of practising the grossest impurity in their assemblies.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, at the beginning of this article, said that 'Carpocrates and Epiphanes maintained the com-

ταυτα παραδιδοναι. Δια πιστεως γαρ και αγαπης σωζεσθαι τα δε λοιπα αδιαφορα οντα, κατα την δοξαν των ανθρωπων, πη μεν αγαθα, πη δε κακα νομιζεσθαι, ϑδενος φυσει κακϑ υπαρχοντο. Ibid. p. 104. Gr. 101.

[c] Quando igitur ille, quem isti magistrum gloriantur, et eum multo meliorem et fortiorem reliquis animam habuisse dicunt, cum magnâ diligentiâ quædam quidem jussit fieri quasi bona et egregia, quibusdam autem abstinere non solum operibus, sed etiam his cogitationibus,—quasi malis et nocivis, et nequam: quemadmodum magistrum talem fortiorem et meliorem reliquis, deinde quæ sunt contraria ejus doctrinæ manifeste præcipientes, non confundantur? Et si quidem nihil esset mali, aut rursus boni, opinione autem solâ humanâ, quædam quidem injusta, quædam autem justa putarentur, non utique dixisset dogmatizans: Justi autem fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum: injustos autem, et qui non faciunt opera justitiæ, mittet in ignem æternum, ubi vermis ipsorum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur. L. ii. cap. 32. [al. 56.] p. 165. Mass. p. 187. Gr.

[d] Matt. xiii. 43.

[e] Matt. xxv. 41.

[f] Mark ix. 44, 46, 48.

'munity of women.' And, having quoted a passage out of the book of righteousness there mentioned, he adds, 'Of[a] 'these, and others of like sentiments, it is said, that they 'have a supper (for I cannot call it a love-feast) where men 'and women meet, and, having eat plentifully, the candles 'are put out, and they mix together promiscuously.'

Tertullian at once calls[b] Carpocrates 'magician and for-'nicator.'

What Eusebius says of the Carpocratians was observed long ago.

Epiphanius takes a part of what Irenæus says, of their living a voluptuous course of life, and adds, that[c] 'they 'practise unnatural uncleanness in the most shameful man-'ner, as well as magic.'

Theodoret says that[d] 'impurity was a law with them, so far were they from concealing it.'

I proceed no farther in these quotations, supposing that here may be sufficient to give my readers light into this matter. One thing I have omitted for the sake of brevity, which may be seen by the curious in Irenæus and Epiphanius relating to the Carpocratian doctrine of transmigrations, and the design of them as they are represented by those writers.

SECTION XI.

The utter improbability of these accusations shown from a variety of considerations.

NOW after all this, what can be said? The Carpocratians are in so much discredit, that it must be hazardous to say any thing tending to mitigate the censures that have been passed upon them.

Nevertheless, I believe there are persons in the world of

[a] Τουτους φασι και τινας αλλους ζηλωτας των ομοιων κακων, εις τα δειπνα αθροιζομενους ανδρας ομου και γυναικας, μετα δη το κορεσθηναι, εν πλησμονη τη κυπριση φασι, το καταισχυνον αυτων την πορνικην ταυτην δικαιοσυνην, εκ ποδων ποιησαμενους φως τη του λυχνου περιτροπη, μιγνυσθαι, οπως εθελοιεν, αις βουλοιντο, κ. λ. Str. 3. p. 430. D.

[b] Inde etiam Carpocrates utitur, pariter magus, pariter fornicarius. De Anim. cap. 35. p. 338. B.

[c] Τι δε αλλο τι πασαν αρρητουργιαν και αθεμιτον πραξιν, ην ο θεμιτον επι σωματος φερειν, ετοι πραττουσι; και παν ειδος ανδροβασιων, και λαγνεστερων ομιλιων προς γυναικας, εν ἑκαστῳ μελει σωματος. H. 27. n. iv. p. 105. B.

[d] Την δε ασελγειαν συγκαλυπτειν ουκ ανεχομενοι, αλλα νομον την ακολασιαν ποιουμενοι. p. 196. C.

so much candour, as to be willing to hear what may be offered.

1. I presume then that what was formerly said for showing that the heretics were not the occasion of the calumnies cast upon the primitive christians, must abate the persuasion of the certain truth of the things charged upon the Carpocratians.

2. I have not observed any blot in the personal characters of Carpocrates or Epiphanes. Carpocrates was a very learned man, who had a wife and one son: him he educated himself; and he proved a wonderful person for learning.

3. Whereas we are told that they said there was no difference in things; there are considerations which may satisfy us this is not a true account. For it is inconsistent with their opinion concerning Christ, who, as they said, excelled in virtue and holiness of life, and had a much better and firmer mind than any other man. And some of them said, that supposing any man to have a purer soul, and to despise the world more than he did, he might exceed him. Which shows that they set a high value upon virtue. Moreover, according to Irenæus, they said Christ had taught that nothing is necessary to salvation, but faith, love, or charity. These therefore were necessary. Consequently they did not say that all things are indifferent, or alike, neither good nor evil in their nature. It is plain, I think, that the passage, alleged by Irenæus, does not prove what he brings it for. And in faith and love they seem to have comprehended every branch of moral righteousness. When they added, that Christ said all other things were indifferent, it is likely they meant particularly the positive rites of the law of Moses; which were neither good nor evil in themselves previous to the divine appointment: and the abrogation of which Christ did not speak of so clearly and publicly, as of other things that were necessary, about which therefore the primitive christians formed very different notions.

4. Clement and others say that Carpocrates and Epiphanes taught the community of women. And, as a proof, he quotes a passage of Epiphanes. But possibly Clement mistook him. There is some reason to think he did, for the passage is obscure. And presently afterwards Clement observes, that Plato is thought by some to teach the same doctrine; but they who are of that opinion, he says, mistake him. He only says that[a] women are common before mar-

[a] Δοκει δε μοι και τε Πλατωνος παρακηκοεναι εν τη πολιτειᾳ, φαμενε κοινας

riage; so that men may make choice out of them, and seek whom of them they please in marriage. If this sense may be put upon Plato's words, why may not some such solution acquit Epiphanes? That some passages of the ancient heretics were obscure and liable to be misunderstood, may appear from a passage of Isidore, cited by Epiphanius,[b] which according to his interpretation contains execrable looseness of principle, teaching men to commit lewdness, and then to say they have received no damage from it. Whereas it is a very honest passage, containing, first, a recommendation of marriage, and then chastity in a single life, with directions for obtaining it, if a man has not a good opportunity of marrying. Clement[c] quoted the same passage as containing sound and useful instructions. And Grabe[d] approves of it, and has given a fine explication of it. That passage is taken out of a book of Isidore, called his morals. This passage, and another quoted by[e] Clement from another book of Isidore, are both brought by Epiphanius to prove that Carpocrates and Epiphanes held the community of women: as they are not at all to the purpose, all evidence of what he would prove fails him. Epiphanius supposed, and in another place[f] expressly says, that Epiphanes made use of Isidore's morals in support of his sentiments. Whether that be true or not, it is certain that the passages alleged by him, for showing that the Carpocratians taught the community of women, contain no such doctrine.

5. Irenæus said 'he should not have believed the truth 'of the things reported of them, if their writings did not 'show it.' Therefore he had no evidence of those facts from credible witnesses. And that the passage of their writings quoted by him does not prove what he brings it for, I suppose to have been shown to satisfaction.

6. Nor had Clement of Alexandria any good assurance of their practising lewdness in their assemblies. He only mentions the thing as report: 'It is said,' or 'they say,' so of them.

Upon the whole, it seems to me that the immoral principles and immoral practices laid to their charge are not proved. The supposition therefore, probably, is owing to

ειναι τας γυναικας παντων· κοινας μεν τας προ τε γαμε των αιτεισθαι μελλοντων, καθαπερ και το θεατρον κοινον των θεωμενων, φασκοντος. Str. 3. p. 430. D.

[b] H. 32. n. iv. p. 24. 212.

[c] Str. L. iii. p. 427.

[d] Istâ et emendatione et explicatione egent, quâ allatâ patebit hæc verba bonum habere sensum. Spic. T. ii. p. 66.

[e] Str. l. iii. p. 426.

[f] Vid. H. 33. n. i. Conf. H. 32. n. iii. Et. Vid. Gr. Spic. T. ii. p. 64. et Mass. Diss. Iren. p. xlviii.

mistake or prejudice, or in part to both. There might be loose and wicked men among the Carpocratians, as there were in other sects. But that they were countenanced by Carpocrates and Epiphanes, or by the principles they taught, does not appear to be probable.

SECTION XII.

What scriptures they received.

THE article of their testimony to the scriptures will be short. Epiphanius in his summary says, 'They[a] rejected 'the Old Testament;' perhaps they did: but I do not know that to be certain. Possibly, however, the fact was only this, they did not respect the instructions of Moses and the prophets, equally with those of Christ and his apostles.

Tillemont says 'they[b] received the gospel of St. Matthew,' and refers to Epiphanius, who says that 'Cerinthus[c] and 'Carpocrates endeavoured to prove from the beginning of 'that gospel, that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary. 'Irenæus says they[d] endeavoured to pervert those words of 'our Lord, which are in Matt. v. 25, 26; Luke xii. 58.' But I apprehend that they received not that gospel only, but the other gospels likewise, and all the other books of the New Testament, as they were received by other christians in their time. For Irenæus says 'They gloried in 'Christ as their master. They believed that he came from 'God, or that having taught the will of God on earth, and 'died, he ascended to heaven.' They appear from passages before quoted, to have respected Peter and Paul, and all the apostles of Jesus. It is likely, therefore, that they received their writings. It is manifest from Irenæus's arguments with them, as above taken notice of, that they did not designedly contradict Christ's doctrine, but greatly respected it. And he largely sets[e] before them our Lord's excellent precepts, as recorded in the gospels. His collections may indeed be reckoned to be chiefly taken from what is called our Saviour's sermon on the Mount, recorded by St. Matthew. But he does not drop any intimation of his

[a] Τον τε νομον συν τῃ των νεκρων αναστασει απηγορευεν. p. 53.
[b] Mem. Ecc. T. ii. Les Carpocratiens. [c] H. 32. c. 14. p. 138. D.
[d] L. i. c. 25. [al. 24.] p. 104. Gr. 101. [e] Vid. L. ii. c. 32. [al. 56.] p. 165. Gr. 187. And see p. 399, 400, of this chapter.

being restrained to any one part of the New Testament, as particularly received by them, whilst they rejected the rest.

CHAP. IV.

OF CERINTHUS.

SECTION I.

Ancient authors who speak of Cerinthus.

THE time of Cerinthus being uncertain, I shall immediately transcribe the passages of divers authors concerning him, beginning with Irenæus, for the sake of his antiquity.

And[a] Cerinthus in Asia taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by a certain power separate from him, much below him, and ignorant of him. Jesus he supposed not to be born of a virgin, which to him appeared impossible, but to be the son of Joseph and Mary, born altogether as other men are; but he excelled all men in virtue, knowledge, and wisdom. At his baptism the Christ came down upon him, from him who is over all, in the shape of a dove: and then he declared to the world the unknown Father, and wrought miracles. At the end the Christ left Jesus; and Jesus suffered and rose again; but the Christ being spiritual, was impassible.

Again he says, 'And[b] there are some who have heard 'Polycarp say that John the disciple of the Lord, going to

[a] Et Cerinthus autem quidem in Asiâ, non a Primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quâdam valde separatâ et distante ab eâ principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum, qui est super omnia, Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum; (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est;) fuisse autem eum Josephi et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitiâ, prudentiâ, et sapientiâ, ab hominibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab eâ principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figurâ columbæ, et tunc annuntiâsse incognitum patrem, et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolâsse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse, et resurrexisse; Christum autem impassibilem perseverâsse, existentem spiritalem. l. i. c. 26. [al. 25.] p. 105. Gr. 102.

[b] L. iii. c. 3. p. 177. Gr. 204.

'bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus already in the 'bath, came out again in haste, saying to those who were 'with him, Let us flee hence, lest the bath should fall while 'Cerinthus the enemy of truth is within.' This story I have examined in another[c] place; and shall now add nothing to what was then said, except it be that [d]Basnage, [e]Massuet, and some others, as it seems to me, do not represent it rightly. For they suppose Irenæus to say that he himself had received that account from Polycarp; whereas I think Irenæus says no more than this, that there were some who heard it from Polycarp.

In another place Irenæus says, 'They[f] who separate Jesus 'from the Christ, and say that the Christ was always im-'passible, whilst Jesus suffered, preferring the gospel ac-'cording to Mark, may be confuted by it, if they have a 'love of truth.' Grabe[g] thinks this to be said of the Cerinthians. Massuet disputes this; but perhaps his arguments are of no great moment; however, it is not easy to conceive any reason why these persons should prefer Mark before the other evangelists. And moreover it is generally allowed that they received St. Matthew's, if not the other gospels also. Nevertheless Mr. Lampe[h] is entirely of the same opinion with Grabe.

Once more, that learned and pious ancient says, that 'John[i] the disciple of the Lord wrote his gospel to confute 'the doctrine lately taught by Cerinthus, and a great while 'before by those called Nicolaitans, a branch of the Gnos-'tics, and to show that there is one God who made all things 'by his word: and not, as they say, that there is one the

[c] Vol. ii. p. 95. [d] Ann. An. 101. Vol. ii. p. 6. No. 11.

[e] Diss. Iren. p. lxiv. n. vi. de Cerintho.

[f] Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverâsse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferentes evangelium, cum amore veritatis legentes illud, corrigi possunt. L. iii. c. xi. p. 190. Mass. Gr. 220. 12.

[g] Cerinthum ejusque sequaces indicat; adeo ut hos Marci evangelium recepisse constet. Gr. ad loc. p. 220.

[h] Cerinthianos procul dubio intelligit, quando ait, 'Qui autem Jesum 'separant a Christo.' Unde saltem patet, quod Marci quoque evangelio locum fecerint. Lampe, Prol. in Johan. p. 135.

[i] Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per evangelii enuntiationem auferre eum, quia Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaïtæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus quæ falso cognominatur scientia: ut confunderet eos, et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum suum, et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem patrem Domini, et alium quidem fabricatoris filium, alterum vero de superioribus Christum, quem et impassibilem perseverâsse, descendentem in Jesum filium fabricatoris, et iterum revolâsse in suum pleroma. L. i. c. 11. p. 188. Mass. p. 218. Gr.

'Creator, and another the Father of our Lord: and one the 'Son of the Creator, and another, even the Christ, who de- 'scended from above upon the Son of the Creator, and con- 'tinued impassible, and at length returned to his pleroma 'or fulness.' St. Jerom[k] has somewhat to the like purpose concerning the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel.

Let us now take Epiphanius's account. His summary is to this purpose: the[l] Cerinthians, called also Merinthians, are Jews, (or of Jewish extract,) valuing themselves upon circumcision. They say, that the world was made by angels, and that Jesus by increase of virtue came to be Christ.

In his larger work he says, that, 'like[m] the Carpocratians, 'they say Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, and that the 'world was made by angels. Indeed they differ little or 'nothing from them, except that they[n] are for observing 'the Jewish rites, in part at least. They say that the law 'and the prophets proceeded from angels, and that he who 'gave the law was one of the angels that made the world. 'This Cerinthus lived in Asia, and there first published his 'doctrine. He said[o] that when Jesus was grown up, the 'Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, came down upon him at 'Jordan, in the shape of a dove, from the supreme Deity: 'and revealed to him, and by him to others, the unknown 'Father. Whereupon when that power had come down 'upon him from above, he wrought great miracles. He 'likewise said that Jesus suffered and rose again, but the 'Christ that came down upon him from above was always 'impassible: and that when Jesus suffered, the Christ left 'him. This same man is one of those, who, in the time of 'the apostles, caused a[p] disturbance; when James[q] and 'they that were with him sent letters to the disciples at 'Antioch, saying, "Forasmuch as we have heard, that cer- 'tain which went out from us have troubled you with 'words." And he was also one of those who "contended 'with Peter," when he was returned to Jerusalem, after he

[k] Novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium—Adversus Cerinthum, aliosque hæreticos, et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse, &c. De V. I. c. 9.

[l] Ιεδαιοι τινες την περιτομην αυχεντες. Ιησεν δε κατα προκοπην Χριτον κεκλησθαι. p. 53.

[m] H. 28. p. 110, &c.

[n] Εν τῳ προσεχειν τῳ ιεδαϊσμω απο μερες. H. C.

[o] Ανωθεν δε εκ τε ανω Θεε μετα το αδρυνθηναι τον Ιησεν, κατεληλυθεναι τον Χριτον εις αυτον, τετ' εςι το πνευμα ἁγιον εν ειδεῖ περιτερας εν τῳ Ιορδανῃ, και αποκαλυψαι αυτῳ, και δι' αυτε τοις μετ' αυτε τον αγνωτον πατερα, και δια τετο, επειδη ηλθεν ἡ δυναμις εις αυτον ανωθεν, δυναμεις επιτελεκεναι· πεπονθοτα δε τον Ιησεν, και παλιν εγηγερμενον Χριτον δε τε ανωθεν ελθοντα εις αυτον απαθη αναπτανται. Ib. p. 110. D. 111. A.

[p] P. 111. B. C.

[q] Acts xv. 24.

'had been at the house of Cornelius by the direction of the 'Holy Ghost, saying,[r] "Thou wentest in to men uncircum- 'cised, and didst eat with them." But this[s] was before he 'preached his doctrine in Asia. The same[t] false apostle 'Cerinthus was also with those who made a sedition at Je- 'rusalem, when Paul came thither with Titus, saying,[u] '"that he had brought uncircumcised men into the temple, 'and had defiled that holy place."' Epiphanius adds, 'They 'use[v] the gospel of Matthew, though not entire; but they 'prefer this on account of the genealogy which relates pro- 'perly to his flesh. They also endeavour to bring proofs 'from this gospel in favour of circumcision, arguing from 'another part, "It[w] is enough for the disciple that he be as 'his master." Christ was circumcised and kept the law, 'and why should not you likewise? As for Paul,[x] they 'quite reject him, because he was against circumcision, and 'says, "they[y] who are justified by the law, are fallen from 'grace:" and "if ye are circumcised, Christ shall profit 'you nothing."' He afterwards says that[z] the same people are also called Merinthians; but he does not know whether Cerinthus was also called Merinthus, or whether there was another called Merinthus, who was joined with him. But, as we have already said, he often[a] opposed the apostles not only at Jerusalem, but in Asia also, both he and his adherents.

This is Epiphanius's account, who, as we see, makes additions to Irenæus, saying, that 'he opposed the apostles 'in Judea, and out of it, early and late.'

Let us now see what Theodoret says: 'About the same time,' (he had before mentioned the Ebionites and Nazarenes,)

[r] Acts xi. 22, 23. [s] Εποιησε δε τουτο Κηρινθος, πριν η εν τη Ασια κηρυξαι το αυτο κηρυγμα, και εμπεσειν εις το περισσοτερον της εαυτου απωλειας βαραθρον. p. 111. C. [t] Ib. n. iv. p. 112. C. D.

[u] Acts xxi. 28. [v] Χρωνται γαρ τω κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιω απο μερους, και ουχι ὁλω, αλλα δια την γενεαλογιαν την ενσαρκον. n. v. p. 113. B. C. This passage has generally been understood as asserting that the Cerinthians did not receive the entire gospel of Matthew, on account of the genealogy, which they rejected. Whereas the true meaning of the passage is that they preferred this gospel to the others, because of the genealogy. From whence they thought they could prove Christ to be really a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary. The other words, 'in part,' and 'not 'entire,' come in by way of parenthesis. This, which is the genuine sense of the words, reconciles what is here said, with what is said of them by Epiphanius, under the article Ebionites; quoted, page 415, note [b].

[w] Matt. x. 25. [x] Τον δε Παυλον αθετουσι δια το μη πειθεσθαι τη περιτομη. Ibid. n. v. p. 113. C. [y] Gal. v. 2, 4.

[z] Ibid. n. 8. p. 115. D. [a] Ὁτι ουτος μονον εν Ἱεροσολυμαις πολλακις αντειπε τοις αποστολοις, αλλα και οἱ συν αυτω εν Ασια. N. 8. p. 116.

'Cerinthus was the author of another heresy or sect. Having 'been a long while in Ægypt, and studied philosophical 'learning; at length he came into Asia, and gathered disci- 'ples, which he called after his own name. He taught that 'there is one[b] God over all; nevertheless he did not make 'the world, but some other powers separate from him, and 'ignorant of him. He said, as the Jews generally do, that 'Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, but that he excelled 'other men in wisdom, temperance, righteousness, and all 'virtues; that the Christ descended upon him from above 'in the shape of a dove, and then he preached the unknown 'God, and performed the miracles which are recorded of 'him; that at the time of his passion the Christ withdrew 'from him, and that Jesus only suffered. He forged some 'revelations as seen by himself, adding certain woes and 'threatenings. He said that the kingdom of our Lord is 'terrestrial, or that he would reign on this earth; for he 'dreamed of eating and drinking, and marriage, and sacri- 'fices, and festivals to be accomplished at Jerusalem, and 'to last for a thousand years: for so long he thought the 'kingdom of the Lord would endure. Against him wrote 'not only the fore-mentioned authors, but Caius also, and 'Dionysius bishop of Alexandria. And it is said that the 'divine evangelist John, going to bathe, and seeing Cerin- 'thus, said "Let us flee hence, lest the bath should fall 'upon Cerinthus, and we share in the same ruin."'

SECTION II.

Observations relative to the time of Cerinthus.

I NOW proceed to make remarks. Other authors have spoken of Cerinthus; but I hope to bring in their accounts under the following observations.

One thing is very observable, that these three learned writers vary very much. Epiphanius and Theodoret say

[b] Ἑνα μεν ειναι τον των ὁλων Θεον. Τον Ιησεν δε, τοις Ἑβραιοις παραπλησιως, εφησε κατα φυσιν εξ ανδρος γεγενησθαι και γυναικος, τε Ιωσηφ και της Μαριας, σωφροσυνῃ δε, και δικαιοσυνῃ, και τοις αλλοις αγαθοις διαπρεψαι. Τον Χριστον εν ειδει περιστερας ανωθεν εις αυτον κατελθειν, και τηνικαυτα τον αγνοεμενον κηρυξαι Θεον, και τας αναγραπτας επιτελεσαι θαυματεργιας. Κατα δε τον τε παθες καιρον αποστηναι μεν τον Χριστον, το δε παθος υπομειναι τον Ιησεν. Ουτος αποκαλυψεις τινας, ὡς αυτος τεθεαμενος, επλασατο, και απειλων τινων διδασκαλιας συνεθηκε, και τε Κυριε την βασιλειαν εφησεν επιγειον εσεσθαι. H. T. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 219.

divers things of Cerinthus, which Irenæus, the most ancient, takes no notice of. That I may omit no particular of moment, I shall consider the time and history of Cerinthus, then his sentiments, next his manners, and, lastly, the scriptures received by him.

Baronius speaks of Cerinthus at several years of the first century, not very long after our Saviour's ascension; Le Clerc at the year 80; Basnage at the year 101, in their several ecclesiastical histories. By some he is esteemed a heretic of the first, by others of the[a] second, century. It is reckoned to be observable that Epiphanius placeth the Cerinthians after the Carpocratians. And Irenæus intimates that the doctrine of the Cerinthians had been long before taught by the Nicolaitans. Theodoret, in a place not yet quoted, says, 'It[b] was reported that Cerinthus sowed the 'seeds of his principles whilst the excellent evangelist John 'was still living:' which implies that Cerinthus did not arise in the early days of the apostles, but only some short time before the death of St. John, who was the longer liver of them. And in the appendix to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, it is expressly said that[c] Cerinthus arose after the Carpocratians, as it is[d] in Philaster likewise. I might add that[e] Jerom also has this order, Saturninus, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and Ebion, whom he calls his successor. However, I cannot say that all this is sufficient to fix the time of Cerinthus with any certainty or exactness.

SECTION III.

Observations tending to illustrate his history.

AS for his history, there is scarce any one thing in which the three fore-mentioned writers of heresies agree, except in

[a] Non disputo nunc de Cerinthi ætate, quæ saltem quoad erroris propalationem Joanne recentior videtur, uti infra indicabitur. Lamp. Proleg. p. 69. in. Cerinthum vero seculo demum secundo, et quidem non ante Hadrianum vel Antoninum Pium, emersisse, vix dubitamus. Id. ib. 182. Vid. et p. 184, 186.

[b] Και Κηρινθον δε φασιν, Ιωαννε τϐ πανευφημϐ τϐ το θειον συγγραψαντος ευαγγελλιον ἐτι περιοντος, τα της οικειας αἱρεσεως παρασπειραι ζιζανια. H. E. l. ii. Pr. p. 216. C.

[c] Post hunc Cerinthus hæreticus erupit similia docens. Pr. cap. 48. p. 252. A. p. 216. 14.

[d] H. 36. See note [c], p. 411.

[e] Ad eos venio hæreticos, qui evangelia laniaverunt; Saturninum quendam, et Ophitas, et Cainæos, et Sethoitas, et Carpocratem, et Cerinthum, et hujus successorem Ebionem. Adv. Lucif. Tom. iv. p. 304. M.

this, that he was of Asia, or that he lived there chiefly. Epiphanius says that the Cerinthians were Jews, but neither of the other two says so expressly. Epiphanius speaks much of the opposition made by Cerinthus to the apostles upon the point of circumcision, of which the other two say nothing. And the truth of this is disputed by some learned moderns, particularly [a] Basnage and [b] Lampe. They say there wanted not any particular leader in that affair. The prevailing sentiments of the Jewish people, especially of the pharisees, would incline many to insist upon circumcision as necessary. If Cerinthus had been at the head of all the disturbances raised at Jerusalem upon that account in the time of the apostles, why should he not have been named as well as Simon Magus, Alexander, Hymenæus, and Philetus? Farther, they say that Cerinthus did not appear in the world till afterwards. They think these considerations sufficient to overthrow a story that relies almost entirely upon the credit of Epiphanius,[c] and is not mentioned by more early writers.

SECTION IV.

Of his principles and sentiments.

WE come now to his principles: what they are said to have been we have seen; but the accounts are not without their difficulties. Tillemont therefore at the beginning of his[a] article of the Cerinthians says not much beside the purpose. The church was from the beginning disturbed with two opposite heresies, which produced each one divers sects. One, which had Simon for its author, held two principles, and said that our Saviour was man in appearance only, who are generally called Gnostics and Docetæ. The

[a] Non nobis unquam Epiphanii probari sententia potuit qui Cerinthum illis præficit qui de disciplinæ Mosaïcæ observandæ necessitate ingentes in ecclesiâ Antiochenâ turbas commovêre, quibus sedandis concilium apostolorum Hierosolymis convocatum est. Ann. ad An. 101. No. xi. p. 6. Vol. ii. Vid. etiam ejusd. Exercit. Hist. Criti. p. 358, 367.

[b] Prolegom. ubi supra.

[c] However, it is likewise mentioned by Philaster, who says: Hic sub apostolis quæstionem seditionis commovit, dicens debere circumcidi homines: cujus causâ contra illum, et hæresim ejus, decreverunt in suis Actibus apostoli sententiam, non debere jam homines judaïsmo, id est, circumcisioni, aliisque talibus superstitionis vanæ parere carnalibus, qui de gentibus venientes credebant in Christum Dominum nostrum salvatorem. H. 36.

[a] Mem. Ec. Tom. ii.

other heresy opposite to this is that of the Jews, who embraced the christian faith, but not in all its extent. They acknowledged one principle, and one God, and the reality of the human nature in Jesus Christ. But they denied his divinity, and were fond of the ceremonies of the law. Nevertheless, however contrary these opinions are to each other, as well as to truth, the devil found means to join them, in order to form the monstrous body of the doctrine of the Cerinthians.

Cerinthus accordingly is reckoned by not[b] a few moderns a Gnostic; and yet he is no where said to have held the eternity of matter; nor was he a Docete, for he asserted the real humanity of Jesus. Moreover he is placed by Theodoret in the second book of his heretical tables among those who held one principle.

However, let us go over particulars. And in one thing all the fore-mentioned writers agree, that Cerinthus taught one supreme God, but that the world was not made by him, but by angels.

Concerning the person of Jesus likewise, their accounts agree in the main; that he said Jesus was a man born of Joseph and Mary, and that at his baptism the Holy Ghost, or the Christ, descended upon him, after which he wrought the miracles recorded of him, and in the end died and rose again; but that the Christ was impassible. And much to the same purpose we may observe[c] in Philaster, Augustine,[d] and the author of the Appendix to Tertullian, the[e] remainder of whose article concerning Cerinthus I now transcribe at the bottom of the page.

But perhaps it may be questioned whether the opinion of

[b] Cerinthus enim, quâtenus nobis ex historiâ vetere innotuit, vere fuit Gnosticus, et ex disciplinâ Gnosticorum sui petiit subsidia erroris. Lampe, Prol. in Johan. Vid. etiam Clerici Hist. Ecc. An. 80. p. 493. 1. Rectius cum Gnosticis componitur Cerinthus. Mosh. H. Ecc. Seculum 1. pt. 11. cap. 5. sect. 16. p. 66. Helms. 1755.

[c] Cerinthus successit hujus (Carpocratis) errori, et similitudini vanitatis docens de generatione itidem Salvatoris, deque creaturâ angelorum, in nullo discordans ab eo, nisi quia ex parte solum legi consentit, quod a Deo data sit, et ipsum dominum Judæorum esse æstimat, qui legem dedit filiis Israël. Docet autem circumcidi, et sabbatizare, et Christum nondum resurrexisse a mortuis, sed resurrecturum annuntiat. H. 36.

[d] Mundum ab angelis factum esse dicentes, et carne circumcidi oportere, atque alia hujusmodi legis præcepta servari; Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse, sed resurrecturum asseverantes. H. 8.

[e] Post hunc (Carpocratem) Cerinthus hæreticus erupit, similia docens. Nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab illis dicit: Christum ex semine Joseph natum proponit; hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datam perhibens; Judæorum Deum non Dominum, sed angelum promens. Pr. cap. 48. p. 252. A. p. 216. 14.

the Cerinthians be rightly represented. They might speak of Jesus as a man only, though they thought him to be born of a virgin. That they allowed this, may be argued with a good deal of force, if they received St. Matthew's genealogy, as it perhaps may appear afterwards that they did. The opinion that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary was not only wrong, but likewise unpopular among christians. And I apprehend that this is falsely ascribed to some who spoke of Jesus as a man only, till the Holy Ghost came down upon him. Epiphanius, in his article of the Alogians, having observed Matthew's account of our Lord's being born of a virgin, and that he was descended from David and Abraham, says, 'hence[f] Cerinthus and Ebion argue 'that Jesus was a mere man, as do also Merinthus, and Cle-'obius or Cleobulus, and Claudius, and Demas, and Her-'mogenes.' But what reason has Epiphanius to ascribe to all these, particularly to Demas and Hermogenes, the same opinion that he sometimes ascribes to Cerinthus, that Jesus was born as other men are? However, if they received the genealogy in Matthew, as he says they did,[g] they might argue that Jesus was truly a man, but must allow that he was born of a virgin.

They allowed the Holy Ghost to have descended upon Jesus at his baptism; which is agreeable to our gospels. But by the Holy Ghost probably they did not mean a person but a power, as Epiphanius expresseth it. And as to what is said that the Holy Ghost, or the Christ, was impassible, and left Jesus to suffer alone, their real opinion may have been only and no more than this, that the divine nature in Jesus, or the power that came down upon him at baptism, and by which he wrought miracles, did not suffer.

Irenæus and Epiphanius, in passages before cited, said expressly that Jesus rose again after he had suffered; which is not denied by Theodoret. Nevertheless, in another place he says, 'they[h] supposed that Christ, or rather Jesus, who 'suffered and was crucified, was not risen, but would rise 'again in the general resurrection of the dead.' And so

[f] Ενθεν γαρ οι περι Κηρινθον ψιλον τον ανθρωπον κατεσχον—Αντιλεγοντες γαρ τοις τ̃ Κυριε μαθηταις κατ' εκεινε καιρε, απο της κατα τον Αβρααμ, και Δαβιδ γενεαλογιας, την αυτων ανοιαν επειρωντο παριτ̃αν.—Ep. Her. 51. p. 427. C. D.

[g] Ὁ μεν γαρ Κηρινθος και Καρποκρας τ̃ω αυτ̃ω χρωμενοι δηθεν παρ' αυτοις εναγγελιω απο της αρχης τ̃ κατα Ματθαιον εναγγελιε, Δια της γενεαλογιας βαλονται παριτ̃αν εκ σπερματος Ιωσηφ και Μαριας ειναι τον Χριτ̃ον. Ad. Hær. 30. No. 14. p. 138. C. D. See also the quotation, note [e].

[h] Χριτ̃ον πεπονθεναι και εταυρωσθαι, μηπω διεγηγερθαι, μελλειν δε ανιτ̃ασθαι ὁταν ἡ καθολε γενηται νεκρων ανατ̃ασις. H 28. n. 6. p. 113. D.

likewise say[i] Philaster and Augustine. What they mean by this I cannot tell; but I take the former account to be right, that they said Jesus was risen. However, we have here a farther proof that these people believed the resurrection of the dead; in which too they differed from those called Gnostics.

He was zealous for circumcision, and the rights of the Mosaic law, as Epiphanius says again and again; though no notice is taken of this by Irenæus or Theodoret. And it is somewhat strange that he should be so zealous for the law, if he taught that the world was made by angels, and that the God of the Jews, by whom the law was delivered, was not the supreme God, but an angel only. According to Jerom this was the principal error of Cerinthus, that[k] he was for joining the law with the gospel.

Once more, Cerinthus is supposed to have been a Millenarian; so says Theodoret, though neither Irenæus nor Epiphanius make any mention of it. What Theodoret says must have been taken from the works of Caius, and Dionysius, or the extracts out of them in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History: of which we gave a large account[l] formerly. This is also mentioned[m] by Augustine. But Philaster, and the author of the Appendix to Tertullian, are silent upon this head; and Le Clerc[n] seems scarcely convinced that this error is rightly imputed to him.

[i] See notes [c] and [d], p. 411.

[k] Si hoc verum est, in Cerinthi et Ebionis hæresim delabimur, qui, credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum a patribus anathematizati sunt, quod legis cæremonias Christi evangelio miscuerunt; et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. Ep. 74. [al. 89.] p. 623. M.

[l] See vol. ii. p. 400, 491. and ch. xliii. num. xiv. See also the quotation below.

[m] Mille quoque annos post resurrectionem in terreno regno Christi, secundum carnales ventris et libidinis voluptates, futuros fabulantur. Unde etiam Chiliastæ sunt appellati. H. 8.

[n] Caius, qui sub finem secundi aut initio tertii seculi floruit, prodidit in dialogo, cujus locum profert Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 28. Cerinthum, qui per revelationes quasi a magno apostolo scriptas, portenta finxerat, velut ab angelis sibi ostensa, intromisisse hanc doctrinam; quâ affirmat, post resurrectionem regnum Christi in terris futurum, et rursus cupiditatibus et voluptatibus carnem Jerosolymæ versantem serviturum. Quin et dixisse inimicum illum scripturarum divinarum, fallere volentem, in nuptialibus festis mille annorum spatium transactum iri. Cujus erroris etiam Dionysius Alexandrinus eum incusabat, ut eodem loco docet Eusebius. 'Quod si verum sit,' Chiliastarum hic conditor haberi possit Clerici. H. E. sect. 1. p. 493. H. See the original of this passage, p. 416, note [h].

SECTION V.

Of his morals.

I SHOULD have had no occasion to have said any thing of Cerinthus's manners, if some learned moderns[a] had not represented him as a vicious person; for which I can see no good ground. They build upon some expressions of Dionysius of [b] Alexandria: but they are only words of course in the way of controversy. And the catholics, who expected a Millennium,[c] had the same notion of it that he is said to have had. There was nothing unlawful in either, though it was low and mean. And what may satisfy us that Cerinthus was not a bad man, is this; that nothing of that kind is said of him by the writers of heresies; not by Irenæus, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodoret, nor the rest.

[a] Non erant Cerinthi mores doctrinâ suâ sanctiores, teste Dionysio Alexandrino: hæc enim fuit illius opinio: regnum Christi terrenum futurum: et quarum rerum cupiditate ipse flagrabat, utpote voluptatibus corporis obnoxius, carnisque addictus, in iis regnum Dei situm fore somniavit, in ventris et earum, quæ infra ventrem sunt partium explendâ libidine; hoc est, in cibo, et potu, ac nuptiis: atque ut honestiori vocabulo ejusmodi voluptates velaret, in festis, et sacrificiis, et hostiarum mactionibus. Basnag. Annales. An. 101. XI.

[b] *Κηρινθον δε, τον και την απ' εκεινε κληθεισαν Κηρινθιανην συνησαμενον αἱρεσιν αξιοπιστον επιφημισαι, θελησαντα τῳ ἑαυτε πλασματι ονομα. Τετο γαρ ειναι της διδασκαλιας αυτε το δογμα, επιγειον εσεσθαι την τε Χριστε βασιλειαν, και ὡν αυτος ωρεγετο φιλοσωματος ὡν και πανυ σαρκικος, εν τετοις ονειροπολειν εσεσθαι, γαστροις και των ὑπο γαστερα πλησμοναις, τετ' ἐστι, σιτιοις και ποτοις και γαμοις, και δι' ὡν ευθυμοτερον ταυτα ῳηθη πορισεσθαι, ἑορταις, και θυσιαις, και ἱερειων σφαγαις.* Eus. Ecc. Hist. Lib. vii. C. 25. p. 273. A. B. Vid. Credib. Vol. ii. ch. xliii. num. xiv.

[c] *Νεπως επισκοπος—Ιουδαϊκωτερον τας επηγγελμενας τοις ἁγιοις εν ταις θειαις γραφαις επαγγελιας αποδοθησεσθαι διδασκων, και τινα χιλιαδα ετων τρυφης σωματικης επι της ξηρας ταυτης εσεσθαι υποτιθεμενος.* Ibid. c. 23. p. 270. D. 271. A.

Την δε τε συγγραμματος τετε διδασκαλιαν, ὡς μεγα δη τι και κεκρυμμενον μυστηριον, κατεπαγγελομενων, και τες ἁπλουστερες ἀδελφες ἡμων ἑαυτων ὑψηλον και μεγαλειον φρονειν ὁτε περι της ενδοξε και αληθως ενθεε τε Κυριε ἡμων επιφανειας ὁτε της ἡμετερας εκ νεκρων αναστασεως, και της προς αυτον επισυναγωγης και ὁμοιωσεως· αλλα μικρα και ἑνητα και οἱα τα νυν ελπιζειν αναπειθοντων εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ τε Θεε. Ibid. cap. 24. p. 271. D. Credib. Vol. iii. ch. xliii. num. xv. 3.

SECTION VI.

What scriptures he received.

CERINTHUS received the scriptures of the Old Testament. Of this I think there can be no doubt: for it is not denied by any; and it is plainly supposed by those writers, who speak of his zeal for the peculiarities of the law of Moses.

1. He received the gospel of St. Matthew, as Epiphanius says expressly in the place at first quoted from him: though not entire, as he there mentions. But he did not, as is supposed by many to be the meaning of that passage, reject the first, or the first and second chapters of St. Matthew. For it seems to me,[a] that he does there plainly say they received the gospel, and were fond of it on account of the genealogy. Moreover in the article of the Ebionites, he[b] says, it is allowed by all that Cerinthus made use of the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, and from thence endeavoured to prove that Jesus was descended in a natural way from Joseph and Mary. And another passage, cited not long ago[c] from his article of the Alogians, deserves to be here taken into consideration.

2. If the passage of Irenæus before quoted[d] relate to the Cerinthians, (as some think,) they preferred the gospel of St. Mark to the rest; but it does not therefore follow that he received no other; for he certainly received St. Matthew's, if not all the gospels: but it is by no means clear that that passage does refer to them.

3. If there be any truth in the accounts of his being a Millenarian, it is highly probable that he respected the apostle John, if the Revelation be a work of that apostle. Several writers, who did not like the Millenarian doctrine received by many catholics, affirmed the book of the Revelation, upon which they chiefly built, to be a work not of St. John, but of Cerinthus. So did Caius, as is allowed by Grabe and Mill, in passages formerly quoted in this[e] work.

[a] See the observation on the quotation, p. 407, note [r].

[b] Ὁ μεν γαρ Κηρινθος και Καρποκρας τῳ αυτῳ χρωμενοι δηθεν παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιῳ, απο της αρχης τε κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιε δια της γενεαλογιας βελονται παριεναι εκ σπερματος Ιωσηφ και Μαριας ειναι τον Χριεον. H. 30. n. xiv. p. 138. D.

[c] See before, note [r]. p. 407.

[d] See before, p. 405. note [f].

[e] See vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

I put down here another passage of [f] Mill. Beausobre[g] was clearly of the same opinion. And Theodoret in the passage cited above, says, that Cerinthus forged some revelations, as seen by himself: probably meaning those in the book of the Revelation, which we have. Caius's words are, 'Cerinthus[h] also, who by revelations, as written by a great 'apostle, imposeth upon us monstrous relations of things of 'his own invention, as shown him by an angel, says that, 'after the resurrection, there shall be a terrestrial kingdom 'of Christ. This, I think, may be reckoned a strong argu-'ment for the antiquity of the Revelation. And if there be 'any truth in what is said of Cerinthus being a Millenarian, 'it is probable he made use of our book of Revelation, 'ascribed to John, upon which all the Millenarian schemes 'were founded. But whether he wrote the book himself 'in the name of John, or only appealed to it in support of 'his opinions, it is a proof he respected that apostle. And 'if he did, it is probable that he received his gospel and 'the epistle generally ascribed to [i] him.'

4. Philaster says that 'Cerinthus[k] did not receive the 'apostle Paul, but honoured the traitor Judas. That he 'received only the gospel of Matthew, rejecting the other 'three gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles.' But what Philaster says, in which he is not supported by others, I apprehend needs not to be much minded.

Epiphanius however, as before quoted, says that 'the '[l] Cerinthians reject Paul.' Nevertheless, there may be some reason to question the truth of this, from what Epiphanius himself says elsewhere. For [m] he informs us there was a

[f] Sin autem apostoli hujus haud fuerit Apocalypsis, cujus obsecro? Cerinthi. Id enim affirmabat Caius in disputatione habita coram Zephyrino, &c. Mill. Prol. n. 167.

[g] On fait mention d' une Apocalyse de Cérinthe, supposée sous le nom de S. Jean : et l' on se figure deux Apocalypses, l'une et l'autre attribuées à cet Apôtre. On se fonde sur un passage de Caius, Prêtre de Rome, allégué par Eusèbe. Mais on peut s'assurer, que Caius parle de l'Apocalypse de S. Jean. Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 455.

[h] *Αλλα και Κηρινθος, ὁ δι' Αποκαλυψεων, ὡς απο αποστολε μεγαλε γεγραμμενων, τερατολογιας ἡμιν ὡς δι' αγγελων αυτῳ οεδειγμενας, ψευδομενος, επεισαγει λεγων, μετα την αναστασιν επιγειον ειναι το βασιλειον τε Χριστε· και παλιν επιθυμιαις και ἡδοναις εν Ἱερουσαλημ την σαρκα πολιτευομενην δελευειν· και εχθρος υπαρχων ταις γραφαις τε Θεε, αριθμον χιλιονταετιας ἐν γαμῳ ἑορτας, θελων πλαναν, λεγει γενεσθαι.* Eus. H. E. l. iii. c. 28. p. 100. A.

[i] Vid. Lamp. Pro. in Johan.

[k] Apostolum Paulum non accipit. Judam traditorem honorat. Evangelium secundum Matthæum solum accipit. Tria evangelia spernit. Actus Apostolorum abjicit. H. 36. p. 79, 80.

[l] Hær. 28. n. vi. p. 113. C. before, p. 407, note [r].

[m] *Εν οἱς και τι παραδοσεως πραγμα ηλθεν εις ἡμας, ὡς τινων μεν παρ' αυτοις προφθανοντων τελευτησαι ανευ βαπτισματος, αλλες δε αντι αυτων εις ονομα*

tradition, that when some of them had died without baptism, others were baptized for them, lest at the time when they should be hereafter raised up at the general resurrection, they should be punished for that omission. And it was supposed that St. Paul refers to it in 1 Cor. xv. 29. But he says there is another and better interpretation of that text. And he afterwards argues[n] against them from Isaiah, and from St. Luke's and St. John's gospels, which seems to imply that they respected these parts of scripture, as well as the gospel of Matthew, some part of St. Paul's writings, and the Revelation of St. John. Upon the whole then, it appears highly probable that Cerinthus flourished in the latter end of the first, or very early in the second century. And it is certain, that the Old Testament, and several of the books of the New Testament, were received by him.

CHAP. V.

OF PRODICUS AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

SECTION I.

Of the account of him from Clemens Alexandrinus.

PRODICUS is wanting in Irenæus, the additions to Tertullian's prescriptions, Eusebius, and Philaster. He is mentioned by Tertullian and Theodoret, as we shall see distinctly hereafter. But our chief intelligence must come from Clement of Alexandria, by whom he is spoken of several times.

In one place he says that 'the[a] followers of Prodicus 'boasted of having the secret books of Zoroaster.' By which, as also by some other passages of Clement, we perceive that there was a sect or heresy called after Prodicus.

In another place, having spoken of some loose principles

εκεινων βαπτιζεσθαι—και τουτω ἑνεκα ἡ παραδοσις ἡ ελθουσα εις ἡμας φησι τον αυτον ἁγιον ἀποστολον ειρηκεναι, ει ὁλως νεκροι ουκ εγειρονται, κ. τ. λ. Ep. Hær. 28. n. vi. p. 114. B. C.

[n] Ibid. 11. vii. p. 115. A. B.

[a] Βιβλους αποκρυφους τ' ανδρος τουδε οἱ την Προδικου μετιοντες ἁιρεσιν αυχησι κεκτησθαι. Str. i. p. 304. B.

ascribed to the Carpocratians, or others, he says, ‘ Like[b] ‘ things to these are the doctrines taught by the followers ‘ of Prodicus, who falsely call themselves Gnostics. They ‘ say they are by nature the children of the supreme Deity; ‘ but they dishonour their high birth and freedom: for they ‘ live as they choose; and they choose to live in pleasure. ‘ They scorn to be controlled, as being lords of the sabbath, ‘ and the king's children; and kings are above laws: ne- ‘ vertheless they do not every thing they will, being re- ‘ strained by the laws: and what they do they do not as ‘ kings, but as the vilest slaves: for they practise unclean- ‘ ness, but privately, fearing punishment, and guarding ‘ against discoveries. But how is this consistent with free- ‘ dom, when the apostle says, “ he that committeth sin, is ‘ the servant of sin.” And how, when they do these things, ‘ which are despised and prohibited by the Gentiles, that is, ‘ when they are covetous, unrighteous, intemperate, impure, ‘ can they say that they only know God? And if we say, ‘ as John in his epistle, that “ we have fellowship with him, ‘ and we walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: ‘ but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have ‘ fellowship with him; and the blood of Jesus Christ his ‘ son cleanseth us from sin,” (1 John i. 6, 7.) And how are ‘ they better than the men of the world, who do these things, ‘ and are like to the worst men in the world?’

SECTION II.

Of Theodoret's account of him, in which he is far from being exact.

THEODORET'S article of Prodicus following that of Carpocrates is to this purpose:[a] ‘ Prodicus succeeding to him, ‘ instituted the sect of the Adamites. He made this addition ‘ to the doctrine of Carpocrates, that men should commit ‘ lewdness openly: for he ordained that women should be

[b] *Τοιαυτα και οἱ απο Προδικε, ψευδωνυμως Γνωστικες σφας αυτες αναγορευοντες, δογματιζεσιν· νιες μεν φυσει τε πρωτε Θεε λεγοντος αυτες, καταχρωμενοι δε τη ευγενειᾳ και τη ελευθερια, ζωσιν ὡς βελονται δε φιληδονως· κρατηθηναι ὁπ' ηδενος νενομικοτες, ὡς αν κυριοι τε σαββατε, και ὑπερ απαντος γενες πεφυκοτες βασιλειοι παιδες. Λαθρα γαρ μοιχευεσιν, και αλωναι δεδιοτες, και το καταγνωσθηναι εκκλινοντες. Ποθεν αν κρειττες εισι των κοσμικων οἱ τοιαυτα πρασσοντες, και τοις χειριστοις των κοσμικων ομοιοι.* Str. 3. p. 438, 439

[a] H. T. l. i. c. 6. p. 177.

'common,'[b] and what follows. For proof of which he partly quotes, and partly refers to the afore-cited, and another passage of Clement of Alexandria. Nor does it appear that Theodoret had any authority for what he says here, or elsewhere, very much to the disparagement of Prodicus and his followers, but that of Clement of Alexandria; upon whom therefore I shall make the following remark, leaving others, after all, to judge as they see good.

SECTION III.

Observations on the account given us by Clemens Alexandrinus, which renders it probable they were not such licentious livers as they are there said to have been.

1. IT is hard to think that men should be quite so bad as there intimated, who boasted of serving God; and who made a profession of excelling Gentiles and men of the world. It does not seem to me that men could be totally abandoned to all excess, with whom Clement would think to argue so mildly, but strongly, as he does from the words of St. Paul and St. John, and likewise of our Lord, which I have in the fore-cited passage omitted. He seems to me

[b] What Theodoret further says will be considered when we come to speak of the Adamians. In proof of what he here advances, he refers to Clement of Alexandria, from whom he has inserted two quotations, which however related to the conduct of some other heretics, and not at all to that of Prodicus. In the last part of what he says concerning him, he inserts the beginning of the passage which I have before transcribed at large, viz. 'Such 'things the followers of Prodicus teach, falsely calling themselves Gnostics,' &c. The whole of what he had before quoted from Clement, belongs to the Carpocratians or some others, and not to Prodicus; to whom it can be made to refer by way of implication. What I have here taken notice of, hath been long ago observed by Bayle, whose words under the article Prodicus are these; 'I ought to add, that with regard to another circumstance, Theodoret was not 'so exact as he should have been, in quoting from Clement of Alexandria. 'He makes him say of Prodicus what is properly and directly said of some 'others, and cannot be applied to him but in general, and by means of seve-'ral indirect arguments.' In another place,* he joins Prodicus with Carpocrates, the Cainites, and some others, and says, 'They taught, that souls were 'sent into this world, to practise all manner of sensuality and iniquity, and, 'by such pursuits, to pay homage to the angels who had created the world.' It is very apparent then that the authority of Theodoret is not additional to that of Clement; for what he says concerning Prodicus, he takes from him, and doth not even quote him fairly.

* H. F. L. v. c. 9. p. 273. D. C. 20. p. 297. B. Compare c. 27. p. 311. D. 312. A.

to have been of opinion that these men would be affected by this argument; which is more than could be hoped of men openly or determinedly wicked and profligate.

2. It is somewhat probable, that Clement did not certainly know they allowed themselves in the practice of those things which are generally agreed to be evil. For he only says they did them in private, and endeavoured to conceal the knowledge of it from the world.

3. The case seems to me to be this. These men had some principles, and used some expressions which might be abused, or which Clement thought might be abused, and understood to countenance the practice of wickedness. But they, it is likely, did not see that consequence: nor intended that any such deductions or conclusions should be drawn from their doctrine. If there were nothing more to be alleged in favour of this than what hath been said already, this observation might be reckoned to have some degree of probability.

But there are divers other things by which this observation may be supported. For having cited some expressions of Carpocrates, or of some of that sect, he says, 'If[a] these, 'like the Valentinians, intended spiritual communions, 'possibly some might receive their opinion: but to make 'carnal communion a mean to prophecy or inspiration, must 'be the sentiment of those only who despair of salvation.' Then follows the passage above cited. The like things say also the followers of Prodicus. But I imagine that Clement may be here mistaken: and that the expressions which he quotes, and at which he is so much offended, may be understood in the same way, as he himself interpreted some expressions of the Valentinians. I might add, that Clement himself was not quite certain[b] that the Carpocratians were the authors of this book, from which he took these words. Another thing leading to this apprehension is in the midst of the passage above quoted. But, says Clement,[c] shall any one sin wilfully, and attempt to establish a doctrine for licensing and encouraging adultery, and such like offences? When any sin unwillingly, we pity them; but this is a dif-

[a] Ει γαρ και ουτοι, καθαπερ και οἱ απο Ουαλεντινε, πνευματικας ετιθεντο κοινωνιας. ισως τις αυτων την ὑποληψιν επεδεξατο· σαρκικης δε ὑβρεως κοινωνιαν εις προφητειαν ἁγιαν αναγειν, απεγνωκοτος ετι την σωτηριαν. Τοιαυτα και οἱ Προδικε, κ. λ. Str. 3. p. 438. B.

[b] Ερρυη δε ουτως το δογμα εκ τινος αποκρυφε, και δη παραθησομαι την λεξιν την της τετων ασελγειας μητερα. Και ειτε αυτοι της βιβλε συγγραφεις, κ. λ. Str. 3. p. 437. D. 438. A.

[c] Ἑκων δε τις ἁμαρτανειν βελεται, και δογμα τιθησι μοιχευειν και καθηδυπαθειν—, ὁπωε και τεε αλλεε ακοντας ἁμαρτανοντας ελεημεν. Ib. p. 438. D

ferent case; all which joined with what Clement says, of their practising lewdness in private, about which perhaps he had no certain information, makes me think that he only suspected them, without any clear proof, and that this suspicion was founded on their doctrine or expressions misunderstood, and not on their conduct. However, after all, let every one judge as the evidence appears to him.

SECTION IV.

They are accused of believing the uselessness of prayer.

I PROCEED to another passage. Clement is discoursing of prayer. 'Some,' says he,[a] 'have appointed times of 'prayer, the third for instance, the sixth, and the ninth hour 'of a day. But a Gnostic prays his whole life. Here,' says he, 'I[b] recollect some of another opinion, particularly the 'sect of Prodicus, who say we need not pray at all. This 'then is another opinion of these people, that prayer is 'needless.' Clement immediately adds, 'Nor let them boast 'of this impious opinion, as if it were new, and their own 'invention. It was before them the opinion of the Cyrenaic 'philosophers.' Tillemont says,[c] they learnt it from the Cyrenaic philosophers, but that does not appear to be Clement's meaning. What was their error does not, I think, clearly appear. Clement proceeds to argue upon the point; but he does not argue as if he thought them wicked and abandoned men. Their opinion, whatever it was, seems to have been deduced from some notions of the divine goodness, and from a misapplication of some texts of scripture; as if good men needed not to ask, but might hope for all necessary things without particular petitions, or express requests for them. Wherefore Clement argues after this manner: 'It[d] is allowed on all hands, that God fully knows

[a] Ει δε τινες και ὡρας τακτας απονεμεσιν ευχη,—αλλ' εν γε ὁ Γνωστικος παρα ὁλον ευχεται τον βιον. Str. 7. p. 722. C.

[b] Εντυθα γενομενος, υπεμνησθην των περι τε μη δειν ευχεσθαι—τουτεστιν των αμφι την Προδικε αἱρεσιν—μαθετωσαν προειληφθαι μεν υπο των Κυρηναϊκων λεγομενων φιλοσοφων. Ib. D.

[c] Ce qu'ils avoient tiré des philosophes Cyrenaïciens. Les Carpocrat. Mem. Ecc. F. 2.

[d] Καθολε γαρ ὁ Θεος οιδεν τες τε αξιες των αγαθων, και μη ὑθεν τα προσηκοντα ἑκαστοις διδωσιν. Διο πολλακις μεν αιτησασιν αναξιοις εκ αν δοιη· δυιη δε αξιοις δηλονοτι ὑπαρχεσιν. Ου μην παρελκει ἡ αιτησις, κἀν χωρις αξιωσεως διδοται τα αγαθα—και τοι και ἡ πιστις τε ληψεσθαι ειδος ευχης εναποκειμενης Γνωστικως. Ib. p. 723. A. B.

'those who are worthy of receiving good things, and those 'who are not; from whence it follows, that God gives to 'all what is fit, therefore he gives not to bad men though 'they ask often, and is ever ready to give to the good. 'Nevertheless prayer is not useless, though he should give 'good things without being asked. On which account 'thanksgiving and petition well become a Gnostic: and in 'particular he may pray for the conversion of others. Our 'Lord himself prayed. And even that faith whereby we 'believe we shall receive, is a kind of mental prayer be-'coming a Gnostic.'

SECTION V.

From the arguments used about them by Clement, it appears they respected Christ and the scriptures.

CERTAINLY I think it must be acknowledged that the men with whom Clement so argues, respected our Lord and the scriptures, and were not void of the fear of God. They hoped or supposed themselves to be good men, and that they should receive good things from God. And their omitting prayer, or not performing it exactly, as some others did, was founded probably upon some reasonings about the divine perfections, though wrong, and upon some texts of scripture, but misinterpreted. Clement's expressions perhaps may lead us to some texts, by which they were asserted, particularly Matt. xxi. 22; Mark xi. 24; John xvi. 26; 1 John iii. 22. But even these texts do overthrow the doctrine which they are reported to have held.

SECTION VI.

They are accused of denying the necessity of suffering for religion.

TERTULLIAN says that 'Prodicus[a] was against men's 'exposing themselves to danger in the profession of reli-'gion.' He there joins Valentinus with him, as he does also

[a] Quod si jam tunc Prodicus aut Valentinus adsisteret, suggerens, non in terris esse confitendum apud homines; minus vero, ne Deus humanum sanguinem sitiat. Scorp. c. 15. p. 633. D.

in another[b] place, upon a different account, as if the followers of Prodicus and Valentinus agreed in their notions about the divine government. But perhaps we need not rigorously understand Tertullian,[c] who, when a Montanist, was against flight in persecution.

SECTION VII.

Of the time and general character of Prodicus and his followers.

HAVING seen all these passages, we may perhaps form some conjecture about the time and general character of this sect, the followers of Prodicus, though we have not very exact accounts of their particular principles. They are not mentioned by any original writers, except by Clement and Tertullian. For as to Theodoret, he has no authority but Clement, and is inaccurate in that article. Prodicus and his followers are generally supposed to be successors of the Carpocratians, or followers of them. Theodoret says so expressly. But when what is observed above is duly considered, that Theodoret is not exact in his quotations from Clement, and that he lays hold of whatever he can against them, the conclusion is not certain. Tertullian has joined them with the Valentinians: which is perhaps as material a passage as any. As for the time in which he lived, it seems to me, that Clement never intimates Prodicus to be living in his days. He speaks only of the sect or followers of Prodicus. Prodicus himself probably had been dead some while before, and he may be reckoned an early heretic, near the time of Valentinus, possibly about the year 120, or between that and the year 130. Baronius[a] speaks of him under the year 120, and places him next to Valentinus.

We should observe farther, that Tertullian has not any where dropt any expression representing Prodicus and his followers as wicked and irreligious men.

[b] Quum alius deus infertur adversus Creatorem. Tunc male, quum plures, secundum Valentinos et Prodicos: tunc in monarchiæ eversionem quam in creatoris destructionem. Adv. Prax. c. 3. p. 636. C.

[c] Quum igitur fides æstuat, et ecclesia exuritur de figurâ rubi, tunc Gnostici erumpunt et tunc Valentiniani proserpunt; tunc omnes martyriorum refragatores ebulliunt, calentes et ipsi offendere, figere, occidere. Scorp. c. i. p. 616. C.

[a] His Valentini discipulis enumeratis, haud placet inter eos ab aliis recenseri Prodicum. A. 175. p. 33. Vid. ad an. 120. n. 38.

Finally, from Clemens Alexandrinus,[b] we may conclude, that Prodicus and his followers did not separate themselves from the other christian churches: nor is any thing to the contrary expressly said by any other author.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ADAMIANS OR ADAMITES.

SECTION I.

The accounts of these people from Epiphanius and Austin.

'THE Adamians,' says[a] Epiphanius in his Summary, 'meet 'together, men and women, naked as they were born: and 'so perform readings, prayers, and other acts of religious 'worship. They are a kind of monks,[b] and reject mar-'riage. They call their church paradise.'

I immediately transcribe in the margin[c] a part of Augustine's article, who follows the above Summary.

In his larger work Epiphanius says, 'he had no certain 'account of these people: which we shall more particularly 'observe by and by.' After which, and some other things in his introduction, he proceeds: 'Their[d] churches are 'stoves, made warm for the reception of company by a fire 'underneath. When they come to the door they pull off 'their clothes, both men and women, and enter naked into 'the place of meeting. Their presidents and teachers do 'the same, and they sit together promiscuously. And so 'they perform their readings and other parts of worship 'naked. They have among them persons who make pro-'fessions of celibacy and virginity, and boast of it. When[e]

[b] Strom. l. 3. p. 538. B.

[a] P. 397.

[b] *Δηθεν μοναζοντες τε και εγκρατευομενοι οντες.* Ib.

[c] Adamiani ex Adam dicti, cujus imitantur in paradiso nuditatem, quæ fuit ante peccatum. Unde et nuptias aversantur. Nudi itaque mares feminæque conveniunt, nudi lectiones audiunt, nudi orant, nudi celebrant sacramenta. Et ex hoc paradisum suam arbitrantur ecclesiam. H. 31.

[d] *Εν ὑποκαυστοις οικοδομεισθαι.* H. 52. n. 2. p. 459. B.

[e] *Ειδε δοξειε, τινα, ὡς και τουτο λεγουσιν, εν παραπτωματι γενεσθαι. ουκετι τουτον συναγουσι.* p. 459. C.

'any are guilty of faults, they are rejected, and cast out of 'the society: like as Adam, when he had transgressed in 'eating the forbidden fruit, was cast out of paradise. For[f] 'they reckon their church an emblem of paradise, and 'themselves imitators of Adam and Eve. When they go 'out of the place of meeting they clothe themselves again.'

SECTION II.

Considerations tending to prove there never were such heretics.

THESE are the Adamites; and that there never were any such people, I apprehend, will appear from these considerations.

1. They are not mentioned by any ancient writer before Epiphanius that I remember: not by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Eusebius, Philaster, or any other.

2. Epiphanius had no certain knowledge of them, or account of them, as he expressly owns again and again. He had[a] heard of them from many; but he had never been himself acquainted with any of them; nor had he met with any account of them in writing. Again, he[b] did not know whether there were any such people then in being, nor whether the account or description that had been given him of them was true. But he thought it to be the safest way to relate what he had heard, lest he should be guilty of a faulty omission in not recording it.

Is not this sufficient to satisfy us there never were any Adamites? For what reason can there be to believe it, when the first, and almost only reporter, owns that he did not know whether there were any such people then in being, nor whether there ever had been any such men, as were described to him: and that he had not found any account of them in any writers before him. Nor does he give any the least intimation of the time when this sect sprung up, nor of the country where they had appeared.

[f] Ἡγνται γαρ την ἑαυτων εκκλησιαν ειναι τον παραδεισον, και αυτους ειναι τους περι Αδαμ και Ευαν. Ib. D. [a] Τουτο δε απο ακοης ανδρων πολλων ακηκοοτες φαμεν, ου γαρ εν συγγραμμασιν ηὑραμεν, η περιετυχομεν τοιουτοις τισι. p. 458. C. [b] Ειτε γαρ εστιν ἡ τοιαυτη, ειτε μη εστι, πολλων λεγοντων ακηκοοτες, ασφαλειας χαριν, και περι αυτης ειπειν ευλογον μοι πεφηνε, και μη παραλειψαι, καν τε καταλυεται, και ουκετι ὑπαρχῃ· ου γαρ ασφαλως επισταμαι, ει ετι εστιν, η μη εστι. p. 459. A.

SECTION III.

An objection taken from the practice of the Gnostics, and answers.

IT may be here objected, that in another place Epiphanius says, 'the[a] Gnostics prayed naked:' therefore there had been people who might be called Adamites.

To which I answer, 1. That the Gnostics and the Adamites are not the same sect or people. According to Epiphanius the Gnostics were a vicious people, and practised lewdness in their assemblies. But he does not lay any such thing to the charge of those whom he calls Adamians. These, as he represents them, endeavoured to imitate Adam and Eve, not only in the nakedness, but likewise in the innocence of their original states.

Another thing which fully shows that Gnostics and Adamians are quite different is, that Epiphanius had never met with any written accounts of these last, nor known any of them; whereas he had personally known some Gnostics, if he may be relied on, and certainly had met with accounts of them in many ancient writers whom he had read.

2. What Epiphanius says of the Gnostics is not true. To take here the words of Beausobre, Clement[b] of Alexandria was well acquainted with the Gnostics, especially those of Ægypt. He often confutes them in his works; but never upon any occasion reproacheth them with nakedness in any respect. And when he mentions the reports that went about of the impure worship of the Carpocratians and others, (for they were but reports,) he allows them some remains of modesty; for he says that 'before[c] committing their secret 'abominations they extinguished the lights, which might 'have made them blush.' This does not suit the impudence of men who affected perfect nakedness in divine service.

[a] Ευχονται γυμνοι ὁλω τω σωματι. H. 26. n. v. p. 87. C.
[b] Diss. sur les Adamites, vol. ii. p. 356. [c] Str. 3. p. 430. D.

SECTION IV.

An objection taken from Theodoret's assertion, that Prodicus instituted the sect of the Adamites, answered.

STILL it may be objected that[a] Theodoret says, 'Prodicus 'instituted the sect of the Adamites.' To which I answer, that Theodoret had no knowledge of Prodicus but what he received from Clement of Alexandria, who says not any such thing of him. Nor could Prodicus be the author of the Adamian custom of praying naked, if he was against praying at all, as it is said. The Adamians, as we have plainly seen from Epiphanius, were never mentioned by ancient authors. Theodoret probably learned the name and account of them from Epiphanius; and rashly, and hastily, and groundlessly says of Prodicus, that he was the author of this sect. And I humbly conceive that Theodoret is to be blamed for this inaccuracy.

I may therefore conclude that the Adamians are an imaginary sect, invented upon some slight pretext, and received without examination. I apprehend likewise that I have reason to say others are more to blame than Epiphanius: he reports only hearsay; and he over and over declares it was no more; and that he had never any acquaintance with any of them, nor had met with any account of them in any of the authors whom he had read. And are not men to be blamed who believe and relate again as certain what is reported to them upon no better grounds than this?

With regard to stories that have been in the world of ancient and modern Adamites, I would refer to Beausobre's dissertation at the end of [b] L'Enfant's History of the War of the Hussites, and to [c] several articles in Bayle's Dictionary.

[a] Την των καλεμενων Αδαμιτων συνεστησατο αἱρεσιν. H. F. p. 197. B.
[b] At Amsterdam, 1731. 4to. [c] Adamites. Picards. Prodicus.

CHAP. VII.

OF MARC AND HIS FOLLOWERS, CALLED MARCOSIANS.

SECTION I.

Of his time, his country, and the sect from which he sprang.

I BELIEVE I should scarce have thought it needful to take particular notice of the Marcosians, had it not been for Irenæus, who has not only left a long account of them in his first[a] book, transcribed by[b] Epiphanius, but in his preface to his second book, reviewing what he had done in the former, he[c] speaks again of that account as somewhat of no small importance.

The order in Epiphanius and Augustine is, Marc, Colorbasus or Colarbasus, and Heracleon. In Philaster, and the Additions to Tertullian, Heracleon, Marc, Colorbasus. But [d]Dodwell and [e]Massuet are of opinion that Colorbasus[f] preceded Marc.

Massuet computes that[g] Marc appeared about the year 160. As Eusebius seems to have understood [h] Irenæus to say that Marc appeared about the same time with Valentinus; [i]Basnage speaks of him at the year 127.

Many learned moderns are of opinion that [k]Marc belonged to the Valentinian school, only making some alterations in the schemes of Valentinus, and Ptolemy, and Colorbasus, his immediate predecessors and masters; and they seem to have reason for so doing from [l]Irenæus himself, and from [m]Tertullian. Nor needs Jerom to be reckoned to dissent,

[a] Lib. i. ad cap. 13. [al. 8.] p. 59. ad cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 98.
[b] H. 34. [c] Et Marci quoque magi sententiam, cum sit ex his, cum operibus ejus omni diligentiâ exposuimus, lib. ii. Pr. p. 115.
[d] Diss. Iren. iv. n. 19. [e] Diss. Præ. Iren. p. xlix. n. 84.
[f] Vid. Iren. lib. i. c. 14. [al. 10.] init. [g] Ibid. p. 51. n. 86.
[h] H. Ec. l. iv. c. 11. p. 124. C. D. [i] Annal. ad an. 127.
[k] Dodw. Diss. Iren. iv. n. 18. Mass. Diss. Pr. Iren. p. 50. n. 86. Basn. ann. 127. n. ii. Tillem. Les Marcosiens in Mem. E. T. 2.
[l] L. i. c. 13, et 14. [m] Cujusdam veteris opinionis semen nactus (Valentinus) Colarbaso viam delineavit. Eam postmodum Ptolomæus instravit, nominibus et numeris æonum distinctis in personales substantias—Deducit et Heracleon inde ramites suos, et secundus, et magus Marcus. Adv. Valent. c. 4. p. 284. D.

though he calls [n] Marc a Basilidian Gnostic. Nevertheless [o] Rhenford and [p] Beausobre say the Marcosians were Jews, or judaizing christians; and Grabe[q] likewise owns that they were of Jewish extract.

It may be argued that Marc was an Asiatic; because Irenæus speaks of his having seduced the wife of a catholic deacon in that part of the world.[r]

We might be apt to conclude from Irenæus's manner of writing, that Marc himself had come into Gaul, and made many converts there; and so Jerom[s] understood him. Nevertheless learned moderns[t] think that they were only disciples of Marc, who came into that country near where Irenæus resided, of whom,[u] in one place, he makes particular mention.

SECTION II.

He is accused of being a magician.

I NOW intend to take notice of what Irenæus relates: but his account being long, and obscure in several parts, it must be abbreviated.

Marc, he says, deceived not a few persons of both sexes, improving upon the schemes of the fore-mentioned Ptolemy and Colorbasus, and pretending to great discoveries above all others. He was exceeding skilful in all magical arts,

[n] Refert Irenæus—quod Marcus quidam de Basilidis Gnostici stirpe descendens, primum ad Gallias venerit; et eas partes, per quas Rhodanus et Garumna fluunt, suâ doctrinâ maculaverit, maximeque nobiles feminas, quædam in occulto mysteria repromittens, hoc errore seduxerit; magicis artibus et secretâ corporum voluptate, amorem sui concilians. Ep. 53. [al. 29.] Tom. iv. p. 581. M. Conf. eund. ad Is. cap. lxiv.

[o] Cum itaque Marcosii et Heracleonitæ vel Judæi origine essent, quod quidem ex doctrinâ et linguâ facile conjeceris, vel certe Judæorum morem sequerentur. Rhendf. de Redemp. Marcos. &c. n. xxiii. p. 201. Sed quicquid sit, nobis non dubium est, quin Marcus et Heracleon Ebionitæ fuerint, id est, ex Judæis christiani. Ibid. n. lxv. p. 224. et passim.

[p] Une branche de chrêtiens judaïzans, quoiqu' on les mette dans la classe des Gnostiques. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 368.

[q] Sed et alia hujus vocabuli [redemtionis] notio inter istos hæreticos, origine, nisi fallor, Judæos, obtinuit. Grab. in Iren. c. 21. [al. 18.]

[r] Lib. i. c. 13. [al. 8.] p. 63.

[s] See before, note [n].

[t] Vid. Mass. p. li. n. 87.

[u] *Τοιαυτα δε λεγοντες και πραττοντες, και εν τοις καθ' ἡμας κλιμασι της Ροδανησιας, πολλας εξηπατηκασι γυναικας.* Ibid. cap. 13. p. 65.

whereby he had great success, persuading men to hearken to him as most knowing.[a]

Not only Irenæus, but Tertullian[b] likewise, and [c]Theodoret, call Marc a magician. However, several of the writers of heresies, whom I generally quote, say nothing particularly of that matter: as Philaster, Augustine, and the author of the Additions to Tertullian.

Several instances Irenæus gives of the magical arts of Marc: one may be supposed to have a relation to the Eucharist. Consecrating[d] a cup with wine, and using a long invocation, he makes the wine red or purple, to persuade them the grace from above causeth his blood to distil into it: he also puts cups into the hands of women that they may consecrate and do the like. He also gives them a smaller cup, he holding another of a larger size in his own hands; and when they empty their cup into his, though it be larger, it is filled, and even overflows. But I apprehend that such things as these, if really done, are not proofs of magic; they are only slight-of-hand tricks, by which heedless spectators, especially if they are willing to be deceived, may be imposed upon.

[a] Γυναια και ανδρας ὑπ' αυτε πεπλανημενα τε και πεπλανημενες επηγαγετο —μαγικης ὑπαρχων κυβειας εμπειροτατος—προσεχειν αυτῳ, ὡς γνωσικωτατῳ, και δυναμιν την μεγιστην απο των αορατων και ακατονομαστων τοπων εχοντι.* cap. 13. [al. 8.] in p. 59.

[b] See before, note [m], p. 428.

[c] Ὁ δε Μαρκος και γοητειαν ησκηθη, και τινα παραδοξα δια μαγγανειας επιτελων, πολλες μεν εναλωτων ηπατησεν. H. F. l. i. p. 201.

[d] Ποτηρια οινῳ κεκραμενα προσποιεμενος ευχαριστειν, και επι πλεον εκτεινων τον λογον της επικλησεως, πορφυρεα και ερυθρα αναφαινεσθαι ποιει· ὡς δοκειν την απο των υπερ τα ὁλα χαριν το αἱμα το ἑαυτης ἑαζειν εν τῳ ἐκεινω ποτηριῳ. lb. p. 60, 61.

* The chapter from whence this is quoted, which is the eighth in Grabe's edit. of Irenæus, is in Latin. Grabe, in the notes, has quoted from Epiphanius, all the words from *μαγικης* to the end. The passage in Irenæus is, Alius vero quidam ex iis qui sunt apud eos magistri, emendatorem se esse glorians, (Marcus est autem illi nomen,) magicæ imposturæ peritissimus, per quam et multos viros et non paucas feminas seducens ad se convertit, velut ad scientissimum et perfectissimum, et virtutem maximam ab invisibilibus et ab inenarrabilibus locis habentem fecit. Irenæus, ap. Grabe, cap. 8. p. 56. Ox. 1702. Vid. Grab. not. in locum.

SECTION III.

He is said to have had an assisting dæmon, and to have used various arts of deceiving.

IRENÆUS adds; 'It[a] seems likely that he has an assisting 'dæmon, whereby he himself appears to prophesy, and en- 'ables others, especially women, to prophesy likewise: for 'he is very assiduous in his respects to the female sex, es- 'pecially the rich and handsome, and well dressed; by 'which means he has seduced many women, both in body 'and mind, and has got much wealth. He also makes use 'of philters[b] and love-potions, to gain the affections of 'women. His disciples do[c] the like, and have corrupted 'many women in the country near the Rhone.'

SECTION IV.

Some observations upon these accusations.

UPON all which I beg leave to say, that possibly it might not be true. For first, such things as these are given out of course concerning almost all heretics, whether there be good reasons for them or not. Secondly, Irenæus, as it seems, was not fully acquainted with these people; which may appear more particularly by and by. Thirdly, of these things nothing is said by Tertullian, or the author of his Additions, nor by Theodoret or Philaster. Though Epiphanius, undoubtedly, who transcribes Irenæus, has the same. Fourthly, Irenæus has inserted in his work a character of Marc in eight verses, written, as he says, by some grave and pious person of his time;[a] wherein Marc is called idolater, astrologer, and magician, and his impious and erro-

[a] Εικος δε αυτον και δαιμονα τινα παρεδον εχειν, δι' ϐ αυτος τε προφητευειν δοκει, και ὁσας αξιας ἡγειται μετοχης της χαριτος αυτϐ προφητευειν ποιει. Μαλιστα γαρ περι γυναικας ασχολειται, και τϐτων τας ευπαρυφϐς, και περιπορφυρϐς, και πλεσιωτατας—ὁθεν και χρηματων πληθος πολυ συνεννηνοχεν. Ib. p. 61, 62.

[b] Ὁτι δε φιλτρα και αγωγιμα προς το και τοις σωμασι αυτων εννυβριζειν, εμποιει ὁ Μαρκος, κ. λ. p. 63.

[c] Ibid. p. 63, 64.

[a] Ὁ ϑειος πρεσβυτης, και κηρυξ της αληθειας, εμμετρως επιβεβοηκε σοι, ειπων ουτως—Και ταυτα ὁ Θεοφιλης πρεσβυτης. Ibid. cap. 15. [al. 12.] p. 80. 76. Grabe.

neous notions are reflected on, without saying any thing of his, or his disciples' debaucheries; which ought not, and could not, have been omitted by the versifier, if such things had been common among these people, and generally known in the world.

SECTION V.

The Marcosians are said to have regarded the letters of the alphabet as mysterious.

THESE people are said to have placed a great deal of mystery in the letters of the alphabet, and thought that they were very useful for finding out the truth; of which many instances, and a long account may be seen in Irenæus, who must be consulted by those who are desirous to know particulars. However, I shall place in the margin what Theodoret[a] says of this matter, and the whole article[b] of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions. I shall give but one instance; they said that 'Jesus[c] had in him 'all numbers; and therefore is said to be Alpha and 'Omega.'

SECTION VI.

They are falsely accused of holding two principles, and being Docetæ.

HERE I would observe, that by the just-mentioned author, and[a] some others, they are spoken of as holding two prin-

[a] Ουτος και τοις τετταρσι και εικοσι στοιχειοις τας αιωνας απεικασε, και τας μεν αφωνας, τας δε ημιφωνας, τας δε φωνηοντας προσηγορευσεν. Ib. p. 201.

[b] Non defuerunt post hos Marcus quidem et Colarbasus novam hæresin ex Græcorum alphabeto componentes. Negant enim veritatem sine istis posse literis inveniri: immo totam plenitudinem et perfectionem veritatis in istis literis esse dispositam; propter hanc enim causam Christum dixisse, 'Ego sum A et Ω.' Denique Jesum Christum descendisse, id est, columbam in Jesum venisse, quæ Græco nomine quum περιστερα pronuntietur, habeat secundum numerum DCCCI. Percurrunt isti ω, ψ, χ, φ, υ, τ, totum usque ad Alpha Beta, et computant ogdoadas et decadas.—Alterum deum fingunt præter Creatorem. Christum in substantiâ negant carnis fuisse. Negant carnis resurrectionem futuram. De Pr. cap. 50. p. 253.

[c] Δεικνυοντα—τον εκ παντων συνεστωτα των αριθμων, κ. λ. Iren. cap. 15. [al. 12.] p. 76. in.

[a] Christum autem putative dicit apparuisse, et passum fuisse quasi per

ciples, and as if they were Docetæ, and denied the resurrection of the body; of which things I see no clear evidence in Irenæus, notwithstanding the length of his account, nor in Theodoret.

SECTION VII.

They continued in the practice of baptism and the eucharist.

WE saw before some reason to think they had an Eucharist. That they baptized also is apparent from[a] Irenæus and Theodoret.[b] And if they had been able to have given rightly their form of baptism, it is highly probable, in my opinion, that it would have appeared to be very agreeable to that recorded at the end of St. Matthew's gospel.

SECTION VIII.

Of their opinion concerning Jesus Christ.

THEIR opinion concerning Jesus Christ is largely represented by Irenæus, to whom I[a] refer; for his account is scarce intelligible: at best it is too prolix and too obscure to be inserted here. However, they seem to have had a notion of[b] the great dignity and excellence of his person, or his ineffable generation. And according to them he[c] was born of Mary, a virgin, and the word was in him. When he came to the water the supreme power descended

umbram, non tamen vere passum corpore arbitratur. Philast. cap. 42. p. 92. Marcus etiam nescio quis heresim condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, et Christum non vere, sed putative, passum asseverans. Duo quoque opinatus est ex adverso sibi esse principia; quiddam tale de Æonibus quale Valentinus affirmans. Aug. H. 14. Vid. et Epiph. Indicul. Hæres. Tom. i. p. 229.

[a] Οι δε αγεσιν εφ' ὑδωρ, και βαπτιζοντες ετως επιλεγεσιν· εις ονομα αγνωστε πατρος των ὁλων, εις αληθειαν μητερα παντων, εις τον κατελθοντα εις Ιησεν, εις ἑνωσιν, και απολυτρωσιν, και κοινωνιαν των δυναμεων. Iren. lib. i. cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 95.

[b] H. F. lib. i. p. 201. C.

[a] Vid. cap. xv. [al. xii.] p. 75, 78.

[b] Ὁ δε Ιησες ταυτην εχει, φησι, την αῤῥητον γενεσιν, κ. λ. p. 75. n. ii. in.

[c] Τον δε εκκλησιας τοπον ἡ παρθενος επεδειξεν· Ουτως τε ὁ κατ' οικονομιαν δια της Μαριας γενεσιεργειται παρ' αυτῳ ανθρωπος· ὁν ὁ πατηρ των ὁλων διελθοντα δια μητρας εξελεξατο δια λογε εις επιγνωσιν αυτε. Ελθοντος δε αυτε εις ὑδωρ, κατελθειν εις αυτον, ὡς περιστεραν, κ. λ. p. 77.

upon him; and[d] he had in him all fulness: for in him[e] was the word, the Father, truth, the church, life. They said that[f] the Christ, or the Spirit, came down upon the man Jesus.

He[g] made known the Father, and destroyed death, and called himself the son of man. For it[h] was the good pleasure of the Father of all that he should banish ignorance and destroy death. And the acknowledgment of him is the overthrow of ignorance. By all which, I think, it appears that these men had honourable apprehensions of Jesus, and the design of his coming.

SECTION IX.

Of their rites of redemption, and the meaning of them as given by Rhenford.

THEY had some rites of redemption, which Irenæus[a] speaks of as very strange and absurd; and he seems to ridicule them. But probably Irenæus did not thoroughly understand them.

Rhenford says, that 'by[b] the word redemption these peo-'ple meant a form of confession, or form of prayer.' And Grabe owns himself[c] convinced by what Rhenford has said upon this obscure subject.

[d] Κατελθειν εις αυτον, ὡς περιστεραν, κ. τ. λ. Subintellige servatorem sive Christum, ex omnium Œonum collatione compositum, de quo p. 33. Lin. 1. hac habentur. Και εις τουτον επι τω βαπτισματος κατελθειν εκεινον τον απο τω πληρωματος εκ παντων σωτηρα εν ειδει περιστερας. Grabe, in Irenæum, cap. 12. p. 73. not. 9. Ox. 1702.

[e] Εχων εν ἑαυτῳ και τον πατερα, και τον νἱον, την τε δια τουτων γινωσκομενην ανονομαστον δυναμιν της σιγης, και τους ἁπαντας αιωνας. p. 77. infr. M. Εσχηκεναι αυτον τε τον ανθρωπον, αυτον τε τον λογον, και τον πατερα, και τον ἀῤῥητον, και την σιγην, και την αληθειαν, και εκκλησιαν, και ζωην. p. 78. in.

[f] Το γαρ βαπτισμα τω φαινομενω [conspicui] Ιησω, αφεσεως ἁμαρτιων· την δε απολυτρωσιν τω εν αυτῳ Χριστω κατελθοντος εις τελειωσιν. cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 94. in.

[g] Και τουτ' ειναι το πνευμα το λαλησον δια Ιησω, το ὁμολογησαν ἑαυτον νἱον ανθρωπω, και φανερωσαντα τον πατερα—Και καθειλε μεν τον θανατον. p. 77. infr. M.

[h] Τεθεληκεναι γαρ τον πατερα των ὁλων λυσαι την αγνοιαν, και καθελειν τον θανατον. Αγνοιας δε λυσις ἡ επιγνωσις αυτω εγινετο. p. 76. sub fin.

[a] Cap. 21. [al. 18.] p. 93, 98.

[b] Adeo ut per redemptionem, quam hoc illove modo edisserunt, nihil nisi formula intelligi possit, quâ fidem suam de redemtione, vel redemtore, profiteantur. De Redem. Marcos, &c. p. 34. n. 207.

[c] Per redemtionem, quam hic et paulo post memorat, certam orationis

Irenæus speaks as if they had divers of these things: but it seems that they were chiefly two: one at baptism, when the[d] minister made an exhortation, or proposed a form of confession to the person to be initiated or baptized. Then the person to be baptized made a confession of faith, and the by-standers or spectators wished peace or happiness to all on whom that name rested. The other was performed[e] in the near approach of death, or upon occasion of dangerous sickness. The confessions and prayers were in the Hebrew and Syriac language, which was much used by them, as Theodoret[f] says. And Irenæus not understanding that language, nor any one else giving him a right interpretation of their forms, his translations are not just. Rhenford is persuaded[g] that if we could attain to the true reading of the redemptions in Irenæus, they would represent a pious and truly christian meaning. His rendering one of them used at baptism, as it seems, is to this purpose; 'The 'Messias[h] and Redeemer, who has redeemed me from this 'world, and all things therein, in the name of Jao, (or ac-'cording to the will of Jehovah,) and has atoned for us 'with the price of his soul, is Jesus of Nazareth: or Jesus 'of Nazareth is the Christ the Redeemer, who has redeemed 'me from this present world with the price of his own life.' And he thinks that[i] whereas the Jewish nation in general looked for a temporal and worldly deliverance by their Messiah, these men, Jews by birth, heartily embraced the spiritual salvation proposed by Jesus.

Irenæus says that 'as[k] many doctors as they have, so

formulam intelligendam esse, non modo ipse Irenæi contextus—ostendit, sed et judaïci ritûs ratio plane confirmat, quam ex viri docti Jacobi Rhenfordii disputatione—explicatam dabo. Grab. ad Iren. c. 13. [al. 9.] p. 61.

[d] Vid. Iren. p. 95, 96. [e] Ibid. p. 97. Conf. Rhenford. n. xlvi. &c. p. 213, 216. [f] *Αναμιγνυσι δε και Εβραϊκα ονοματα, δεδιττομενοι τυς τελυμενυς, ων επιμνησθηναι περιττον ηγησαμην.* H. F. p. 201. [g] Quo facto spondere ausim fore, ut genuinus horum verborum sensus, et præclara ac homine christiano atque orthodoxo dignissima sententia eluceat. Ubi supr. n. vi. p. 196. Conf. n. xlii. p. 210. [h] Vid. Rhenf. n. xvii. xviii. Ib. p. 199. et conf. Iren. p. 95. [i] Cum vero Judæi in genere Deum redemtorem suum confiteantur, et corporalem solum vel præcipue liberationem ejus sive præteritam celebrent, sive futuram præstolentur; hi hæretici, (ut ingenium hominum mirereris!) Jesum Nazarenum hunc redemtorem esse celebrant; et, mundanis beneficiis relictis, in solâ spirituali et æternâ ejus redemtione acquiescunt, hanc solam deprædicant. Jesus Nazarenus (arrigite aures hæreticorum mastiges, et confessionem hanc demiremini!) inquiunt, est Messias et liberator, qui vindicabit animam nostram ab hoc seculo vel mundo, et ab omnibus quæ in eo sunt, in nomine Jao, et expiavit nos lytro animæ suæ. Ib. n. xxiv. p. 201, 202. Vid et n. xli. xlii. p. 210, 211.

[k] *Δια το εν εκαστον αυτων, καθως αυτοι βυλονται, παραδιδοναι αυτην. Οσοι*

'many redemptions are there among them.' 'In which,' as Rhenford says, 'if[l] these people were originally Jews, there 'is nothing strange, it having been customary for their 'masters to deliver each one for himself particular forms to 'their disciples, in somewhat different expressions, though 'in sense they all agreed in the main.'

SECTION X.

They believed the facts recorded in the gospels.

IF there be any credit to be given to Irenæus's account of this people, they believed the facts recorded in the gospels, and they received most or all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

Some of the facts observable in Irenæus's account are these: that Jesus was born of a virgin, before taken notice of; that[a] John preached the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins; that[b] Jesus was baptized, and that a dove appeared; that he revealed the Father, or taught the will of God, as before; that he went[c] up into the mount with three of his disciples, where he was gloriously transformed, and Moses and Elias appeared; that[d] he was nailed to the cross at the sixth hour of the day; not[e] to mention the history of the person who came to Christ, saying, "Good master, what good shall I do to inherit eternal life;" nor[f] the petition of the sons of Zebedee for the first places in his kingdom; or, that[g] the apostles of Christ were twelve in number.

γαρ εισι το αυτης της γνωμης μυσαγωγοι, τοσαυται και απολυτρωσεις. p. 93. sub fin.

[l] Sed formulæ confessionis optime quadrat; quam alii aliis verbis conceperint atque pronuntiârint, etsi rem eandem omnes dicebant. Nempe ita olim moris erat apud Judæos, ut qui scholis aut synagogis præerant, alii alias precum formulas auditoribus suis dictarent—quemadmodum apud Cl. Lightfootum videri potest ad Matt. vi. 9, &c. Ib. n. xxxiii. p. 207.

[a] Iren. lib. i. p. 94. [b] P. 71. n. 6.

[c] Εκεινον τον μετα τας ἑξ ἡμερας τεταρτον αναβαντα εις το ορος, και γενομενον ἐκτον. Ibid. p. 71. n. 6. Conf. Matt. xvii. 3.

[d] Και την ἐκτον ὡραν, εν ἡ προσηλωθη τῳ ξυλῳ. p. 71. f. Conf. Joh. xix. 14. [e] P. 92. n. i. [f] P. 94. n. ii. [g] P. 89. n. iv.

SECTION XI.

They received the scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament.

IT is exceeding manifest that the Marcosians received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. As the first book of Irenæus is now divided, there are two chapters which show what[a] texts are passages of Moses and the prophets they alleged in favour of their hypothesis or scheme; and a third[b] giving an account of their forged apocryphal scriptures, and what texts of the gospel or New Testament they abused. And, in the preface to the second book, Irenæus, reviewing the first book and the contents of it, observes particularly, that[c] he had taken notice of the scriptures made use of by them.

SECTION XII.

A particular enumeration of the books of the New Testament used by them.

I SHALL show somewhat particularly the texts and books of the New Testament made use of by them.

As they believed Jesus to have been born of the Virgin Mary, it is likely, they received the first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as well as other parts of these gospels.

They argued from [a]Matt. xviii. 10; [b]xi. 28, and other places not needful to be referred to; from[c] Luke ii. 49; [d]xix. 42; [e]xv. throughout, [f]Matt. xi. 25, and Luke x. 21. It may be concluded that they received St. John's gospel, and his first epistle, from their talking so much of the Word and Life. They had in particular an argument from the latter part of the[g] twentieth chapter of St. John's gospel;

[a] Cap. 18 et 19. al. c. 15 et 16. [b] Cap. 20. al. 17.
[c] Et Marci quoque magi sententiam, omni diligentiâ exposuimus: et quanta ex scripturis eligentes, adaptare conantur fictioni suæ, diligenter retulimus. Ib. p. 115. [a] Iren. l. i. c. 14. [al. 10.] p. 92. fin.
[b] Cap. 20. [al. 17.] p. 92. fin. [c] P. 92. in. [d] Ibid. sub fin.
[e] Cap. 16. [al. 13.] p. 80, 81. [f] P. 93. in. [g] Cap. 18. [al. 15.] p. 89.

they received[h] St. Paul's epistles; they[i] seem to have received the first epistle of St. Peter; they received also the[k] book of the Revelation. And as Irenæus doth not find fault with them for rejecting any books of scripture, we may suppose they differed little or nothing from other christians upon this head.

SECTION XIII.

Of their apocryphal books.

'MOREOVER,' says[a] Irenæus, 'they have an innumerable 'multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they 'have forged. Particularly they make use of that fiction 'concerning the child Jesus, that when his master bid him 'say Alpha, the Lord did so. But when the master called 'upon him to say Beta, he answered: "Do you first tell 'me what is Alpha, and then I will tell you what Beta 'is."'

Theodoret too says they[b] had a multitude of spurious books, though he does not name them.

I apprehend that when men use such hyperbolical expressions, as an innumerable multitude, abatement ought to be made if we would think agreeable to truth. As that story concerning Alpha Beta is found in the gospel of the infancy of Jesus Christ, still in being; some are of opinion that this gospel was composed by the Marcosians: so [c] Beausobre, who has divers curious observations relating to that history.

[h] *Και τον Παυλον ῥητως φασκεσι την εν Χριστω Ιησυ απολυτρωσιν πολλακις μεμηνυκεναι, κ. λ.* c. 21. [al. 18.] p. 94. sub fin.

[i] Ibid p. 88. infr. m.

[k] *Και δια τουτο φησιν αυτον Α και Ω, ινα την περιστεραν μηνυση, τουτον εχοντος τον αριθμον τουτου ορνεου.* c. xv. [al. 12.] p. 75. in. *Και δια το Α και ονομαζεσθαι αυτον, την εκ παντων γενεσιν σημαινοντα.* Ibid. p. 76. in. Conf. Apoc. i. 8, 11; xxi. 6; xxii. 13. Et vid. supra.

[a] *Προς δε τουτοις αμυθητον πληθος αποκρυφων και νοθων γραφων, ας αυτοι επλασασαν, παρεισφερουσιν.— Προσπαραλαμβανουσι δε εις τουτο κακεινο το ῥαδιουργημα, κ. λ.* cap. 20. [al. 17.] p. 91.

[b] H. F. p. 201.

[c] Hist. de Manich. Tom. i. p. 368.

CHAP. VIII.

OF HERACLEON.

SECTION I.

Ancient writers who speak of him and of the time when he lived.

HERACLEON'S country is unknown. Irenæus mentions him[a] and Ptolemy in his arguments against the Valentinians. Clement speaks of him as one[b] of the most considerable of Valentinus's followers. Origen says he was reckoned a disciple[c] of Valentinus: yet his time is not easily determined. Grabe is persuaded he[d] was contemporary with Valentinus. Basnage speaks of him[e] at the year 125; and Cave placeth[f] him at the year 126. Massuet professeth himself not able[g] to settle his time exactly. In Epiphanius the order is, Valentinus, Secundus, Ptolemy, Marc, Colorbasus, Heracleon; and he supposeth[h] Heracleon to borrow from the Marcosians, or to agree with them in several things. In Philaster[i] the order is Valentinus, Ptolemy, Secundus, Heracleon, Marc, Colorbasus. In Theodoret, Valentinus, Secundus, and others; in[k] which chapter he briefly mentions Cossianus, Theodotus, Heracleon, Ptolemy, Marc, as springing out of the Valentinian heresy. Then follows a chapter concerning Marc the magician. Augustine's order is that of Epiphanius. The author of the Additions to Tertullian

[a] Antiquius autem et multo ante existens et honorificentius reliquis æonibus ipsius Ptolemæi et Heracleonis, et reliquis omnibus, qui eadem opinantur. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 119. Mass. p. 120. Gr.

[b] Ἡρακλεων, ὁ της Ουαλεντινϑ σχολης δοκιμωτατος. Str. 4. p. 502. B.

[c] Τον Ουαλεντινϑ λεγομενον ειναι γνωριμον Ἡρακλεωνα. In Jo. p. 60. E. Huet.

[d] Spicil. Tom. ii. p. 69, et 80.

[e] A. 125. n. 111.

[f] H. L. Tom. i. p. 53.

[g] Diss. in Iren. p. lii.

[h] Ἡρακλεων τοινυν οὑτος, και οἱ απ' αυτϑ Ἡρακλεωνιται, ὡς προειπον, ὁμοιως Μαρκῳ και τισι των προ αυτϑ περι των Ογδοαδων φασκει, της ανω φημι και της κατω, κ. τ. λ. Hær. 36. n. ii. p. 263. B.

[i] De Hær. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. p. 11. La Bigne, vol. iv. 1624.

[k] Και αλλοι δε μυριοι εντευθεν αναφυησαν αἱρεσεως αρχηγοι, Κοσσιανος, Θεοδοτος, Ἡρακλεων, Πτολεμαιος, Μαρκος, διαφορα προσεπινοησαντες δογματα. Hær. Fab. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 201. A. B.

has a[l] different order. He placeth Marc and Colorbasus after Heracleon. But then he differs from [m] Tertullian himself.

SECTION II.

He was a follower of Valentinus, with whose opinions his sentiments nearly corresponded.

WE need not scrupulously examine this person's opinions. He is, as we have seen, reckoned a Valentinian by several. The author last quoted supposeth him to have made but little alteration in that scheme. Epiphanius too says, 'he[a] 'followed his predecessors in most matters; only making a 'few alterations that he might have a party of his own.' His summary is to this purpose: 'The[b] followers of He- 'racleon too have their ogdoads; but somewhat different 'from Marc, and Ptolemy, and Valentinus, and others. 'They redeem dying persons with oil, and balsam, and

[l] Extitit præterea Heracleon alter hæreticus, qui cum Valentino paria sentit, sed novitate quâdam pronuntiationis vult videri alia sentire. Introducit enim in primis illud fuisse quod pronuntiat, et deinde ex illâ monade duo, ac deinde reliquos Æonas; deinde introducit totum Valentinum. Non defuerunt post hos Marcus quidam et Colorbasus, novam hæresim ex Græcorum alphabeto componentes. Præf. adv. Hær. cap. 49, 50, p. 216. 49. et 217.

[m] Valentinus * Colorbaso viam delineavit. Eam postmodum Ptolemæus instravit——deduxit et Heracleon inde tramites quosdam, et Secundus, et magus Marcus. Adv. Valent. cap. 4. p. 284. D.

[a] *Ἡρακλεων τις τουτον τον Κολορβασον διαδεχεται, αφ' οὑπερ οἱ Ἡρακλεωνιται καλουμενοι, ὀλιγον ἡττον της παρα τουτον κενοφωνιας ησκημενος, και ὁσα μεν εκεινοι λεγουσιν, και αυτος ὁριζεται, κατα παντα τροπον——περισσοτερον δε δηθεν ὑπερ εκεινους εν ἑαυτῳ ανατυπωσαμενος τινα, βουλεται εκεινους ὑπεραιρειν, ἱνα και ἑαυτῳ συναγωγην ποιησηται των ηπατημενων.* Hær. 36. No. I. 262. C. D.

[b] *Ἡρακλεωνιται. Και αυτοι τῃ των Ογδοαδων φερονται μυθολογιᾳ· ἑτερως δε παρα τον Μαρκον, και Πτολεμαιον, και Ουαλεντινον, και τους αλλους· αλλα και προς τῃ τελευτῃ τους παρ' αυτοις τελευτωντας ὁμοιως τῳ Μαρκῳ λυτρουνται δι' ἐλαιου, υπο βαλσαμου, και ὑδατος, επικλησεις τινας Ἑβραϊκαις λεξεσιν επιλεγοντες επι τῃ κεφαλῃ τε δηθεν λυτρουμενου.* Aua. lib. i. Tom. iii. p. 229. C.

* Some copies read 'Veteris opinionis semini actu Colubroso.' This reading makes one part of Tertullian more agreeable to the other. Though then Secundus is here placed after Heracleon, whereas in the fore-cited chapter he is placed before him. Post hunc (scilicet Valentinum) extiterunt Ptolemæus et Secundus hæretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt. Extitit præterea Heracleon alter hæreticus, &c. De Præ. cap. 49. p. 216. From this passage it rather appears that this author considered Heracleon as contemporary with Ptolemy and Secundus; whereas Tertullian himself considers Ptolemy as his predecessor, and Secundus and Marc as his successors.

'water, as the Marcosians do; saying over the head of the 'redeemed persons some expressions in the Hebrew lan-'guage.' That Heracleon had Æons in his scheme of the creation, is evident from divers of his passages quoted by Origen.[c]

SECTION III.

Commentaries written by him on several parts of scripture.

HERACLEON seems to have written Commentaries upon several parts of the New Testament. Clement of Alexandria having quoted the words of Matt. x. 32, or Luke xii. 8, 11, 12, says, that [a]Heracleon explaining this place, has these very words: 'There is a confession made by faith and 'a suitable conversation, another by word of mouth. This 'is made before the powers, which many look upon as the 'only confession that is necessary; in which they do not 'judge rightly; for that confession may be made by hypo-'crites. Nor is it universally applicable; for not all who 'are saved have made this confession, and accordingly suf-'fered martyrdom; among whom is Matthew, Philip, Tho-'mas, Levi, and many others. For there is a general and 'a particular confession. The general is made in works 'and actions, agreeable to right faith. The other, which is 'made before the magistrates, will follow this, if there be 'occasion. For there can be no question but he will make 'a right confession in words, who hath before made confes-'sion in the tenor of his life.' And what follows.

There is another short passage[b] out of Heracleon's Commentary upon St. Luke.

[c] Επι πασι το· Επιστευσεν αυτος και ἡ οικια αυτϖ ὁλη διηγησατο επι της αγγελικης ειρησθαι ταξεως, και ανθρωπων των οικειοτερων αυτῳ. Ζητεισθαι δε φησιν, περι τινων αγγελων, ει σωθησονται, των κατελθοντων επι τας των ανθρωπων Ϛυγατερας. Και των ανθρωπων δε τϖ δημιουργϖ την απωλειαν δηλϖσθαι νομιζει εν τῳ· Οἱ υἱοι της βασιλειας εξελευσονται εις το σκοτος το εξωτερον, κ. τ. λ. Ori. Tom. 18. apud Huet. T. ii. p. 256. B. C. Νυνι δε δηλος εστιν ὑμοιουσιϖς τινας τῳ διαβολῳ λεγων ανθρωπϖς, ἑτερας, ὡς οιονται οἱ απ' αυτϖ, ϖσιας τυγχανονται, παρ' ους και καλϖσι ψυχικης η πνευματικϖς. Ibid. T. xxi. apud Eun. p. 308. C. See also Grabe's notes, Spic. Pat. vol. ii. p. 238. note on p. 93. l. xvi. and p. 96. l. xxii. and p. 240. note on p. 107. l. ult.

[a] Τουτον εξηγουμενος τον τοπον 'Ηρακλεων—κατα λεξιν φησιν· 'Ομολογιαν ειναι την μεν εν τῃ πιστει και πολιτειᾳ. Την δε εν φωνῃ—καθολικῃ δε, ἡν νυν λεγει, την ἐν εργοις και πραξεσι καταλληλοις της εις αυτον πιστεως, κ. λ. Str. iv. p. 502. A. D.

[b] Vid. Ecl. Proph. ap. Clem. A. p. 804. D. et Grab. Spic. Tom. ii. p. 85.

Origen in his Commentary upon St. John's gospel often cites Heracleon. The passages of Heracleon's Commentary upon that gospel are collected by[c] Grabe; and from him have been also placed by Massuet in his appendix to Irenæus. The passages of Heracleon quoted by Origen are above forty in number, and some of them long. Origen informs us that[d] in John iv. 18, where we have, "Thou hast had five husbands;" Heracleon reads 'six husbands.'

SECTION IV.

Containing remarks on the foregoing passages, particularly concerning what parts of scriptures he received.

I NOW make some remarks. 1. By Levi, Heracleon means [a] Lebbeus, called also Judas and Thaddeus.

2. According to Heracleon, several of the apostles did not suffer martyrdom. He particularly mentions Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi; and possibly he had an eye to John likewise, though he does not mention him by name. Grabe says: 'This passage of [b] Heracleon deserves particular notice, who says of all these apostles that they did not die 'martyrs; to whom, though an heretic, greater regard 'ought to be had, on account of his early age; than to the 'fabulous accounts of modern writers, who make all the 'apostles to have suffered violent deaths.' Beausobre approves this observation of Grabe; and says, 'The[c] testimony of this writer is worthy of credit in a thing of this 'nature, since it is no part of his heresy, considering his 'learning, and that he lived near the times of the apostles;' nor does Clement contradict him.

3. The author of Prædestinatus imputes to Heracleon this doctrine; that 'a[d] baptized person, whether righteous or

[c] Ibid. p. 85—117. [d] Παρα δε Ἡρακλεωνι ευρομεν· ἐξ ανδρας εσχες. Ap. Orig. Huet. p. 207. B.

[a] Grabe, ib. p. 234. Vid. et Cotel. note ad Const. Ap. l. ii. cap. 63. et l. 8. cap. 22. [b] Apprime vero notandum testimonium Heracleonis, asserentis ex sanctis apostolis Matthæum, Philippum, Thomam, et Levi sive Lebbæum, Jacobi fratrem, citra martyrium mortem obiisse. Cui, licet hæretico, sed apostolorum ætati perquam vicino, in hac re historicâ majorem fidem habendam puto, quam fabulosis recentiorum scriptorum narrationibus de cruentâ laudatorum apostolorum morte. Grabe, Spic. vol. ii. p. 234. note to p. 84. l. 4. [c] Remarques sur le Nouveau Test. p. 171. [d] Baptizatum hominem, sivè justum, sive peccatorem, loco sancti computari docebat; nihilque obesse

'not, is a saint; and that whatever sins a man is guilty of 'after baptism, they do not hurt him.' Basnage has well observed, that the[e] forecited excellent passage of Heracleon confutes this account. And besides, Grabe says, that 'Prædestinatus[f] deserves no credit in what he writes 'of Heracleon.'

4. Heracleon owned the authority of the apostles of Christ. This may be concluded from the mention he makes of several of them in the forecited passage, and from his Commentaries upon the gospels of St. Luke and St. John. Many of which are given us by Origen, particularly his observations[g] upon Matt. viii. 12, and Is. i. 2, and his comment upon [h] John iv. 50. And it might be argued that he admitted the authority of[i] St. Peter from his quoting the Preaching ascribed to[k] him. He likewise received St. Paul and his writings; for he quotes[l] the beginning of the twelfth chapter to the Romans. Moreover Origen gives us Heracleon's[m] interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54.

5. It is highly probable that Heracleon received all the books of the New Testament as other christians did: at least we have no reason to doubt it. He seems likewise to

baptizatis peccata memorabat; dicens, sicut non in se recipit natura ignis gelu, ita baptizatus non in se recipit peccatum. Præd. H. 16.

[e] Est quoque falsissimum Heracleonem sententiæ fuisse ejusmodi, hominem, qui baptismum adeptus fuerit, sive justum, sive peccatorem, in sancti loco ducendum esse. Prædestinati figmentum refellunt verba Heracleonis, quæ ex Clemente et Alexandrino protulimus. An. in Ann. 105. No. III. p. 58.

[f] Sed nullam iste auctor meretur fidem in his quæ de Heracleone tradidit, quod tempora nullâtenus congruant. Grabe, Spic. Pat. vol. 2. p. 81, 82.

[g] Δηλωσθαι νομιζει εν τῳ· Οἱ υἱοι της βασιλειας εξελευσονται εις το σκοτος το εξωτερον· και περι τουτων τον Ησαΐαν προφητευειν το· Υἱους εγεννησα, και ὑψωσα· αυτοι δε με ηθετησαν. Origenis Commen. in Johan. Tom. 2. p. 256. Huet.

[h] See the passage at large, p. 441, n. [c].

[i] Ap. Orig. in Joh. Tom. 2. p. 211. E. Huet.

[k] I formerly referred to that passage in a note, Vol. ii. p. 255, 256, n. [v]. Nevertheless it is wanting in Grabe's collection of Heracleon's Fragments: as is also another short quotation a little before it, and nearer the beginning of the fourteenth of some of Origen's Commentaries upon St. John, &c. Grab. Spic. T. ii. p. 99. As they are wanting in Grabe, so likewise in Massuet; which shows that some things may escape the observation of the most diligent.

N. B. Even Dr. Lardner, though so diligent, has not been sufficiently attentive here: for Grabe has inserted the first of these passages in Vol. 1. p. 64. as a fragment of the Preaching of Peter, and has given his reasons for inserting it in that place, in his notes at the end of Vol. 2. p. 239. note on p. 99. l. 18. If the other passage is in Grabe, it has escaped me. H.

[l] Καθ' ὁ και ὁ αποστολος διδασκει, λεγων λογικην λατρειαν την τοιαυτην θεοσεβειαν. Ibid. p. 217. C.

[m] Και εκ αθανατον γε ειναι ἡγειται την ψυχην ὁ Ἡρακλεων, αλλ' επιτηδειως εχουσαν προς σωτηριαν, αυτην λεγων ειναι το ενδυομενον αφθαρσιαν φθαρτον, και αθανασιαν θνητον οντα, ὁταν κατεποθη ὁ θανατος αυτης εις νικος. Ibid. Tom. 2. p. 255. D.

have received the Old Testament, as may be argued from his quotation of Isaiah, before taken notice of.

6. Heracleon's Commentaries upon St. Luke and St. John are an early evidence of the respect shown to the scriptures of the New Testament. And it is reasonable to think that others beside Heracleon, both catholics and heretics, published Commentaries upon some of the books of scripture about the same time.

7. Finally, Heracleon's Commentaries bear testimony to the antiquity and genuineness of St. John's introduction to his gospel, forasmuch as several of his passages in Origen contain remarks upon it.

CHAP. IX.

OF CERDON.

SECTION I. *Of his time.*

IRENÆUS twice says that 'Cerdon[a] came to Rome in the 'time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop of Rome after the 'apostles.' Eusebius in his Chronicle supposes[b] Valentinus and Cerdon to have come to Rome together in the time of Hyginus, in the third year of the emperor Antoninus the Pious, and the year of Christ 141.

Pagi was of opinion that[c] Cerdon came to Rome in the year 140, or sooner, in the latter part of the time of Hyginus. Massuet[d] placeth him in the year 141. Basnage speaks of him[e] as flourishing under Hyginus, in the time of Adrian, about the year 125. And Spondanus[f] speaks first of him under the year 146, and again under the year 155.

[a] Lib. i. c. 27. [al. 28.] n. 1. Gr. 103. lib. 3. cap. 4. n. 3. Gr. 206. Conf. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 11.

[b] Sub Hygino, Romanæ urbis episcopo, Valentinus hæresiarches, et Cerdo magister Marcionis, Romam venerunt. Chr. p. 168.

[c] In Baron. ann. 144. n. ii.

[d] Diss. Iren. p. lxvii. n. 134.

[e] Ann. 125. n. ii.

[f] Annales Eccles. p. 149, 151.

SECTION II.

Of his opinions.

HE taught, as Irenæus informs us, that 'the[a] God declared 'in the law and the prophets is not the Father of our Lord 'Jesus Christ. For he was well known, the latter unknown; 'moreover, he was just, this good.'

Epiphanius's summary is to this purpose: 'that[b] Cerdon 'learned his doctrine from Heracleon; making however 'some additions of his own: that he came from Syria to 'Rome, and there spread his notions in the time of Hyginus. 'He held two contrary principles: he said that Christ was 'not born. He denied the resurrection of the dead and re-'jected the Old Testament.' In his larger article Epiphanius writes, that 'Cerdon[c] succeeded Heracleon, and came 'from Syria to Rome in the time of Hyginus, the ninth 'bishop after the apostles: that, like many other heretics, 'he held two principles, and two gods; one good and un-'known, the Father of Jesus: the other the Creator, evil 'and known, who spake in the law, appeared to the pro-'phets, and was often seen. He taught moreover, that Je-'sus was not born of Mary, and that he had flesh in 'appearance only. He denied the resurrection of the body, 'and rejected the Old Testament. He said that Christ de-'scended from the unknown Father, that he came to over-'throw the empire and dominion of the Creator of the 'world, as many other heretics do; and having been a short 'time at Rome, he transmitted his venom to Marcion, who 'succeeded him.'

Theodoret's account of Cerdon is to this effect: 'He[d] was 'in the time of the first Antoninus. He taught that there is 'one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, unknown to 'the prophets; another, the Maker of the universe, the giver 'of the Mosaic law: and this last is just, the other good. 'For[e] he in the law orders, "that an eye should be given 'for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:" but the good God in

[a] Εδιδαξε, τον ὑπο του νομου και προφητων κεκηρυγμενον Θεον μη ειναι πατερα του Κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Τον μεν γαρ γνωριζεσθαι, τον δε αγνωστα ειναι και τον μεν δικαιον, τον δε αγαθον ὑπαρχειν. Iren. l. i. c. 27. n. 1. Vid. et Euseb. l. iv. c. 11. inf.

[b] Epiph. p. 230.

[c] H. 41. n. 1. p. 300.

[d] Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 24. p. 209. C. D.

[e] See Matt. v. 38, 40. and Luke vi. 29.

'the gospels[f] commands, that "to him who smiteth thee 'on the right cheek, turn the other also:" and that to him 'who would take away thy coat, thou shouldest give thy 'cloak also. He in the law directs to love a friend and hate 'an enemy: but the other to love even our enemies. Not 'observing,' says Theodoret, 'that in the law it is directed,[g] 'that if "a man meet his enemy's ox going astray, he should 'bring him back: and not forbear to help his beast when 'lying under his burden:" and that he who according to him 'is alone good, threatens[h] "hell-fire to him who calls his 'brother fool:" and showing himself to be just, said:[i] '"With what measure ye mete, it shall be meted to you 'again."'

I insert[k] Philaster's account entire: and put in the margin[l] the greater part of Augustine's article concerning this person.

SECTION III.

He was an admirer of virginity, and is said to have recanted his errors.

CERDON too, as well as Marcion, though this is not often mentioned, was a great admirer of virginity, and recommended it to his followers, as we learn from[a] Theodoret.

Irenæus says,[b] that 'when Cerdon was at Rome he

[f] Ὁ δε αγαθος εν τοις ευαγγελιοις κελευει. Ib. p. 209. D.

[g] See Exod. xxiii. 4.

[h] Matt. v. 22.

[i] Matt. vii. 2, and Luke vi. 38.

[k] Cerdon autem quidam surrexit post hos, pejus suis doctoribus prædicans, qui cum venisset Romam de Syriâ, ausus est dicere duo esse principia, id est unum Deum bonum, et unum malum: et Deum quidem bonum bona facere, et malum mala. Jesum autem Salvatorem non natum asserit de Virgine, nec apparuisse in carne, nec de cœlo descendisse, sed putative visum fuisse hominibus; qui non videbatur, inquit, vere, sed erat umbra: unde et putabatur quibusdam pati, non tamen vere patiebatur. C. 44. Ed. Fab. p. 11. C. 16. La Bigne.

[l] Qui duo principia sibi adversantia dogmatizavit; Deumque Legis et Prophetarum non esse patrem Christi, nec bonum esse, sed justum: Patrem vero Christi bonum: Christumque ipsum nec natum ex feminâ, neque habuisse carnem: nec vere mortuum, vel quidquam passum, sed simulâsse passionem. Quidam vero in duobus principiis suis duos deos ita eum dixisse perhibent, ut unus eorum esset bonus, alter autem malus. Resurrectionem mortuorum negat, spernens etiam Testamentum Vetus. Aug. de Hær. c. 21.

[a] Κερδων μεν ων, και Μαρκιων, την παρθενιαν ενομοθετησαν———κ. λ. Theod. H. E. l. v. c. 24. in.

[b] Κερδων δε———εις την εκκλησιαν ελθων, και εξομολογουμενος, ωτως διετελεσε, ποτε μεν λαθροδιδασκαλων, ποτε δε παλιν εξομολογουμενος, ποτε δε

'several times renounced his errors, and was received. 'But at length for returning to them again, or for teaching 'them in a clandestine manner, he was finally excluded 'from the church.' That passage, as well as others from Irenæus, is transcribed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.[c] And Valesius, in his notes upon the place of Eusebius, argues that Cerdon was not rejected, but separated himself from the church.

Tertullian in his[d] Prescriptions tells a like story of Marcion. But it is generally supposed by learned men that Tertullian was mistaken. Rigaltius[e] has made this observation, and Beausobre[f] is clearly of opinion that Tertullian confounded Marcion with Cerdon. Tillemont is also of the same[g] sentiments.

SECTION IV.

What scriptures were received by him.

THE authors before cited inform us that Cerdon rejected or despised the Old Testament. As they say nothing of his rejecting any of the books of the New Testament, we ought to conclude that he received them, as other christians did.

Indeed the author of the Additions to Tertullian's book

ελεγχομενος αφ' οἰς εδιδασκε κακως, και αφιστamενος της των αδελφων συνοδιας. Iren. l. 3. c. 4. n. 3.

[c] Tandem vero Cerdon, convictus, quod, post toties iteratam exomologesim, pestiferum virus erroris sui occulte spargeret, penitus se ab ecclesiâ removit. Id enim sonant Irenæi verba; quæ Rufinus et Christophorsonus perperam meo judicio interpretati sunt. Neque enim Cerdonem ex ecclesiâ ejectum fuisse dicit Irenæus, sed ipsum se ab ecclesiâ penitus segregâsse. Ex quo apparet, Cerdonem, suo ipsius judicio condemnatum, prævenisse ecclesiæ sententiam. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 11. Ini. et Annota. in eundem, p. 65.

[d] Nam constat illos (Valentinum et Marcionem)—in catholicam primo doctrinam credidisse apud ecclesiam Romanam, donec ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem, quâ fratres quoque vitiabant, semel et iterum ejecti—Postmodum Marcion pœnitentiam confessus, cum conditioni datæ sibi occurrit—morte præventus est. C. 30. p. 242. or 209. ed. 1597.

[e] Non solet Septimius exactissime reddere quæ ab auctoribus sumit. Rigalt. in Not. ad Lib. de Præf. C. 30.

[f] En effet quand j'ai compare ce qu'il dit de Marcion avec ce que S. Irénée dit de Cerdon, je me suis apperçu qu'il a confondu Marcion avec Cerdon. C'est ce dernier qui fut repris plus d'une fois à cause de ses erreurs, et plus d'une fois réconcilié à l'eglise à la faveur d'une pénitence simulée. Hist. de Manich. T. 2. n. 6. p. 77.

[g] Mem. Ecc. T. 2. P. 2. p. 514.

of Prescriptions says, that 'Cerdon[x] received only the gospel of St. Luke, and that not entire: that he did not receive all St. Paul's epistles, nor the whole of those of them which he did receive. And that moreover he rejected the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse.' But since Irenæus and other ancient authors are totally silent about this, it may be reckoned not to be true. This was Marcion's sentiment; and, probably, it is one of those things in which he is said to have exceeded all that went before him.

CHAP. X.

OF MARCION AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

SECTION I.

Some general account of him from Irenæus.

AS we are now come to Marcion, it may be best to take a passage of Irenæus at length, as a summary account to be afterwards commented upon.

'Marcion[a] of Pontus, successor of Cerdon, added to his doctrine with greater assurance; blaspheming him who is declared to be God by the law and the prophets; who, as he says, appears to be author of evil, delighting in war, inconstant, and contrary to himself. But Jesus,' he says, 'came from the Father, who is superior to the God that made the world. He came into Judea in the time of Pontius Pilate, governor under Tiberius Cæsar. He appeared to them in the form of a man, dissolving the law and the

[x] Accedit his Cerdon quidam——Hic prophetias et legem repudiat——Solum evangelium Lucæ, nec tamen totum, recipit. Apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistolas sumit. Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin, quasi falsa, rejicit. Præscr. c. 51. p. 253. [al. 217.]

[a] Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus adampliavit doctrinam impudorate blasphemans eum, qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est Deus; malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sententiâ, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens; Jesum autem ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Judæam temporibus Pontii Pilati præsidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Cæsaris, in hominis formâ manifestatum his qui in Judæâ erant, dissolventem prophetas et legem, et omnia opera ejus Dei, qui

'prophets, and all the works of him that made the world. 'Moreover he mutilated the gospel according to Luke, 'striking out all that relates to our Lord's nativity, and 'taking away many things from our Lord's discourses, 'especially where he speaks of the Creator of this world as 'his Father; thus delivering to his disciples not the gospel, 'but a scrap of it. In like manner he curtails the epistles 'of the apostle Paul, taking away those passages where the 'apostle plainly speaks of the Creator of the world, as the 'Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also his quotations 'from the prophetical writings, that foretell the coming of the 'Lord. He held that the soul only will be saved; as for 'the body, it being taken from matter, it is with him inca- 'pable of salvation. Beside all these blasphemies, he 'maintained that Cain and the people of Sodom, and the 'Ægyptians, and all the nations in general, though they had 'lived in all manner of wickedness, were saved by the 'Lord when he descended into hell: (or the invisible world, 'the receptacle of departed spirits:) for they came to him, 'and he took them up into his kingdom. But that Abel, 'and Enoch, and Noah, and the patriarchs, and the prophets, 'and other righteous men, who walked with God, and pleased 'him, did not obtain salvation. For,' says he, 'they knew 'their God had been wont to tempt or try them: and they 'suspected that now a temptation was laid in their way. 'Therefore they would not come to Jesus, nor believe in 'him: for which reason,' as he says, 'their souls remained 'in hell.'

mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit. Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta, et de doctrinâ sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum patrem confitens dominus conscriptus est—non evangelium, sed particulam evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcumque manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum fecit quoniam hic pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcumque ex propheticis memorans apostolus docuit prænuntiantibus adventum Domini. Salutem autem solum animarum esse futuram earum, quæ ejus doctrinam didicissent: corpus autem, videlicet quoniam a terrâ sit sumtum, impossibile esse participare salutem. Super blasphemiam autem, quæ est in Deum, adjecit et hoc—Caïn, et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitas et Ægyptios, et similes eis, et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumsisse regnum. Abel autem et Enoch, et Noë, et reliquos justos, et eos qui sunt erga Abraham patriarcham, cum omnibus prophetis, et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participâsse salutem. Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare eum suspicati, non accucurrerunt Jesu, neque crediderunt annuntiationi ejus. Et propterea remansisse animas eorum apud inferos dixit. Iren. l. i. c. 27. [al. 29.] p. 106.

So Irenæus. This passage of so early a writer will be of great use to us; but I need not observe his order in all things.

It will be proper for us first to observe Marcion's time and history, and then his principles or opinions.

SECTION II.

Of the time in which he lived.

IT is not easy to settle exactly Marcion's time. Cave supposeth that[a] he came to Rome in the year 127: and about the year 130 became a follower of Cerdon, and an open heretic. Mill too,[b] who likewise follows Pearson as to the early time of Hyginus, is of much the same opinion. Pagi[c] placeth the spreading of Marcion's heresy in the year 144. But he thinks that this heresy, as is common in other cases, may be said to have had several beginnings, according to divers computations. Marcion, according to him, came to Rome soon after the death of Hyginus, which, he says, cannot be deferred beyond the year 141. But he had before that broached his opinions in Syria, and probably had begun to do so in the reign of Adrian, or at least in the beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious. Coming to Rome, presently after the death of Hyginus, when the see was vacant, and the presbyters of that church not receiving him, he returned into Asia, and spread his principles with greater zeal and openness, about the year 144, where, as he says, Tertullian placeth Marcion. Petavius was very much of the same opinion, whose[d] words I place somewhat at length in the margin.

Let us now observe some particulars in the ancients. Irenæus, who, as we have seen, says that 'Cerdon was at 'Rome in the time of Hyginus, and makes Marcion his dis-'ciple or immediate successor,' says likewise in another

[a] Hist. Lit. in Marcion. T. i. p. 55.

[b] Proleg. n. 307. [c] Crit. in Baron. 144. n. 3.

[d] Postremum, atque omnium difficillimum est, quod de Marcione nobis [ex J. M. Apologiâ] objicitur. Quem, ut consentanea loquamur, affirmandum est non Antonino demum imperante, sed sub Adriano cœpisse. Atque haud scio an duo illius distinguenda sint tempora, ut in plerisque hæresibus accidit; ita ut sub Adriano primum eruperit, postea vero sub Antonino longe lateque propagatis erroribus celebre sibi nomen pepererit—Hygini obitus confertur in annum Antonini xviii. ante quod tempus Marcionem hæresim suam disseminâsse necesse est; cum Justinus, qui Antonino, et quidem imperii ejus

place, that 'Marcion[e] acted chiefly under Anicetus, who 'was the tenth in the succession of the bishops of Rome.'

Clement of Alexandria[f] speaks of Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion, as being all in the reign of Adrian, and the first, or elder Antoninus, much about the same time, though this last was somewhat after the other two.

Tertullian speaks of Marcion as[g] the first who had taught a different God, and superior to the Creator; and often mentions the time in which he lived, but never with exactness, as if he had any certain information about it. He once speaks[h] of Marcion and Valentinus together, as both flourishing in the time of Antoninus, and in the episcopate of Eleutherius. In another place he speaks of Marcion as certainly being a heretic of Antoninus's time,[i] but in what year his heresy arose he was not solicitous to know.

Celsus, who might write about the year 150, mentioned the Marcionites, as we learn from[k] Origen.

But perhaps Justin Martyr's works may lead us nearer the time of Marcion than any thing else. He wrote against Marcion. That work is mentioned by[l] Irenæus, as well as by[m] Eusebius. And it is reckoned[n] to be different from

initio, Apologiam obtulit, Marcionis meminerit. Quare duplex, uti conjiciebamus, Marcionitarum ortus esse debet. Nam primum in Ponto Asiæ duntaxat nefarium dogma prædicavit, idque Adriano imperante. Postea sub Antonino, majores trahens spiritus, vehementius in eosdem errores cœpit incumbere. Hygino vero demum mortuo, primitus dogma Cerdonis interpolâsse Marcionem nullo modo censeo. Petav. Animad. ad H. 46. Epiph. p. 83.

[e] Marcion autem illi succedens invaluit sub Aniceto decimum locum episcopatûs obtinente. Iren. l. 3. c. 4. n. 3. 206.

[f] Strom. l. 7. p. 764. C. D. [g] Nemo alterum Deum ausus est suspicari. Facilius de Filio quam de Patre hæsitabatur; donec Marcion, præter Creatorem, alium Deum solius bonitatis induceret. Præscr. Hær. cap. 34. p. 344. B.

Quum igitur sub Antonino primus Marcion hunc Deum induxerit, sicut probavimus—atque ita non a Christo revelatum, quem constet a Marcione primum prædicatum. Adv. Marcion. l. 1. cap. 19. p. 443. A.

[h] Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, Stoïcæ studiosus? Ubi Valentinus, Platonicæ sectator? Nam constat illos, neque (alio) olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu, et in catholicæ primo doctrinam credidisse, apud ecclesiam Romanensem, sub episcopatu Eleutherii benedicti. De Pr. cap. 30. p. 242. A.

[i] Quoto quidem anno Antonini majoris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis, non curavi investigare. De quo tamen constat, Antonianus hæreticus est, sub Pio impius, &c. Adv. Marcion. l. 1. c. 19. p. 443. A.

[k] Εμνησθη δ' ὁ Κελσος και Μαρκιωνιτων προϊσαμενων, Μαρκιωνα. Contr. Cels. l. 5. c. 62. p. 676. Bened. 272. Ian.

[l] Και καλως Ιρσινος εν τῳ προς Μαρκιωνα συνταγματι φησιν. Iren. l. iv. c. 6. [al. 14.] p. 233.

[m] Vid. Euseb. l. 4. cap. 11. p. 125. B. et c. 18. p. 141. A.

[n] Sed et contra Marcionem insignia volumina—et alius liber contra omnes hæreses. Hier. de V. I. c. 23.

his work against all heresies, mentioned by himself in his[o] first apology; in which[p] he twice speaks of Marcion, as still living. That apology was written in the time of the elder Antoninus, in the year 140, or not long after. Consequently, it is reasonable to think that Marcion had appeared in the year 130, or very soon after; for Marcion had many followers when Justin wrote that apology. And when he says that Marcion was still living, it is implied that he had made a figure for some time.

SECTION III.

The History of him as given by Epiphanius.

THE common account of Marcion, taken from Epiphanius,[a] is to this purpose; that 'he was born at Sinope in Pontus, 'where his father was bishop. For some while,' as he says, 'Marcion lived a retired life, in strict continence. But having admitted an affection for a young woman, and having 'been guilty of uncleanness with her, he was excommunicated by his father; who would never after receive him, 'though Marcion earnestly entreated him, and made professions of sincere repentance. Being uneasy under the reproaches which he met with in his own country, he went 'abroad, and arrived at Rome soon after the death of Hygi'nus. Here he attempted to be received to communion, and 'moreover aimed to be made bishop. But, being disappointed in both those attempts, the presbyters of that church 'rejecting him, he was exasperated. Whereupon he joined 'himself to Cerdon, who, a little before, had begun to spread 'his peculiar opinions in the city of Rome.'

That Marcion was a native of Pontus is allowed by all. So said Irenæus at the beginning of the long passage before transcribed from him. And, in like manner, many other

[o] Εστι δε ημιν και συνταγμα κατα πασων των γεγενημενων αιρεσεων. Ap. 1. p. 70. C.

[p] Ὁς και νυν ετι εστι διδασκων τας πειθομενας—ὁς κατα παν γενος ανθρωπων—πολλας πεποιηκε βλασφημιας λεγειν. Ap. p. 70.

Και νυν διδασκει, ᾧ πολλοι πεισθεντες. Ib. p. 92. A. Conf. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 253. D.

[a] Τον δε πρωτον αυτε βιον παρθενιαν δηθεν ησκει· μοναζων γαρ υπηρχε—εξεται της εκκλησιας ὑπο τε ιδιε πατρος—Πολλα δηθεν ὁ Μαρκιων καθικετευσας και αιτησας μετανοιαν εκ ειληφε παρα τε ιδιε πατρος—και ανεισιν εις την Ρωμην αυτην ζηλῳ λοιπον επαρθεις, ὡς εκ απειληφε την προεδριαν τε και εισδυσιν της εκκλησιας. H. 42. n. 1. p. 302. B. C. D.

ancient authors. He is called a sailor, or mariner, by Rhodon in[b] Eusebius, and very often by[c] Tertullian: but for what reason is not[d] certain. Nor is it likely that a bishop's son, and a learned man, as Marcion was, should ever have followed such an occupation. Perhaps those authors refer only to his country, as bordering upon the sea, or his native city, a sea port.

SECTION IV.

The story of his deceiving a young woman held doubtful by many.

THE story told by Epiphanius, of Marcion's deceiving a young woman, is also in the Appendix to Tertullian's Prescriptions.[a] But it may be called in question. I see that[b] the learned and excellent Ittigius doubted the truth of it.

I think that there are in Epiphanius's account some particulars that give the whole an appearance of improbability. For why should Marcion's father refuse to receive him into communion upon confession and repentance, which seem to have been sincere, if indeed he had so fallen as is said? And his future conduct appears to have been free from reproach. Moreover his attempt to be received at Rome, and even to obtain the bishopric of the church, is inconsistent with the supposition of so shameful a fall as that imputed to him by Epiphanius.

[b] Καθως και ὁ ναυτης Μαρκιων. Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B.

[c] Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, stoicæ studiosus. De Pr. c. 30. p. 242. A. Scilicet nauclero illi non quidem Rhodia lex, sed Pontica caverat. Adv. M. l. 3. cap. 6. p. 480. C. Quamobrem, Pontice nauclere, si nunquam furtivas merces in acatos tuas recepisti, &c. Adv. M. l. 5. cap. 1. p. 515. D.

[d] Nautam vocat Rhodon———nauclerum Tertullianus: an quod artem nauticam primitus exercuerit? an quod uterque ludens in voce Pontus, Marcionis patriæ nomine, quæ et Asiæ regionem, et mare significat, illum nautam aut nauclerum vocet, quasi marinum hominem, in mari natum———Mass. Diss. Iren. p. 68.

Je ne saurois regarder ce mot, que comme une raillerie fondée sur ce que Sinope étant ville maritime; elle étoit remplie de gens de mer. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 70.

[a] Marcion——episcopi filius, propter stuprum cujusdam virginis ab ecclesiæ communicatione abjectus. De Pr. cap. 51. p. 253. D.

[b] Etsi ipse Tertullianus in prolixis, quos contra Marcionem scripsit, libris ejus rei nuspiam meminerit. Ittig. de Hær. p. 128.

SECTION V.

Several observations tending to show its incredibility.

BEAUSOBRE[a] has a long argument upon this point, taken from the silence of ancient writers, and consisting of many particulars. I shall abridge it:

1. Irenæus appears to have been totally unacquainted with this affair. But is it possible that he who had been at Rome should be ignorant of it if true? or, if he had known it, could he have avoided the mention of it? Moreover he writes against a heretic that condemned marriage as a state not sufficiently pure. How could he forget to say, that this same person had been guilty of fornication, if he knew it?

2. Tertullian wrote five books against Marcion. He did not neglect any occasion to decry his adversary; nevertheless he says nothing of this scandalous adventure.

3. After having spoken of Marcion, Tertullian proceeds to his disciple Apelles: who he says, having[b] committed a fault with a woman, and thus apostatized from the Marcionite continence, did no more dare to show himself before his holy master, and therefore retired to Alexandria. The same thing is mentioned[c] in the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions. We may take another opportunity to consider what the fault of Apelles was. But whether it were marriage, or adultery, or fornication, here was a fair occasion for Tertullian to mention a fault of Marcion of the like kind, if he had known of any such thing. Tillemont,[d] inquiring into the author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, appears to have been very sensible of this difficulty.

4. The silence of the before-mentioned writers, Irenæus and Tertullian, adds Beausobre, appears to me an invincible proof of Marcion's innocence: at least it is a proof of their

[a] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 77, &c.

[b] Sed lapsus in feminam, desertor continentiæ Marcionensis, ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit. De Pr. c. 30. p. 242. B.

[c] Post hos subsequitur Apelles, discipulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est, a Marcione separatus est. Pr. cap. 51. p. 254. A.

[d] Ce qu' il y a encore d'embarrassant, et à quoi je ne sçai s'il est aisé de trouver aucune reponse raisonnable, c'est, que dans tout son grand ouvrage contre Marcion, fait après ce catalogue, s'il en est l'auteur, il ne lui reproche jamais une faute si grande et si honteuse. Il n'étoit pas homme à lui épargner ce reproche. Mem. Ec. T. 3. note vii. sur Tertullien.

unacquaintedness with that scandalous affair. Let us however show that neither was it known in the East: forasmuch as Clement of Alexandria and Origen say nothing of it, though they do not spare Marcion. Clement in particular fills up almost all his third book of Stromata in rehearsing and confuting the arguments of Marcion and other Encratites against marriage. If these men had not observed the rules of chastity: if Marcion, who is mentioned more than twenty times in that book, had transgressed these rules in a scandalous manner, and had been, on that account, excommunicated by his own father, is it conceivable that St. Clement should say nothing of it? These proud men, says Clement,[e] boast of imitating our Saviour who never married, and possessed nothing in this world. But they should know that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Here he should by all means have mentioned the fall of Marcion, and unquestionably would have done so, if he had known any thing of the matter.

5. Eusebius informs us of many authors who had written against Marcion: Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Corinth, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna, Modestus, Melito, and Apollinaris. He had read their writings. Nevertheless he makes no mention of this scandalous action of our heresiarch; which must be allowed to be a certain proof that it was not taken notice of in those works.

6. Jerom says,[f] that Marcion sent before him to Rome a woman, to prepare the minds of people for his heresy. It is not known whence he had that particular. But he does not say that Marcion had seduced her or any other woman: which would have been so much to his purpose, that it cannot be imagined Jerom would have omitted it, if he had known any thing of it: since he omits not even conjectures and the slightest reports that tend to blacken the reputation of a heretic.

7. From the Greeks and Latins let us pass to the Syrians. St. Ephrem lived at Edessa, which was not very far from Sinope. There were many Marcionites in that country, which induced him to write against them. His hymns against divers heretics, particularly against Marcion, are still in being. As Marcion had misled many by his austerities, Ephrem endeavours to undeceive them. He[g] says

[e] Μιμεισθαι δ' αυτες οἱ μεγαλαυχοι φασι τον κυριον, μητε γημαντα, μητε τι εν τῳ κοσμῳ κτησαμενον, κ. λ. Clem. Str. l. 3. p. 446. C.

[f] Marcion Romam præmisit mulierem, quæ decipiendos sibi animos præpararet. Ad. Ctesiph. T. iv. p. 477. M.

[g] Ex hoc hymno discimus, Marcionem austerioris vitæ speciem affectâsse,

that Marcion's apostles were wolves, but they had sheep's clothing: and that the devil put a cowl upon him that he might deceive the children of light. And afterwards: Marcion imitated the serpent, and recommended fasting. How comes it about that Ephrem does not here unmask the man, and show his hypocrisy; that at his very first setting out, he had shamefully fallen, and violated that virtue which was the glory of his sect, and by which many people were imposed upon?

SECTION VI.

Some reason to suspect it was the invention of Epiphanius.

BUT what then shall we say to Epiphanius? One knows not well what to say; but if he had any authority for it, it must have been slight. We may be apt to suspect it was an invention of his own. Philaster and he seem to have drawn from the same source. They both say[a] that Marcion was of Sinope, and that he proposed to explain to the presbyters of Rome, our Lord's parable concerning old bottles and old garments. I do not remember to have read these particulars in any authors more ancient than these, who lived much about the same time: which makes me conjecture that they copied one and the same original. Nevertheless the story of Marcion's fall is not in Philaster; which shows that he never knew it, and that it was not in the author whom he made use of; which may lead persons a little suspicious to mistrust that Epiphanius himself is the author of the story.

———abstinentiam et cœlibatum simulâsse, suisque symmystis indixisse. 'Lupos Diabolus Apostolorum vice Marcion dedit. Ut illos operiret, agno-'rum vestimenta surripuit.' Et infra: 'Saccum Marcioni accommodavit, ut 'filios lucis infuscaret.' Et paucis interjectis: 'Marcion, anguem imitatus, 'jejunium amavit.' Asseman. Bib. Or. P. i. p. 119.

[a] Marcion,—genere Ponticus, de civitate Sinope, urbem Romam devenit, ibique degens sceleratam hæresim seminabat, atque interrogans presbyteros sanctos ecclesiæ catholicæ sensûs sui eis errorem mortiferum propinabat, dicens ita: Quid est quod in evangelio, dicente Domino, scriptum est: Nemo pannum rudem mittit in vestimentum vetus, neque vinum novum in utres veteres—? Et iterum: Non est arbor bona, quæ faciat malum fructum, neque arbor mala, quæ faciat bonum fructum, &c. Philast. H. 45. p. 94, 95. Conf. Epiph. Hær. 42. n. 2. p. 303.

SECTION VII.

He began to propagate his errors in his own country, for which he was expelled by his father.

BEAUSOBRE therefore concludes, from all these proofs, that the scandalous adventure of Marcion is, at the most, only a false report which Epiphanius had met with; and that the crime of this heresiarch, for which his father expelled him from the church, was his errors, which he had begun to publish in his own country.

Beausobre is not the only person who thinks that Marcion had published his notions in his own country: though many of the ancients reckon him a disciple of Cerdon, with whom he first became acquainted at Rome.

SECTION VIII.

His way of life was very unsettled.

MARCION came to Rome soon after the death of Hyginus, whilst that see was vacant; and not meeting with much encouragement there, in a short time he went again into Asia. But he must have returned to Rome, if it was there that Polycarp saw him. Marcion's unsettled and wandering course of life is reflected upon by Tertullian and St.[a] Ephrem. Marcion was once a catholic, as Tertullian often says,[b] and thence argues the novelty of his opinion.

[a] Tradit S. Epiphanius, Marcionem, e patrio solo expulsum, Romam profugisse, atque subinde alia ex aliis loca mutâsse. Quapropter eundem Caïno comparat S. Ephræm. 'Quoniam vero Marcion suum conditorem ejuraverat, 'mundum sibi ubique infestum habuit fremens.' Quamobrem a Tertulliano 'Hamaxobio instabilior' dictus est. Lib. i. c. 1. Asseman. B. O. Tom. i. p. 119.

[b] Te quidem plane non amâsti, cum ab ecclesiâ et fide Christi recessisti. De Carn. Xti, cap. 4. p. 360. C. Sicut et ipse confiteris in quâdam epistolâ; et tui non negant, et nostri probant. Ibid. cap. 2. p. 359. A.

SECTION IX.

He had a great number of followers.

MARCION had many followers. Epiphanius says that[a] he deceived multitudes of people, and that his heresy still subsisted in his time at Rome, in Italy, Ægypt, Palestine, Arabia, and Syria, in Cyprus, Thebais, Persia, and other places.

Justin intimates that[b] he had perverted many of all ranks in divers places.

Tertullian having mentioned Apelles, Valentinus, and Marcion, speaks[c] as if there were a greater number of the followers of these than of the other heretics.

Theodoret converted[d] about a thousand Marcionites in his diocese. In his preface to his second book of Heretical Fables he says, 'a[e] few only remained scattered in divers 'cities of Syria, followers of Valentinus, Marcion, and Mani:' which he thinks a reproach to the pastors of those times, who were not vigilant enough to root out the small remains of these heresies.

Tertullian[f] speaks of the deserters of Marcion, that is, those who still followed him in divers points, but differed from their master in some others.

Rhodon, of whom we spake formerly,[g] as flourishing about the year 190, says that 'in[h] his time the Marcionites 'were divided into several parties:' the leaders of whom he makes to be Apelles, Potitus, Basilicus, and Syneros.

The great number of books published against him in the second century, and afterwards, show the prevalence of this doctrine. In enumerating the works of my authors, as I have gone along, doubtless the reader has observed this; and in the Index at the end of this work, are references to[i] divers of those writings.

Irenæus,[k] whose words are likewise cited by Eusebius,

[a] H. 42. n. 1.

[b] Ὁς κατα παν γενος ανθρωπων—πολλας πεποιηκε βλασφημιας λεγειν. κ. λ. Ap. p. 70. A. Vid. Ib. p. 92. A.

[c] Hos, ut insigniores et frequentiores adulteros veritatis, nominamus. De Præs. cap. 30. p. 242. C.

[d] Ep. 113. Tom. 3. p. 986. D.

[e] H. F. lib. 2. Tom. 4. p. 218. C.

[f] Nam et Philumene illa magis persuasit Apelli cæterisque desertoribus Marcionis. Con. Mar. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 486. A.

[g] Vol. ii. p. 324.

[h] Apud. Eus. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B. C.

[i] See there Marcion.

[k] Iren. l. 3. c. 3. n. 4. p. 177. 203-4.

says[l] that Polycarp, when he came to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, converted many followers of Valentinus and Marcion; which is also taken notice of by Jerom[m] in his article of Polycarp; which seems to show, that though Marcion met with no encouragement from the presbyters of Rome, as Epiphanius says, yet he made converts there of other people.

His followers are supposed to have had him in great veneration; but then, when blamed for calling themselves Marcionites, after their leader, they answered, that others called themselves catholics,[n] though that name was not given to christians in scripture. And when asked[o] whom they most respected, Paul or Marcion; they answered, 'Paul was an apostle, Marcion their bishop only.'

SECTION X.

Of his opinions, and the number of principles which he held.

THIS may suffice for Marcion's time and history; we proceed to his opinions.

Theodoret says, that[a] Marcion held four principles, or unbegotten substances, as his expression is; one the good God, and unknown, whom he also calls the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Creator, called by him just, and sometimes evil; and beside these matter, and the evil one that governs it. But if ever the Marcionites called the devil god, I suppose it was only figuratively, and in conformity to scripture, where he is sometimes called the god of this world, and is said to rule in the children of disobedience.

Some ascribe to Marcion and his followers the doctrine of three principles; so[b] Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusa-

[l] H. E. l. 4. c. 14. p. 128. Æ.

[m] Hic sub imperatore Antonino Pio, ecclesiam in Urbe regente Aniceto, Romam venit, ubi plurimos credentium, Marcionis et Valentini persuasione deceptos, reduxit ad fidem. De V. I. cap. 17.

[n] Ου γαρ χριϛιανος ονομαζεται, αλλα Μαρκιωνιϛης—Και ὑμεις της καθολικης λεγεσθε. Ουκ εϛε ȣν χριϛιανοι, ȣτε ὑμεις. Dialog. contr. Marcionit. p. 12.

[o] Τις μειζων ην, Μαρκιων η Παυλος;—Παυλος—Μαρκιων επισκοπος μȣ ην. Ibid. p. 13.

[a] Τετταρας γαρ αγεννητȣς ȣσιας τῳ λογῳ διεπλασε. Και τον μεν εκαλεσεν αγαθον τε και αγνωϛον, ὁν και πατερα προσηγορευσε τȣ Κȣριȣ· τον δε δημιȣργον τε και δικαιον, ὁν και πονηρον ωνομαζε· και προς τȣτοις την ὑλην κακην τε ȣσαν, και ὑπ' αλλῳ κακῳ τελȣσαν. H. Fab. l. i. c. 24. p. 210. A. B.

[b] Λεγων τρεις ειναι αρχας, μιαν μεν την ανω ακατονομαϛον και αορατον· ἡν

lem:[c] but Augustine says that[d] Marcion held two principles; and maintains that to be the true account, against such as spoke of his holding three principles. And, in like manner, that ancient writer[e] Rhodon, who wrote against Marcion; and[f] the dialogue ascribed to Origen. Tertullian often says that[g] Marcion believed two gods, though not both equal.[h]

It is likely that, according to different ways of speaking, men may be said to believe in more or fewer principles. But I apprehend that Marcion believed in only two eternals; the supreme God the Father who was good, and Matter. For, according to him, the Creator was from the Father; and the devil, somehow or other, sprang out of Matter. That he thought Matter eternal is unquestionable;[i] it was the opinion of the ancient heathen philosophers, and of the heretics that followed them.

In the dialogue which is ascribed to Origen,[k] the word principle seems to be used both by Adamantius the orthodox disputant, and by Megethius the Marcionite, as equivalent to lord and governor.

In answer therefore to the question of Adamantius, over whom the three principles are governors? Megethius answers, that 'the good principle governs the christians, the 'creating principle the Jews, and the evil principle the

και αγαθον θεον βελεται λεγειν, μηδεν δε εν τῳ κοσμῳ κτισασαν· αλλον δε ειναι ὁρατον θεον, και κτιστην και δημιουργον·—Τον δε κτιστην και δημιουργον, και ὁρατον θεον ειναι Ιουδαιων, ειναι δε αυτον κριτην. H. 42. n. 3. p. 304. A.

[c] *Ὁ πρωτος τρεις θεους ειπων.* Cyr. Cat. 16. c. 7. p. 246. Vid. et ib. c. 4. p. 244. D. Cat. 6. c. 16. p. 97. A. Ed. Bened.

[d] Marcion quoque, a quo Marcionitæ appellati sunt, Cerdonis secutus est dogmata de duobus principiis; quamvis Epiphanius eum tria dicat asseruisse principia, bonum, justum, pravum. Sed Eusebius [l. v. c. 13.] Sinerum quendam, non Marcionem, trium principiorum atque naturarum scribit auctorem. De Hær. cap. 22. Tom. 6. Venet.

[e] *Ἑτεροι δε, καθως και αυτος Μαρκιων, δυο Μαρχας εισηγενται.* Ap. Eus. l. 5. cap. 13. p. 177. B.

[f] *Εγω ὁριζομαι, ὁ τρεις αρχας ειναι, αλλα δυο.* Dial. p. 43. in.

[g] Duos Ponticus deos adfert:——quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; et quem probare non poterit, id est, suum. Adv. Marcion. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 431. B.

[h] Sic adhuc videmur disputare quasi duos pares constituat———Alioquin certi Marcionem dispares Deos constituere; alterum judicem, ferum, bellipotentem; alterum mitem, placidum, et tantummodo bonum atque optimum. Adver. Mar. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 433, 434.

[i] Et materiam ei subjicit utique innatam et infectam et hoc nomine æternam. Adv. Mar. lib. i. cap. 15. p. 441. A.

[k] *ΑΔ. Αρχη γαρ μοι δοκει λεγεσθαι, δια το αρχειν τινος· ὡσπερ και κυριος λεγεται, δια το κυριευειν τινων· τινος τοινυν αρχουσιν αἱ τρεις αρχαι; αποκρινου.* ΜΕΓ. *Ἡ αγαθη αρχη των χριστιανων αρχει· ἡ δε δημιουργικη των Ιουδαιων· ἡ δε πονηρα των Εθνικων.* Dial. Contr. Marci. sec. 1. p. 4. Basil. 1674.

'heathens.' But in the sense of unbegotten, all-sufficient, and independent, Marcion could hold but two, as is asserted before.

SECTION XI.

His notion of the Creator, and the world formed by him; and the God superior to him.

IRENÆUS, at the beginning of the long passage before transcribed, says, that 'Marcion blasphemed the Creator, 'and said that Jesus came from the Father, who is superior 'to the God that made the world.' In another place he says 'The[a] Marcionites have two gods very different from 'each other, one much better than the other.' In another place that 'they[b] divide the Deity into two, one good, the 'other severe.'

Justin, in like manner, says, that 'Marcion[c] taught men 'to believe in another God, superior to the Creator, and 'who was the supreme God the Father. He was,' according[d] to them, 'invisible, inaccessible, and perfectly good.'

The Creator, the God of the Jews, according to Marcion and his followers,[e] made this lower and visible world. The supreme God the Father, had also a world of his making, but better than this, immaterial and invisible. Justin says, that 'according[f] to Marcion the supreme Deity had made 'greater and better things than the creator of this visible

[a] Et quidem hi qui a Marcione sunt statim blasphemant fabricatorem, dicentes eum malorum factorem:———duos naturaliter dicentes Deos, distantes ab invicem, alterum quidem bonum, alterum malum. Iren. lib. 3. c. 12. n. 12. p. 198. Duos Deos infinitâ distantiâ separatos ab invicem. lib. 4. cap. 33. n. ii. p. 270.

[b] Marcion igitur ipse, dividens Deum in duo, alterum quidem bonum, et alterum judicialem dicens, ex utrisque interimit Deum. Id. l. 3. c. 25. n. iii. p. 224.

[c] Αλλον τινα νομιζειν μειζονα τε δημιυργε θεον, Ap. C. p. 70. A. Vid. et p. 92. A.

[d] Igitur quæcumque exigitis Deo digna, habebuntur in patre invisibili, incongressibilique, et placido, et (ut ita dixerim) philosophorum Deo. Adv. M. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 475. A. Sic adhuc videmur disputare, quasi duos Marcion pares constituat:———alioquin certi Marcionem dispares Deos constituere; alterum judicem, ferum, bellipotentem; alterum mitem, placidum, et tantummodo bonum atque optimum, &c. Adv. M. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 434. A. B.

[e] Certe Deum confiteris Creatorem? Certe inquis, &c. Adv. Mar. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 466. B. Creatorem autem et Marcion Deum non negat. Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 588. D.

[f] Αλλον δε τινα, ὡς ονται μειζονα, τα μειζονα παρα τετον ὁμολογειν πεποιηκεναι. p. 70. B.

'world.' To the like purpose Tertullian, whose words I place at the bottom of the page;[g] so also [h] Jerom.

Some ancient writers say that the Marcionites held two gods, one good, the other evil. But, as at other times, they represent them, as calling one good, the other a judge or severe; this must be their meaning.

On this account it may be proper to observe passages of several ancient authors relating to this matter.

Jerom says, that 'Marcion[i] taught Jesus to be the son of 'the good God, that is, not of the same God spoken of in 'the prophets, who,' they say, 'is there represented as cruel, 'righteous, just, a judge, and the like.'

To the same purpose also Clement of Alexandria, who, I apprehend, may be relied upon. The[k] Marcionites say that nature, or the world, is evil, because it is made of matter, which is evil in itself; and that the world was made by the Creator, who is just. They therefore are spoken of as having but low thoughts of this world on account of its being very imperfect, and not worthy of the supreme Deity: and yet, as Tertullian[l] says, they respected the Creator.

[g] Quum dixeris esse et illi conditionem suam, et suum mundum, et suum cœlum. Jam nunc de loco quæstio est, pertinens et ad mundum illum superiorem, et ad ipsum Deum ejus. Ecce enim, si et ille habet mundum suum infra se, supra Creatorem, in loco utique fecit eum. Adv. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 440. B. C. Non comparente igitur mundo alio, sicut nec Deo ejus, consequens est, ut duas species rerum, visibilia et invisibilia, duobus auctoribus Deis dividant, et ita suo Deo invisibilia defendant. Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 441. B.

[h] Si de Marcionis arguereris hæresi, quæ alterum bonum, alterum justum Deum inferens, illum invisibilium, hunc visibilium asserit Creatorem. Ad. Pammach. cap. 38. [al. 61.] p. 315. f.

[i] Denique Marcion hæreticus boni Dei Filium, hoc est, alterius putat esse Christum, et non justi, cujus prophetæ sunt; quem sanguinarium, crudelem, et judicem vocat. Com. in Is. c. 8. p. 68. ad fin. Confundetur Marcion, duos deos intelligens, unum bonum, et alium justum, alterum invisibilium, alterum visibilium conditorem. In. Is. c. 44. p. 334. B. Vid. eundem in Ezek. cap. 9. p. 751. in. et fin. An ignoramus Marcionem, et cæteros hæreticos, qui vetus laniant Testamentum, contemto Creatore, id est, justo Deo, alium quendam bonum Deum colere et adorare, quem de suo corde nuxerunt? In Ezek. cap. 9. p. 751. in.

[k] Οἱ απο Μαρκιωνος φυσιν κακην, εκ τε της ὑλης κακης και εκ δικαιε γενομενην δημιεργε. Str. lib. 3. p. 431. B.

[l] Narem contrahentes impudentissimi Marcionitæ convertuntur ad destructionem operum Creatoris: nimirum, inquiunt, grande opus et dignum Deo mundus. Numquid ergo Creator minime Deus? Plane Deus. Ad M. l. 1. c. 13. p. 438. D. At quum et animalia irrides minutiora, quæ maximus artifex de industriâ ingeniis aut viribus ampliavit——imitare, si potes, apis ædificia, formicæ stabula, araneæ retia, bombycis stamina——Postremo, te tibi circumfer; intus ac foris considera hominem. Placebit tibi vel hoc opus Dei nostri, quod tuus dominus ille Deus melior adamavit. Ibid. cap. 14. p. 439. D.

SECTION XII.

The Marcionite idea of the difference between good and just.

THE account given by Origen of the sentiments of those who held a different God from the Creator, is similar to the above representation. He says[a] this last was just, the God above him good; and Jerom himself says the same in the place just quoted.

But what is the difference between good and just? Beausobre[b] gives this account of it: 'Bardesanes, dividing men 'into three sorts, says; "Some[c] are like scorpions and adders, 'who hurt unprovoked: others do evil to those only who do 'evil to them; they are satisfied with revenging the injuries they receive: others, finally, are mild and gentle as 'lambs; and render not evil for evil. The first[d] are called 'wicked, the second just, the last good. According to these 'definitions, the good God is he who never does evil to any: 'the just is he who treateth men according to their deserts; 'he punisheth the guilty: the evil one is he who does evil, 'even to the innocent."'

SECTION XIII.

The good God was the maker of beings spiritual and invisible.

GOD the Father, according to Marcion, was the maker of beings spiritual, invisible, and happy, as is allowed. And yet Tertullian[a] frequently represents Marcion's Deity as

[a] Οἱ δε ἑτερον θεον φασκοντες παρα τον δημιεργον, δικαιον μεν αυτον ειναι θελεσι, και ακ αγαθον. Orig. in Ex. p. 17, 18. Huet. Tom. 2. p. 112. A. Bened. Τες δε απο των αἱρεσεων——δικαιον μεν ειναι τον δημιεργον, αγαθον δε τον τε Χριτε πατερα. Id. in Joh. p. 38. A. B. Huet.

[b] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 91.

[c] Ap. Euseb. Præ. Ev. lib. 6. cap. 10. p. 274.

[d] Οἱ μεν λεγονται αγαθοι, οἱ δε κακοι, οἱ δε δικαιοι. Ibid.

[a] Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate. A stoïcis venerat. De Pr. cap. 7. p. 232. D. Si aliquem de Epicuri scholâ Deum adfectavit Christi nomine titulare, ut quod beatum et incorruptibile sit, neque sibi, neque alii molestias præstet, (hanc enim sententiam ruminans Marcion, removit ab illo severitatem, et judiciarias vires,) aut in totum immobilem et stupentem Deum concepisse debuerat. Ad. Mar. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 449. A.

idle, indolent, happy in his ease and tranquillity, and the like.

Possibly one reason of this is, that[b] Marcion's god was good only, never offended with, or punished evil doers.

But besides this there appear to be other reasons of this charge. For Tertullian argues that[c] none of his works were visible or known; and therefore there was no reason to believe in him, as it did not appear that he had made any thing. Moreover, though he saw the disorders of this world of the Creator, he did not interpose, nor take any step to amend things, till at last,[d] after a long space of time, he sent his son. But except this,[e] he never did any kind of good which men were ever sensible of, or by which he might be known to be what they called him, a God

[b] In ipso præconio solitariæ bonitatis, quâ nolunt ii adscribere ejusmodi motus animi, quos in Creatore reprehendunt: si enim neque æmulatur, neque irascitur, neque damnat, neque vexat, utpote qui nec judicem præstat. Ibid. l. 1. c. 26. p. 449. D.—Donec Marcion præter Creatorem alium Deum, solius bonitatis, induceret. De Præscr. c. 34. p. 244. B. Deus autem Marcionis et quia ignotus non potuit offendi, quia nescit irasci. Ad. Marci. l. 5. c. 5. p. 584. A.

[c] Unam saltem cicerculam Deus Marcionis propriam protulisse debuerat—Aut exhibe rationem Deo dignam, cur nihil condiderit. Adv. M. l. 1. c. 11. p. 437. D.

Hoc ipso nemo debeat credere Deum et illum qui nihil condidit, nisi ratio forte proferatur. Ib. p. 438. A. Nam et quale est, ut Creator quidem ignorans esse alium super se Deum, ut volunt Marcionitæ,—tantis operibus notitiam sui armaverit: ille autem sublimior, sciens inferiorem Deum tam instructum, nullam sibi prospexerit agnoscendo paraturam; quando etiam insigniora et superbiora opera debuisset condidisse, ut Deus cognosceretur secundum Creatorem; et ex honestioribus potior et generosior Creatore. Ibid. p. 438. B. Non comparente igitur mundo alio, sicut nec Deus ejus—Quis autem poterit inducere in animum, nisi spiritus hæreticus ejus esse invisibilia, qui nihil visibile præmiserit: quum ejus qui visibilia operatus, invisibilium quoque fidem faceret: quum justius multo sit aliquibus exemplariis adnuere, quam nullis. L. 1. c. 16. p. 444. A.

[d] His compressi erumpunt dicere, sufficit unicum hoc opus Deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summâ et præcipuâ bonitate suâ. Ad. Mar. lib. i. c. 17. p. 441. D. Exhibe perfectam quoque bonitatem ejus—Non enim omnes salvi fiunt, sed pauciores omnibus et Judæis, et christianis Creatoris. Pluribus vero pereuntibus, quomodo perfecta defenditur bonitas?—Sed malitia perfectior. Sed nolo jam de parte majore pereuntium. Imperfectum bonitatis arguere Deum Marcionis, sufficit ipsos quos salvos facit, imperfectæ salutis inventos. Ibid. l. i. c. 24. p. 447, 448. Conf. l. i. c. 25. p. 449. A. L. 4. c. 25. p. 542. B. 543. A. L. 5. c. 4. p. 581. B. et L. 5. c. 4. p. 581. B. et L. 5. c. 16. p. 601. A.

[e] Sed quis iste suavis, qui ne cognitus quidem usque adhuc? quomodo suavis, a quo nulla beneficia processerant. Adv. M. l. 4. c. 17. p. 528. B. Sed et cur apud Dominum optimum, et profusæ misericordiæ, alii salutem referunt, credentes crucem, virtutem et sapientiam Dei; alii perditionem, quibus Christi crux stultitia reputatur. Ibid. l. 5. c. 5. p. 584. B.

Jam nunc de loco quæstio est, pertinens et ad mundum illum superiorem, et ad ipsum Deum ejus. Ecce enim, si et ille habet mundum suum infra se, supra Creatorem, in loco utique fecit eum. L. 1. cap. 15. p. 440. C.

made up entirely of goodness and benevolence. In short, he there shows that there was no proof of any Deity different from, or superior to, the Creator of the visible world.

SECTION XIV.

The Marcionites erroneous in dividing the Deity.

IN dividing the Deity, Marcion and his followers were undoubtedly in the wrong. They seem however to have gone into this opinion out of respect to his attributes. For they thought, if a good god had made the world, there would have been neither sin, nor misery, but all men would have been both holy and happy. Their reasonings upon this point are given us by Tertullian,[a] as also some other arguments[b] which they brought from the law, and other parts of the Old Testament, to prove the being from whom that was derived, different from the supreme or good God.

The Marcionites,[c] in the dialogue ascribed to Origen,

[a] Si Deus bonus, et præscius futuri, et avertendi mali potens, cur hominem —passus est labi de obsequio legis in mortem, circumventum a diabolo. Si enim et bonus, qui evenire tale quid nollet, et præscius, qui eventurum non ignoraret, et potens, qui depellere valeret, nullo modo evenisset quod sub his tribus conditionibus divinæ majestatis evenire non posset. Adv. Marci. Lib. 21. cap. 5. p. 456. C. Languens enim circa mali quæstionem : unde malum ? et obtusis sensibus ipsâ enormitate curiositatis, inveniens Creatorem pronuntiantem, Ego sum qui condo mala—et ita in Christo quasi aliam inveniens dispositionem, solius et puræ benignitatis ut diversæ a Creatore, facile novam et hospitam argumentatus est divinitatem in Christo suo revelatam, modicoque exinde fermento totam fidei massam hæretico acore decepit. Quo facilius duos Deos cœci perspexisse se existimaverunt. Unum enim non integre viderant. Alterum igitur Deum quem confiteri cogebatur, de malo infamando destruxit. Alterum quem commentari connitebatur de proferendo construxit. Ibid. Lib. 1. c. 2. p. 431. B. C.

[b] Magnum argumentum Dei alterius permissio obsoniorum adversus legem, quasi non et ipsi confiteamur legis onera dimissa; sed ab eo qui imposuit, qui novationem repromisit. Ibid. l. 5. c. 7. p. 589. D. Olim duplicem vim Creatoris vindicavimus, et judicis et boni literâ occidentis per legem, spiritu vivificantis per evangelium. Non possunt duos Deos facere, quæ etsi diversa apud unum recenseri pervenerunt. Si ideo ut claritatem majorem defenderet (apostolus) Novi Testamenti, quod manet in glorià, quam veteris, quod evacuari habebat; hoc et meæ convenit fidei præponenti evangelium legi, et vide ne magis meæ. Ibid. Lib. 5. c. 11. p. 591. A. B. An ignoramus Marcionem et cæteros hæreticos, qui Vetus laniant Testamentum, contempto Creatore, i. e. justo Deo, alium quendam bonum Deum colere et adorare, quem de suo corde finxerunt. Hieron. in Ezek. c. 9. p. 751. in.

Blasphemare vel Testamenti Veteris Deum, irridere et contemnere. Ibid. fin.

[c] Δεικνυω, ὁτι ὁ δημιυργος αλλα ενομοθετησε, και ὁ Χριστος αλλα εναντια

frequently use the same sort of reasonings, taken from some actions of inspired men, and from some commands under the law, which they considered opposite to the conduct and commands of Christ and his apostles, under the gospel.

With respect to that argument which they drew from the goodness of God, to prove that he could not be the Creator of this world, it only removed the difficulty one step further back. As Beausobre therefore justly observes,[d] the system of these men was liable to as great objections as that of the catholics. For the same perfections which rendered it unlikely that the supreme Being should make such a world as ours, would also have obliged him to hinder[e] the Creator from making it; or would have led him to have directed him in his works of creation, and to have overruled him so as to prevent the bad effects which his operations might have otherwise produced.

SECTION XV.

They were believers in a future judgment, and in the necessity of human actions.

THOUGH in some instances, according to several passages already quoted from Tertullian and others, they seem to blame justice, calling it by the name of severity,[a] and representing it as inconsistent with the character of goodness in God; and for that reason feigning to themselves another

τϐτϐ. Dial. con. Marc. Sec. 1. p. 14. Οτι ὁ Χριϛος ανετρεψε τα τϐ δημιϐργϐ, και δεικνυμι οτι ανετρεψεν. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 16, 17.

Ὁ προφητης τϐ Θεϐ της γενεσεως, πολεμϐ συϛαντος προς τον λαον, αναβας επι την κορυφην τϐ ορϐς, εξετεινε τας χειρας αυτϐ προς τον Θεον, ινα πολλϐς τῳ πολεμῳ ανελῃ. Ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων, ἁγιος ων, εξετεινε τας χειρας αυτϐ, ϐχι τϐ ανελειν τϐς ανθρωπϐς, αλλα τϐ σωσαι. Τι ϐν ὁμοιον; ὁ μεν δια της εκτασεως των χειρων αναιρει, ὁ δε σωζει. Ibid. p. 19.

Ὁ εν τῳ νομῳ Κυριος λεγει, Αγαπησεις τον αγαπωντα σε, και μισησεις τον εχθρον σϐ. Ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων, αγαθος ων, λεγει, Αγαπατε τϐς εχθρϐς ὑμων, και ευχεσθε ὑπερ των διωκοντων υμας. Ibid. p. 20. Vid. etiam p. 21, 23, 24, 25, &c.

[d] Histoire de Mani. tom. 2. p. 93. in.

[e] MET. Ἡ τϐ αγαθϐ (αρχη) ισχυροτερα. Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 6. ἁπαξ δε ισχυροτερος αυτων εϛιν. Ibid.

[a] Quanta itaque perversitas vestra erga utrumque ordinem creatoris? Judicem eum designatis; et severitatem judicis secundum merita causarum congruentem pro sævitiâ exprobatis. Deum Optimum exigitis, et lenitatem ejus benignitati congruentem, pro captu mediocritatis humanæ dejectius conversatam, ut pusillitatem depreciatis. Nec magnus vobis placet, nec modicus, nec judex, nec amicus. Adv. Mar. Lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 475. A. B.

God,[b] different from the Creator, a god of unmixed goodness; yet they[c] allowed that there would be a future judgment. But then the Creator[d] was to be the judge, whose justice they represented to be so strict as[e] to approach near to severity.

From a passage in Tertullian,[f] and also from the manner in which the dispute is carried on with the Marcionite, in the dialogue before[g] referred to, it seems to appear that they did not allow the freedom of human actions, but were believers in a kind of necessity.

SECTION XVI.

They thought the souls, but not the bodies of the virtuous, would be happy in a future state.

THEY thought that the virtuous would be put in possession of eternal happiness,[a] after their departure out of this

[b] Qui idcirco alium Deum somniâsti solummodo bonum, quia non potes judicem; quamquam et illum ut judicem ostendimus. Aut si non judicem, certe perversum ac vanum disciplinæ non vindicandæ, id est non judicandæ, constitutorem. Non reprobas autem Deum judicem, qui non judicem Deum probas?—Porro quum cogeris injustitiam de pessimis pronuntiare, eodem jugo urgeris justitiam de optimis censere. Igitur quanto malum injustitia, tanto bonum justitia. Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 11. p. 462. D. 3. A.

[c] Videte quomodo audiatis. Non audituris minabatur. Si a Deo Marcionis dabitur, et ab eo auferetur. Ibid. Lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 531. D. Ergo jam times delictum, et timendo probâsti, illum timeri, qui prohibet delictum. et timendo probâsti, illum timeri, qui prohibet delictum. Ibid. Lib. 1. cap. 27. ΑΔ. *Κριτης εστι δικαιος ὁ Θεος, η ϑ*; ΜΑΡ. *Κριτης δικαιος ὁ Θεος εστιν.* ΑΔ. *Τινα κρινει*; ΜΑΡ. *Κρινει τον διαβολον και τϑς αγγελϑς αυτϑ, και ανϑρωπϑς, τϑς προσφευγοντας αυτῳ.* Dial. Con. Ma. sec. 3. p. 81. Bas. 1674.

[d] Quoquo tamen nomine comminatur ablationem, non erit ejus Dei qui nescit comminari, quia non novit irasci. Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 531. D. Multo adhuc vanius cum, interrogati quid fiet peccatori cuique Dei illorum, respondent abjici illum quasi ab oculis. Nonne et hoc judicio agitur? Judicatur enim abjiciendus et utique judicio damnationis. Et quid erit abjici, nisi amittere id quod erat consecuturus, si non abjiceretur, id est salutem.—Exitus autem illi abjecto quis? Ab igne, inquiunt, Creatoris deprehendetur. Ibid. Lib. 10, 27, 28. *Τον δε κτιστην και δημιϑργον και ὁρατον Θεον ειναι των Ιϑδαιων, ειναι δε αυτον κριτην.* Ep. Hær. 42. p. 304. A.

[e] Quem sanguinarium, crudelem, et judicem vocant. Hieron. in Isai. c. 7. p. 68.

Alterum judicem, ferum, bellipotentem. Ad. M. Lib. 1. c. 6.

[f] Inesse autem nobis *το αυτεξϑσιον* naturaliter jam et Marcioni ostendimus et Hermogeni. De Animâ, c. 21. p. 324. C.

[g] ΜΑΡ. *Αυτεξϑσιος εστι και ὁ διαβολος κατα σε. Το δε αυτεξϑσιον και αυτοφυες και αυτογενητον. Αυτεξϑσιον φης και τον διαβολον και τον ανϑρωπον. κ. τ. λ.* Dia. Adv. Mar. sec. 3. p. 79, 83.

[a] Imo, inquis, spero ab illo (quod et ipsum faciat ad testimonium diversita-

world, and that the place of their enjoyment would be where the presence of the good God[b] was, and where Christ their Saviour should also reside: but they did not allow that the body[c] would be a partaker in this happiness, or at least they denied the resurrection[d] of the same body: for which reason Tertullian[e] impeaches this perfectly benevolent God of the Marcionites, as deficient in goodness, not only for not saving all men, but likewise for conferring happiness on but one part of the nature of those whom he did save: and often[f] blames them for imposing such heavy burdens on the body, without affording it any hopes of recompense in the resurrection.

tis) regnum Dei æternæ et cœlestis possessionis. Adv. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 24. p. 499. A.

[b] Sed Marcion aliorsum cogit; scilicet utramque mercedem creatoris, sive tormenti, sive refrigerii apud inferos, determinat eis positam, qui legi et prophetis obedierint. Christi vero et Dei sui cœlestem definit sinum et portum. Eam itaque regionem, sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat, tunc apparitura cœlesti promissione, quam Marcioni suo vindicat, quasi non a creatore vindicatam. Ad quam ascensum suum Christus ædificat in cœlum utique suis ubi est et locus æternus. Ibid. l. 4. c. 34. p. 559. C. D.

[c] Si plena est gratia et solida misericordia quæ soli animæ salutaris est plus præstat hæc vita quæ toti et integri fruimur. Cæterum ex parte resurgere multari erit, non liberari. Ib. l. 1. c. 24. p. 448. Si caro negatur, nec de resurrectione constabit. Ita, resurrectione Christi non consistente, aufertur et mortuorum resurrectio. Ib. l. 3. c. 8.

Marcion enim, in totum carnis resurrectionem non admittens, et soli animæ salutem repromittens. Ib. l. 5. c. 10. p. 504. B. C. Nemo carnem suam odio habet, nisi plane Marcion solus.—At tu solus eam odisti, auferens illi resurrectionem. Ib. l. 5. c. 18. p. 610. B. C. Την της σαρκος αθετει αναστασιν. Ep. Hær. 42. p. 304. B.

[d] ΜΑΡ. ϗ τετο το σωμα λεγει ανιστασθαι, αλλα ἑτερον, απο τϗ λεγειν, ὁ δε Θεος δἰδωσιν αυτῳ σωμα καθως εθελησεν—αλλα ὁρας, ὁτι λεγει, ε το γενησομενον σωμα σπειρεις, αλλα γυμνον κοκκον σιτϗ. Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 5. p. 143. Ba. 1674.

[e] Sufficit ipsos, quos salvos facit, imperfectæ salutis inventos, imperfectam bonitatem ejus ostendere. Scilicet animâ tenus salvos, carne deperditos, quæ apud illum non resurgit. Quid enim tam perfectæ bonitatis, quam totum hominem redigere in salutem? Ad. Mar. L. i. c. 24. p. 448.

[f] Et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum carnem mergit exsortem salutis. Proinde, cum tantam sive sarcinam sive gloriam infirmissimæ aut indignissimæ carni imponit sanctitatem—quid non salute remunerat—quam onerat vel exornat? quid fraudat mercede operis, non rependens carni salutem? quid et honorem sanctitatis in illâ mori patitur? Ibid. L. i. c. 28. p. 451. D.

SECTION XVII.

The belief of a transmigration ascribed to them by Epiphanius.

IF Epiphanius[a] gives us a true account of the opinions of Marcion, he taught the transmigration of souls from one body to another. This opinion of his is taken little or no notice of by any other writer. On the contrary, there is a passage in Clemens Alexandrinus,[b] which implies that this was not the opinion of the Marcionites. For he there informs us, that though the Marcionites had taken their notions about the evil of generation from some philosophers whom he had before mentioned, yet they differed from them in some particulars relative to this point. For these philosophers asserted that matter was not evil in itself, but only when considered as the prison of the soul. The soul, they asserted, was divine in its nature, and was thrust into this world as into a place of punishment; and that such souls as were embodied in these circumstances, needed purification. This, he expressly says, was not a sentiment embraced by the followers of Marcion, but rather the opinion of those, who held that souls were thrust into bodies, and tied to them, and poured from one to another, as if from vessel to vessel. In this, therefore, Clemens asserts, that the Marcionites did not hold the transmigration of souls. And Epiphanius, who knew that they borrowed some of their notions concerning matter from philosophers who believed the transmigration of souls, might too hastily conclude that they agreed with them also in that point.

[a] Και μεταγγισμες ὁμοιως των ψυχων και μετενσωματωσεις απο σωματων εις σωματα φασκει. Epi. Hær. 42. p. 305. C.

[b] Οἱ φιλοσοφοι δε, παρ' ὡν την γενεσιν κακην ειναι, ασεβως εκμαθοντες οἱ απο Μαρκιωνος—καταγεσι γαρ εντανθα την ψυχην, θειαν εσαν, καθαπερ εις κολαστηριον τον κοσμον, αποκαθαιρεσθαι δε ταις ενσωματεμεναις ψυχαις προσηκει κατ' αυτες· και εστιν το δογμα τετο ε τοις απο Μαρκιωνος ετι, τοις δε ενσωματεσθαι και μετενδεισθαι και μεταγγιζεσθαι τας ψυχας αξιεσιν, οικειον. Strom. Lib. 3. p. 432.

SECTION XVIII.

Some account of their notion that Christ delivered the Wicked and left the Good.

IRENÆUS in the passage afore[a] cited, to which I now only refer, without transcribing it again at large, says, 'Marcion 'taught that when Christ descended to hell, he delivered 'many wicked people, but left there the patriarchs, and 'many other good men of the Old Testament.'

Epiphanius[b] too says, that, according to Marcion, 'the 'Lord descended to hell and saved Cain, and Corah, and 'Dathan, and Abiram, and Esau, and all the nations who 'did not worship the God of the Jews; but that he left 'there Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, 'and Moses, and David, and Solomon.' To the like purpose Theodoret, that 'Cain[c] and the people of Sodom, and 'other wicked people, came to the Lord Jesus in hell, 'obtained salvation, and were taken by him into his king-'dom: but Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and the patriarchs, 'and the prophets, were not delivered, because they would 'not come to him.' Tertullian also has a plain reference to[d] this matter.

Upon which Beausobre[e] has made observations which will be readily admitted by most, as giving a probable explication of this notion of Marcion.

1. 'It was,' says he, 'a very general opinion that Jesus 'Christ went to hades, and preached there, and brought 'thence all that believed in him. The ancients, being of 'opinion that eternal life is not to be obtained but through 'faith in Jesus Christ, and that God is too merciful to let 'men perish for not having heard the gospel, supposed 'that the Lord preached also to the dead, that they might 'have the same advantage with the living.'

2. 'In the language of Marcion, and the fathers likewise, 'hell does not necessarily mean the place of the damned: 'in that space is Tartarus, the place of torment, and paradise, 'or the bosom of Abraham, a place of rest and refreshment. 'In that part of hades Jesus found the just men of the 'Old Testament. They were not miserable, but were in a

[a] Adv. Hær. lib. 1. cap. 27. [al. 29.] p. 105.
[b] H. 42. n. iv. p. 305.
[c] H. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 211.
[d] O Deum etiam ad inferos misericordem. Adv. M. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 499. A.
[e] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 111, 113.

'place of comfort and pleasure. "For," as Marcion says 'in Tertullian, "your[f] Christ promiseth the Jews after 'this life rest in hades, even in the bosom of Abraham." '

3. 'Christ preached the gospel to those just men; but 'they having never heard of the invisible or supreme Deity, 'who, as Marcion said, "was unknown before the coming 'of Christ, they suspected that the Creator designed to 'tempt them, which hindered them from believing in 'Christ." Marcion very probably took this thought from 'those places of the Old Testament, where God forewarns 'the Israelites not to hearken to prophets that preached 'another God, though they wrought signs and wonders; 'forasmuch as in such a case they might know that Jehovah, 'whom they served, only tried them to prove their fidelity.'

4. 'The Lord having preached to those just men in 'Abraham's bosom, and they not receiving him, he went to 'Tartarus, the place of the damned, where were confined 'by the Creator, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the people 'of Sodom and Gomorrah, and other wicked men; and 'made a tender of mercy to those miserable souls who had 'been suffering for many ages the punishment of their 'crimes. They embraced his offer and repented, and he 'took them with him into his kingdom.' All which is not a little countenanced by what Irenæus says. There is still more upon this subject in Beausobre, to whom I refer, which may be read by the inquisitive.

SECTION XIX.

Marcion's opinion about the person of Christ, that he was not a real man.

MARCION was so far from believing that our Saviour was born of a virgin, that he did not allow[a] he was born at all. He thought that the Son of God took the exterior form of a man,[b] and appeared as a man;[c] and[d] without being born,

[f] Cæterum vester Christus pristinum statum Judæis pollicetur ex restitutione terræ, et post decursum vitæ apud inferos in sinu Abrahæ refrigerium. Adv. M. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 499. A.

[a] Sed et virginem, inquit, parere natura non patitur. Adv. Mar. l. 3. c. 13. p. 487. D. [b] Cum propterea nec corporis susceperit veritatem ——Qui corpus non habuit, ungui omnino non potuit: qui ungui omnino non potuit, Christus vocari nullo modo potuit. Ib. c. 15. p. 490. B.

[c] Sic enim et Marcion phantasma eum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedignatus veritatem. De Animâ, cap. 17. p. 319. D.

[d] Non fuit, inquis, ordo ejusmodi necessarius, quia statim se et filium, et

or gradually growing up to the full stature of a man, he showed himself at once in Galilee as a man grown. It is thought that his gospel of St. Luke began with these words: 'In[e] the fifteenth year of Tiberius, God descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee.' At least Tertullian seems to intimate this; and Epiphanius[f] says what amounts to near the same. That it was the doctrine of the Marcionites, that Christ first appeared in the fifteenth of Tiberius, is evident from many[g] passages in ancient authors, but particularly from Tertullian. They also supposed,[h] that at the first moment of his appearance in this world, he was completely fitted to enter on this great work; and that he immediately assumed the character of a Saviour.

Irenæus in like manner, in the passage transcribed from him at the beginning of this article, says,[i] Marcion taught that Jesus came into Judea in the time of Pontius Pilate, and appeared to the Jews in the form of a man.

Tertullian informs[k] us that, according to the doctrine of the Marcionites, Christ had the appearance of a human body, though not the reality; he appeared to have flesh, though he really had not. They thought they had a sufficient foundation[l] on which to ground this opinion, because angels had appeared under the Old Testament in bodily shapes, and had conversed with men, and yet were not

missum, et Dei Christum, rebus ipsis esset probaturus per documenta virtutum. Adv. Mar. l. 3. c. 3. p. 478. A.

[e] Anno decimo quinto principatûs Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galileæ Caphernaüm. Ibid. l. 4. c. 7. p. 506. D.

[f] Ταυτα παντα περικοψας απεπηδησε, και αρχην τε ευαγγελιε εταξε ταυτην εν τω πεντεκαιδεκατω ετει και τα ἑξης. Epip. Hær. 42. p. 312. A.

[g] Καθως περιεχει το ευαγγελιον ὁτι επι Τιβεριε Καισαρος επι των χρονων Πιλατε. Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 45. Vid. p. 46. Anno XV. Tiberii Cæsaris Christus Jesus de cœlo manare dignatus est spiritus salutaris. Adv. Mar. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 443. A. Vid. etiam lib. 4. c. 7. p. 506. D.

[h] Non novem mensium cruciatu deliberatus, non subitâ dolorum concussione per corporis cloacam effusus ad terram,———nec molestus uberibus, diu infans, vix puer, tarde homo, sed de cœlo expositus, semel grandis, semel totus, statim Christus, spiritus et virtus, et Deus tantum. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 21. p. 536. B. C.

[i] Vid. p. 470, note [a] of this account.

[k] Cujus Christus etsi non induit veritatem, ut huic hæresi visum est, imaginem tamen ejus subire dignatus est. Adv. Mar. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 448. B.

[l] In istâ quæstione qui putaveris nobis opponendos esse angelos creatoris quasi et illi in phantasmate putativæ utique carnis egerint apud Abraham et Loth, et tamen vere sint et congressi, et pasti, et operati quod mandatum eis fuerat. Dehinc scito nec illud concedi tibi, ut putativa fuerit in angelis caro, sed veræ et solidæ substantiæ humanæ. Meus autem Deus——æque potuit ex quâcumque materiâ angelis quoque adstruxisse carnem, qui etiam mundum ex nihilo in tot ac talia corpora, et quidem verbo, ædificavit. Adv. Mar. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 484. B. C.

really men. They also endeavoured to prove the same points from Philip. ii. 6, 7, 8,[m] because they observe, the apostle says, "being in the form of God," he emptied himself, and "took the form of a servant," the appearance, not the reality: so also, being in the "likeness" of man, not truly man; and again, being found in the "figure" of a man, not in the substance, that is, not in the flesh.

That Marcion denied Christ's nativity[n] appears from many passages of Tertullian, several of which I place in the note.[o] Some of my readers will be pleased to see them collected together.

[m] Plane de substantiâ Christi putant et hic Marcionitæ suffragari apostolum sibi quod phantasma carnis fuerit in Christo quum dicit, quod in effigie Dei constitutus exhausit semetipsum acceptâ 'effigie' servi, non 'veritate:' et in 'similitudine' hominis, non 'in homine.' et 'figurâ' inventus hominis, non 'substantiâ,' i. e. non 'carne.' Ibid. l. 5. c. 20. p. 614. D.

[n] Totas istas præstigias putativæ in Christo corpulentiæ Marcion illâ intentione suscepit, ne, ex testimonio substantiæ humanæ, nativitas quoque ejus defenderetur, atque ita Christus Creatoris vindicaretur, ut qui nascibilis, ac, per hoc, carneus annuntiaretur. Ibid. l. 3. c. 11.

[o] Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem; aut, ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem—Plane nativitas a Gabriele annuntiatur—Odit moras, qui subito Christum de cœlis deferebat. Aufer hinc, inquit, molestos semper Cæsaris census, et diversoria angusta, et sordidos pannos, et dura præsepia—Servent potius pecora pastores, et Magi ne fatigentur de longinquo—Sed nec circumcidatur infans, nec ad templum deferatur: nec in manus tradatur Simeoni.—Taceat et anus illa—His opinor consiliis, tot originalia instrumenta Christi delere, Marcion, ausus es, ne caro ejus probaretur. De Carne Christi, cap. 1. 2. p. 358. B. C. D. Venimus nunc ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui Domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. Ipse, inquiunt, contestatur, se non esse natum, dicendo, quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres? Vid. Luc. 9. 19, 22. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 19. Desiderantes rationem, quâ non putaveris natum esse Christum. Necesse est, quâtenus hoc putas arbitrio tuo licuisse, ut aut impossibilem, aut inconvenientem Deo existimaveris nativitatem. De Carne Christi, c. 3. p. 359. A. B. Sunt plane et alia tam stulta, quæ pertinent ad contumelias et passiones Dei. Aut prudentiam dicant Deum crucifixum. Aufer hoc quoque Marcion, imo hoc potius. Quid enim indignius Deo? Quid magis erubescendum? Nasci, an mori? Carnem gestare, an crucem? Circumcidi, an suffigi? Educari, an sepeliri? In præsepe deponi, an in monumenta recondi?—An ideo passiones a Christo non rescidisti, quia ut phantasma vocabat a sensu earum. Diximus retro æque illum et nativitatis et infantiæ imaginariæ vacua ludibria subire potuisse. De Carne Christi, cap. 5. p. 364. B. C.

SECTION XX.

Tertullian's arguments against this notion.

AS Christ, according to this account, had the appearance of a body, but not the reality, Tertullian [a] often charges Marcion with making Christ deceitful; alleging that he could not be Christ if he had no body to be anointed: he asserts therefore [b] that he must have taken the name of Christ only because it was a popular title and character, without which the Jews would not have been disposed to have received him.

This deceitfulness of Jesus, according to the doctrine which Marcion held, Tertullian endeavours to make out in many different ways, and in a great variety of passages, too long and too numerous to be here inserted: two of [c] them only are given below.

However, some of the followers of Marcion [d] believed Christ to have had real flesh, though they would not allow that he was born: this seems to have been the opinion of Apelles.

[a] Si et mentitum alicubi dicis creatorem longe majus mendacium est in tuo Christo, cujus corpus non fuit verum. Ad. Mar. lib. 2. cap. 28. p. 475. D.

[b] Si enim Christus unctus est, ungui utique corporis passio est. Qui corpus non habuit, ungui omnino non potuit. Christus vocari nullo modo potuit. Sed quomodo, inquit, irreperet Judæorum fidem nisi per solemne apud eos et familiæ nomen. Adv. Mar. l. 3. c. 15, 16. p. 490. B. C.

[c] Quid dimidias mendacio Christum? totus veritas fuit. Maluit, crede nasci, quam ex aliquâ se parte mentiri, et quidem in semetipsum. Ut carnem gestaret sine ossibus duram, sine musculis solidam, sine sanguine cruentam, sine tunicâ vestitam, sine fame esurientem, sine dentibus edentem, sine linguâ loquentem, ut phantasma auribus fuit sermo ejus per imaginem vocis. De Carne Christi, cap. 5. p. 362. A. B. Ecce fallit et decipit et circumvenit omnium oculos, omnium sensus, omnium accessus et contactus. Ergo jam Christum non de cœlo deferre debueras, &c. Ibid. cap. 5. p. 362. C.

[d] Sed quidam discentes Pontici illius, supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem,—dum omnino non natam—Pervenimus igitur ex Marcione ad Apellem, qui—solidum Christi corpus, sed sine nativitate, suscepit—prædicans ut angelus quidam illius Philumenes. De Carne Christi, cap. 6. p. 362. C. D.

SECTION XXI.

Marcion believed there were to be two Christs.

MARCION acknowledged Jesus to be Christ, but not the [a] Christ foretold by the Jewish prophets. He could not deny that a Christ or Messiah was there spoken of, but he said a [b] person different from our Lord Jesus Christ was thereby meant. 'He allowed,' as Tertullian expresseth it, 'that [c] the prophets of the Creator had promised a Saviour 'to the Jewish nation, who should deliver them out of the 'hands of their enemies, and restore them to freedom.' But he pretended that this deliverer was not the Son of God; and that the oracles of the Old Testament did not agree to Jesus Christ. 'So that this man,' as Tertullian observes, 'who [d] 'was so averse to judaism, did himself judaize in the most 'shameful manner.' 'Marcion,' says that [e] writer, 'is for 'two Christs, one who appeared in the time of Tiberius, for 'the salvation of all nations; and another the restorer of the 'Jewish state, who is yet to come.'

This doctrine of two Christs is also asserted by the Marcionite in [f] the dialogue ascribed to Origen. In a work also

[a] Quum igitur hæretica dementia eum Christum venisse præsumeret, qui nunquam fuerat annuntiatus; sequebatur ut eum Christum nondum venisse contenderet, qui semper fuerat prædicatus: atque ita coacta est cum judaïco errore sociari, et ab eo argumentationem sibi struere, quasi Judæi, certi et ipsi alium fuisse qui venit, non modo respuerint eum ut extraneum, verum et interfecerint eum ut adversarium. Adv. Mar. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 480. B. C.

[b] Sic nec illam injectionem tuam potes sistere ad differentiam duorum Christorum: quasi judaïcus quidem Christus populo soli ex dispersione redigendo destinetur a creatore; vester vero omni humano generi liberando collatus sit a Deo optimo. Ibid. l. 3. cap. 21. p. 496. A. Certe si nondum venit Christus creatoris, propter quem hæc passuri prædicantur—Redde statum Judææ, quem Christus creatoris inveniat, et alium contende venisse. Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 498. D.

[c] His quum accedunt et sui Christi; alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio, alter qui a creatore promittitur. Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 441. A.

[d] Nunc quia cum Judæis negas venisse Christum eorum; recognosce et exitum ipsorum, quem post Christum relaturi prædicabantur ob impietatem, quâ eum et despexerunt et interemerunt. Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 497. D.

[e] Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium; alium, qui a Deo Creatore in restitutionem judaïci statûs sit destinatus, quandoque venturus. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 506. C.

[f] Δεικνυται εν τον δια νομε και προφητων Χριτον μηδεπω εληλυθεναι. Dial. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 35. Εναργετερα μοι εττιν αποδειξις τε μη ειναι νίον τε δικαιε τον Χριτον; Ὁ γαρ τε νομε επω εληλυθει. Ibid. p. 34.

said to be written by Athanasius,[g] we are informed that Marcion supposed, as Jesus came from the good God, so there was to be another from the just God; because each of them was to be the father of a Christ peculiar to himself; the good God of one, the just God of another.

SECTION XXII.

He also allowed the truth of our Saviour's miracles.

MARCION allowed the truth of our Saviour's miracles. He asserted that he thereby showed himself to be the Son of God, and to be sent from the Father, and that these were sufficient evidences, without prophecies; so says Tertullian.[a] And that this was his opinion appears further from Tertullian's manner of arguing with him; for he is pleased to assert[b] that this proof is inconclusive, because Jesus Christ has assured his disciples that some would arise who should work false miracles. We need not examine this reasoning: it shows that Marcion allowed the reality of Christ's miracles, and thought them a sufficient foundation for believing in him. But Tertullian by way of opposition, and in the heat of controversy, rashly does what he can to weaken one very strong, if not the strongest, argument for the truth of the christian religion.

SECTION XXIII.

And of his death.

THE Marcionite doctrine concerning our Saviour was,[a] that out of his love to the human race, and for their sakes, he

[g] Αυτη Μαρκιωνος ἡ δυσσεβεια, Θεον λεγοντος δικαιον ιδιᾳ Χριστῳ πατερα, και Θεον ἑτερον αγαθον ιδιᾳ Χριστῳ πατερα. Contra Sabelli. Tom. 2. p. 42. A. Bened.

[a] Non fuit, inquis, ordo necessarius; quia statim et filium et missum et Christum Dei rebus ipsis probabatur per documenta virtutum. Adv. Mar. l. 3. c. 3. p. 478. A.

[b] At ego negabo, solam hanc illi speciem ad testimonium competisse, quam et ipse postmodum exauctoravit. Siquidem edicens multos venturos, et signa facturos, et virtutes magnas edituros—temerariam signorum et virtutum fidem ostendit, ut etiam apud pseudochristos facillimarum. Ibid. p. 478.

[a] Hanc venerationem naturæ, Marcion, despuis—Certe Christus dilexit hominem. Propter eum descendit; propter eum prædicavit; propter eum

descended into this world,[b] and submitted to great humiliation. Though from Tertullian's arguments,[c] and from their not acknowledging him to have had real flesh, it may be supposed, they did not allow him to have truly suffered. However that be, they believed he was betrayed by[d] the Jews, at the instigation of their God the Creator, that he died,[e] and was buried. Yea, they even said that the death of the Messiah was necessary for the salvation of men,[f] though they did not suppose it to be an expiatory sacrifice.

SECTION XXIV.

And resurrection.

THEY must likewise have believed our Lord's resurrection.[a] For they had in their gospel the accounts of his addressing himself to the apostles after that event. 'Why[b] 'are ye troubled: see my hands and my feet, for a spirit 'hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' But they

omni se humilitate dejecit usque ad mortem crucis: amavit utique, quem magno pretio redemit. De Carne Christ. c. 4. p. 360. B.

[b] Si enim Deus, et quidem sublimior, tantâ humilitate fastigium majestatis suæ stravit, ut etiam morti subjiceretur, et morti crucis; cur non putetis nostro quoque Deo aliquas pusillitates congruisse, tolerabiliores tamen judaïcis contumeliis et patibulis et sepulcris. Adv. Mar. l. 2. c. 27. p. 475. C. Vid. etiam l. 3. c. 11. p. 486. C.

[c] Scelestissime hominum, qui interemptores excusas Dei. Nihil enim ab eis passus est Christus, si nihil vere est passus. De Carne Christi, c. 5. p. 361. Sic nec passiones Christi ejus fidem merebuntur: nihil enim passus est, qui non vere est passus: vere enim pati phantasma non potuit. Adv. Mar. l. 3. c. 8. p. 483. D.

[d] Atqui Christum, inquam, alterius Dei dicitis, a creatoris virtutibus et potestatibus, ut ab æmulis, in crucem actum. Ibid. l. 3. c. 23. p. 498. C.

[e] Deus meus aliquem jussit occidi: tuus semetipsum voluit interfici; non minus homicida in semetipsum, quam in eum a quo vellet occidi. Ibid. lib. 2. c. 28. p. 475. D.

[f] Ὁ δημιουργος, ιδων τον αγαθον λυοντα αυτου τον νομον, επεβλεψεν αυτῳ, μη ειδως ὁτι ὁ θανατος του αγαθου σωτηρια ανθρωπων εγενετο. Dial. Con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 53. fin.

[a] Fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem, cum manus et pedes suos discipulis inspiciendos offerret: Aspicite, inquit, quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis. Quomodo hanc vocem interpretaris, Marcion, qui a Deo optimo et simplici, et bono tantum, infers Jesum? Ecce fallit et decipit, &c. De Carne Christ. c. 5. p. 362. B.

[b] Και ειπεν αυτοις, Τι τεταραγμενοι εστε; και διατι διαλογισμοι αναβαινουσιν εν ταις καρδιαις ὑμων; Ιδετε τας χειρας μου, και τους ποδας μου, ὁτι αυτος εγω ειμι. Ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε, ὁτι πνευμα σαρκα και οστεα ουκ εχει, καθως εμε θεωρειτε εχοντα. Luc. 24, 38, 39.

seem to have turned it[c] in this manner: 'A spirit hath not 'flesh and bones, as you see I have not.'

That they firmly believed our Saviour's miracles is hence evident, because Tertullian in arguing with them[d] shows, that by denying his having a body, and really suffering, they weakened the evidence of all his works of power; for if our senses might be mistaken about the one, they might be so likewise about the other: but as he knew they allowed the reality of these, he made use of this medium to lead them to a belief of the other also. Indeed, from very many of his arguments to prove the reality of Christ's body, it appears they admitted the reality of his miracles, for he argues[e] thus: 'Without his having a real body, his miracles, and all his actions were deceitful, and only in appearance, and his example what we have no concern with:' which conclusions were absurdities and falsehoods in their esteem, therefore they admitted the truth of the miracles.

In the dialogue before referred to,[f] the Marcionite expressly says, that Christ had opened the eyes of many that were blind.

[c] De corporis autem veritate quid potest clarius? Quum, hæsitantibus eis ne phantasma est, immo phantasma credentibus, Quid turbati estis? inquit: et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ego ipse sum; quoniam spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis. Et Marcion quædam contraria sibi, illa, credo, industriâ eradere de evangelio suo noluit.—Vult itaque sic dictum, quasi, spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habentem, ad spiritum referatur, sicut me videtis habentem, id est non habentem ossa, sicut et spiritus. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 43. p. 374. D. 375. A.

[d] Non diceretur homo Christus sine carne.——Sicut nec Deus sine spiritu Dei, nec Dei filius sine Deo patre. Ita utriusque substantiæ census, hominem et Deum exhibuit; hinc carneum, inde spiritalem, hinc infirmum, inde præfortem, hinc morientem, inde viventem. Quæ proprietas conditionum, divinæ et humanæ virtutes spiritum Dei, passiones carnem hominis probaverunt. Si virtutes non sine spiritu, proinde et passiones non sine carne. Si caro cum passionibus ficta, et spiritus ergo cum virtutibus falsus, &c. De Car. Chris. c. 5. p. 362. A. B.

[e] Caro nec caro, homo nec homo: proinde Deus Christus, nec Deus. Cur enim non etiam Dei phantasma portaverit. An credam ei de interiore substantiâ, qui sit de exteriore frustratus?—Jam nunc quum mendacium deprehenditur Christi caro, sequitur ut et omnia, quæ per carnem Christi gesta sunt mendacio gesta sunt; congressus, contactus, convictus, ipsæ quoque virtutes. Si enim tangendo aliquem liberavit a vitio, vel tactus ab aliquo, quod corporaliter actum est, non potest vere actum credi sine corporis ipsius veritate. Putativus habitus, putativus actus: imaginarius operator, imaginariæ operæ. Adv. Mar. Lib. 3. c. 8. p. 483. C. D.

[f] Ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων, αγαθος ων, πολλων τυφλων ηνοιξεν οφθαλμες. Dia. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 29. fin.

SECTION XXV.

And of the principal facts related concerning him.

FROM all these testimonies, and from the arguments alleged by Tertullian as here represented, as also from others which he introduces to prove the excellency[a] and worth of man, and the certainty of his being a creature of the supreme God, it appears that the Marcionites believed the whole history of our Saviour's appearance in a human form, and of his death on the cross. They also believed that he was crucified between two malefactors.[b] But the circumstance of his garments being divided by the soldiers, was expunged by Marcion from his gospel, because it was foretold by the Psalmist, Ps. xxii. 18. They moreover allowed the truth of the miraculous[c] earthquake and darkness at the time of his crucifixion. They acknowledged[d] his having twelve apostles, and that one of them was a traitor. The truth of the appearance of Moses[e] and Elias on the mount was also assented to by them; and the reality of that voice from heaven which said, This is my beloved Son, hear him.

[a] Postremo te tibi circumfer; intus et foris considera hominem. Placebit tibi vel hoc opus Dei nostri, quod tuus dominus ille Deus melior adamavit: propter quem in hæc pauperrima elementa de tertio cœlo descendere laboravit: cujus causâ in hac cellulâ creatoris etiam crucifixus est. Adv. Mar. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 439. D.

[b] Et Barabbas quidem nocentissimus, vitâ, ut bonus, donatur. Christus vero justissimus, ut homicida, morti expostulatur. Sed et duo scelesti configuntur illi, ut inter iniquos scilicet deputaretur. Vestitum plane ejus militibus divisum, partim sorte concessum, Marcion abstulit, respiciens Psalmi prophetiam. Aufer igitur et crucem ipsam. Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 42. p. 573. A.

[c] Ecce autem et elementa concutiuntur, Dominus enim patiebatur ipsorum. Cæterum adversario læso, cœlum luminibus floruisset, magis sol radiis insultâsset, magis dies stetisset, libenter spectans pendentem in patibulo Christum Marcionis. Ib. D.

[d] Væ, ait, per quem traditur Filius hominis! Ergo jam væ constat imprecationis et comminationis inclamationem intelligendam, et irato et offenso deputandam, nisi si Judas impune erat tantum sceleris relaturus. Porro, si sciens passus est hominem, quem ipse comitatui suo asciverat, in tantum scelus ruere, &c. Ibid. Lib. 4. c. 41. p. 571. D. Vid. Dia. Cont. Marc. sec. 1. p. 8. πρωτες απεστειλεν ιβ.

[e] Nam et hoc vel maxime erubescere debuisti, quod illum cum Möyse et Eliâ in secessu montis conspici pateris, quorum destructor advenerat. Hoc scilicet intelligi voluit vox illa de cœlo, Hic est filius meus dilectus; hunc audite. Id est, non Möysem jam et Heliam. Ergo sufficiebat vox sola sine ostentatione Möysi et Heliæ. Ibid. L. 4. c. 22. p. 556. D.

SECTION XXVI.

The manners of the Marcionites were virtuous, and they had many martyrs.

WITH respect to the manners of the Marcionites, they are not charged by their adversaries with being vicious; for Tertullian, in the very place[a] where he is upbraiding them with that tenet of theirs, which represents God as not the object of fear, shows, from his way of arguing with them, that they had a respect to the will of God, and were desirous of obtaining his favour as the greatest good.

The whole drift of his reasoning takes it for granted, that they did not comply with the vicious pursuits of the heathens, but, like other christians, avoided being present at the savage spectacles of the circus, and the licentious games of the theatre; and did not allow themselves in indulging carnal desires, though their adversaries said that their principles led directly to the gratifying them.

In short, it is evident that these people were in general strictly virtuous; that they dreaded sin as the greatest evil, and had such a real regard for Christ, as to undergo martyrdom rather than offer incense to idols. They seem indeed to have had a great number of martyrs. Asterius Urbanus,[b] or some other ancient author, who wrote against the Montanists about the year of Christ 232, in answer to their boasts of the number of their martyrs, observes, that the Marcionites and other heretics were known to have had a great many martyrs. This passage is given us by Eusebius without being contradicted; which makes it probable that this was really the case. Clemens Alexandrinus[c] also

[a] Age itaque, qui Deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebullis? summum, quod sciam, fructum vitæ omnibus qui Deum non timent: Quid non frequentas tam solennes voluptates, circi furentis, et caveæ sævientis, et scenæ lascivientis? Quid non et in persecutionibus statim, oblatâ acerrâ, animam negatione lucraris? Absit, inquis, absit. Ergo jam times delictum; et timendo probâsti illum timeri, qui prohibet delictum. Aliud est, si, quem non times, observas. Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. c. 27. p. 451. A. See also what follows to the end of the chap.

[b] Και γαρ των αλλων αιρεσεων τινες πλειους οσους εχουσι μαρτυρας—και πρωτοι γε οι απο της Μαρκιωνος αιρεσεως Μαρκιωνισται καλουμενοι, πλειους οσους εχειν Χριστου μαρτυρας λεγουσιν. Apud Euseb. Lib. 5. c. 16. p. 182. D.

[c] Λεγομεν δε και ημεις τους επιπηδησαντες τω θανατω, εισι γαρ τινες ουκ ημετεροι, μονω τω ονοματος κοινωνοι, οι δη αυτους παραδιδοντες σπευδουσι, τη προς τον δημιουργον απεχθεια οι αθλιοι θανατουντες. Strom. Lib. 4. p. 481. C.

blames some heretics, who, from his expressions, appear to be Marcionites, for offering themselves to martyrdom in a foolish and rash manner.

SECTION XXVII.

They contemned marriage, and highly extolled virginity.

IN some parts of their conduct indeed they were superstitiously scrupulous: such as in many cases in[a] contemning, and in some in absolutely forbidding,[b] marriage; and in advising[c] and passing high encomiums upon virginity. On this account Jerom[d] often ranks Marcion with Tatian, Mani, and other Encratites, who rejected marriage. They seem[e] to have considered the connubial state not merely as less perfect, but even as sinful, impure, and odious, in the eyes of their[f] God; whom they called a hater of marriage. If Tertullian has not misrepresented them,[g] they appear to

[a] Sequitur de nuptiis congredi, quas Marcion constantior apostolo prohibet. Etenim apostolus, etsi bonum continentiæ præfert, tamen conjugium et contrahi permittit, et usui esse. Et magis retineri quam disjungi suadet. Marcion, totum connubium auferens, &c. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 7. p. 588. B. C. Vid. etiam. Lib. 1. c. 29. p. 452. A. Si nec ipsi Marcionitæ feminas appetunt. Ibid. c. 8. p. 590. B.

[b] Unde jam dicam Deum Marcionis, cum matrimonium, ut malum et impudicitiæ negotium, reprobat, adversus ipsam facere sanctitatem cui videtur studere. Ibid. L. 1. c. 30. p. 452. C. See also l. 5. c. 15. p. 605. A. B. Where Tertullian draws an argument against them, for forbidding marriage, from 1 Thess. iv. 3. because the apostle there doth not command us to abstain from marriage, but from fornication.

[c] Παρ' αυτῳ δε τῳ Μαρκιωνι και παρθενια κηρυσσεται. Epi. Hær. 42. No. 3. p. 304. A.

[d] Neque enim nos, Marcionis et Manichæi dogma sectantes, nuptiis detrahimus. Nec, Tatiani principis Encratitarum errore decepti, omnem coitum spurcum putamus, qui non solum nuptias, sed cibos quoque, quos Deus creavit ad utendum, damnat et reprobat. Ad. Pamm. Ep. 30. [al. 50.] T. 4. p. 230. in.

[e] Quis enim tam castrator carnis castor, quam qui nuptias abstulit. Adv. Mar. Lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 430. D. Timotheum instruens, nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat. Ita instituunt Marcion et Apelles ejus secutor. De Præs. c. 30. p. 243. D. See also Adv. Mar. Lib. 4. c. 34. p. 558. D. et c. 17. p. 528. A. Deum suum intuens detestatorem nuptiarum. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 29. p. 552. A.

[f] Jam nunc Deus Marcionis, qui connubium adversatur, quomodo videri potest parvulorum dilector, quorum tota causa connubium est? Qui semen odit, fructum quoque exsecretur necesse est. Næ ille sævior habendus Ægyptio rege. Nam Pharao educari non sinebat infantes; ille nec nasci, auferens vitam illis etiam decem mensium. Adv. Mar. L. 4. c. 23. p. 540. A.

[g] Non tinguitur apud illum caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi cœlebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata, quasi non etiam spadonibus ex nuptiis nata. Sine dubio ex damnatione conjugii institutio ista constabit. Ibid. L. i. c. 29. p.

have admitted none to baptism but unmarried persons, or such as promised to live as unmarried in the marriage state.

Clement[h] supposeth them to abstain from marriage that they might not people the world of the Creator; which is a reason similar to that which he assigns,[i] for their offering themselves voluntarily to martyrdom, viz. out of hatred to the Creator. Somewhat like this is a hint in Tertullian,[k] where he says that none were admitted to baptism, or the eucharist, unless they had taken an oath against having any children, as if they meant it against the Creator. Though, as Clement observes,[l] whatever hatred they bore to him, they partook of his food, and breathed his air.

SECTION XXVIII.

They fasted on the sabbath.

ANOTHER of their institutions was fasting,[a] especially on the sabbath or seventh day,[b] which had been a day of rest to the Creator or God of the Jews, whom they despised. This day therefore they kept as a fast, because they were inclined to do every thing contrary to what would show the least respect for him.

451. D. Nec alibi conjunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiæ admittens, nisi inter se conjuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum, ut adversus ipsum creatorem. Ibid. lib. 4. c. 34. p. 558. B. Nuptias non conjungit; conjunctas non admittit: neminem tinguit nisi cœlibem aut spadonem. Morti aut repudio baptisma servat. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. 516. B.

[h] Αλλα οἱ μεν απο Μαρκιωνος—μη βϑλομενοι τον κοσμον τον ὑπο τϑ δημιϑργϑ γενομενον συμπληρϑν, απεχεσθαι γαμϑ βϑλονται. Strom. l. 3. p. 431. B.

[i] Vid. note (3.) No. 14. p. 2. Strom. l. 4. p. 481. C.

[k] Vid. supra, note [g].

[l] Ει και μη γαμειν εθελϑσιν, αλλα τροφαις χρωνται ταις κτισαις, και τον αερα τϑ δημιϑργϑ αναπνεϑσιν. Strom. lib. 3. p. 431. C. D.

[a] Sed et Marcionem designat et Tatianum, et cæteros hæreticos, qui abstinentiam indicunt perpetuam. Hieron. ad Jovin. l. 2. Tom. 4. p. 210. in.

[b] Νηστειαν δε και το σαββατον κηρυττει—ὑδατι δε ϑτος εν τοις μυστηριοις χρηται· το σαββατον δε νηστευει δια τοιαυτην αιτιαν, επειδαν, φησι, τϑ Θεϑ των Ιϑδαιων εστιν ἡ αναπαυσις τϑ πεποιηκοτος τον κοσμον, και εν τῃ ἑβδομῃ ἡμερᾳ αναπαυσαμενϑ· ἡμεις νηστευομεν ταυτην, ἱνα μη το καθηκον τϑ Θεϑ των Ιϑδαιων εργαζωμεθα. Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 3. p. 304. A. B.

SECTION XXIX.

They celebrated baptism and the eucharist, but were somewhat irregular in the administration.

THEY kept up the ordinances of baptism and the eucharist, [a] as appears from the last passage of Epiphanius, and from several of the foregoing quotations out of Tertullian and others. Though they were somewhat irregular in the administration, permitting women [b] to baptize, and using [c] only water in the cup.

Epiphanius also [d] blames them for celebrating the eucharist in the presence of catechumens, and represents them [e] as repeating baptism several times upon the same person, if he happened to commit any sin after he had had this rite administered to him. His meaning I suppose is, that those of them who had been guilty of great crimes, were restored by repentance and baptism.

SECTION XXX.

They had churches for stated public worship.

FROM these passages it might be strongly argued that they had churches, in which they performed the various parts of public worship. The matter however is evident from the testimony of several ancient authors, particularly Tertullian,

[a] Cui enim rei baptisma quoque apud eum exigitur.—Signat igitur hominem nunquam apud se resignatum. Lavat hominem, nunquam apud se coinquinatum; et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum, mergit carnem extorrem salutis. Adv. Mar. l. i c. 28. p. 451. C. D. Non putem impudentiorem, quam qui in alienâ aquâ alii Deo tinguitur.—Super alienum panem alii Deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur. Ibid. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 447. C.

[b] Διδωσι και επιτροπην γυναιξι βαπτισμα διδοναι. Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 4. p. 305. B.

[c] Vide p. 482, note [a].

[d] Μυστηρια δε δηθεν παρ' αυτω επιτελειται, των κατηχθμενων ὁρωντων. Hær. 42. No. 3. p. 304. B. Παρ' αυτοις γαρ παντα χλυης εμπλεα· και ϑδεν ἑτερον, ὁποτε και τα μυστηρια ενωπιον κατηχουμενων επιτελειν τολμωσιν. Ibid. No. 4. p. 305. B.

[e] Ου μονον δε παρ' αυτω ἐν λουτρον διδοται, αλλα και ἑως τριων λουτρων.—ὡσπερ πολλων ακηκοα—τουτ' ἐστι τριων βαπτισμων εις ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιων, ἱνα ει τις παραπεσεν εις το πρωτον, λαβῃ δευτερον μετανοησας, και τριτον ὡσαυτως, εαν εν παραπτωματι μετα το δευτερον γενηται. Ibid. p. 304. B. C. D.

from whom[x] I shall give some passages at the bottom of the page, which fully ascertain this point.

SECTION XXXI.

Marcion rejected the Old Testament.

SOME little notice has several times[a] been already taken of the parts of scripture which Marcion received, and of those parts also which he rejected. The Old Testament was altogether set aside by him,[b] as proceeding from the Creator, who was, in his estimation, void of goodness, and the author of all that sin and misery which is in the world. His followers[c] moreover argued, that the law and the gospel could not come from the same being, because there are, in their opinion, several things contained in the former inconsistent with many in the latter. They said the Creator is represented as ignorant, or imperfect in knowledge, when he called to Adam[d] and asked where he was. That he is mutable[e] in having contradictory commands; and inconstant

[x] Habet plane et illud (evangelium) ecclesias, sed suas, tam posteras quam adulteras—Marcione scilicet conditore, vel aliquo de Marcionis examine. Faciunt favos vespæ: faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 505. C.

Quoniam ab ortu solis usque in occasum nomen meum glorificatum est in nationibus, et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum, gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni. Quæ omnia quum in te quoque deprehendantur, et signaculum frontium et ecclesiarum sacramenta, et munditiæ sacrificiorum, debes jam erumpere, uti dicas, spiritum creatoris tuo Christo prophetâsse. Ad. Mar. lib. 3. c. 22. p. 447. D. Confer lib. 4. c. 1. p. 502. B.

[a] Vol. ii. p. 173, 273—276, 281, 283, 295, 296, 554.

[b] ΜΑΡΚ.—*ταις γαρ ιεδαϊκαις φωναις ʁ πειθομαι, και γαρ αλλʁ εισι Θεʁ.—Ου γαρ ὑπακεω ʁτε νομῳ ʁτε προφηταις.* Dia. con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 54.

ΜΑΡΚ. *Ἡμεις προφητας και νομον ʁ δεχομεθα, ʁδε γαρ εισι τʁ ἡμετερʁ Θεʁ.* Ibid. sec. 2. p. 57. [c] See several passages from the foregoing dialogue against the Marcionites inserted at large, sec. xiv. p. 466, note [c].

[d] ΜΕΓ. *Ὁ δημιʁργος ʁδε ʏδει πʁ εστιν ὁ Αδαμ, λεγων, πʁ ει*; Dia. adv. Mar. sec. 1. p. 27. Jam nunc ut omnia ejusmodi expediam, ad cæteras pusillitates et infirmitates et incongruentias, interpretandas purgandasque pertendam. Inclamat Deus, Adam, ubi es? Scilicet ignorans ubi esset: et causato nuditatis pudore, an de arbore gustâsset interrogat, scilicet incertus. Ter. adv. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 25. p. 474. D. or 380. 40.

[e] Sic et in cæteris contrarietates præceptorum ei exprobas, ut mobili et instabili, prohibentis sabbatis operari; et jubentis arcam circumferri per dies octo; i. e. etiam sabbato in expugnatione civitatis Hiericho. Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 469. D. 378. 40.

because he is said to have repented [f] that he made Saul king, and also that he created man: [g] all of whom, in consequence of the wickedness which so generally prevailed, he destroyed; all except Noah and his family. Such punishment, according to them, manifested a change, and consequently an imperfection in the divine mind, as well as a deficiency in goodness.

They also argued from Is. xlv. 7, where God says, [h] "I make peace, and create evil," that this could not be the good or supreme God.

SECTION XXXII.

He also objected to the appointment of sacrifices.

THEY objected to the appointment of sacrifices, [a] and to the distinction of meats [b] into clean and unclean, and were

[f] Si et pœnitentiam apud illum prave interpretaris, quasi proinde mobilitate vel improvidentiâ, imo jam ex delicti recordatione pœniteat; quoniam quidem dixerit, pœnituit quod regem fecerim Saul. Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 24. p. 471. B. 379. 41.

[g] ΜΕΓ. *Οὐτος κατ' ιδιαν εδημιουργησε τους ανθρωπους. Μεταμεληται γαρ, φησιν, ὁτι εποιησα τον ανθρωπον. Μετενοησεν ἐν κακοις δημιουργησας, και εθελησεν τουτους κατακριναι και απολεσαι. Ὁ ουν αγαθος ου συνεχωρησεν, αλλ' ηλεησε το γενος των ανθρωπων.* Dia. ad. Mar. sec. 2. p. 49.

[h] Ego sum qui condo mala, &c. Ecce ego emitto in vos mala, non peccatoria sed ultoria, quorum satis diluimus infamiam. Ter. ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 24. p. 472. A. or 380. 13. De his Creator profitetur, malis, quæ congruunt judici. Ibid. Lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 375. 14. Ego, inquit, percutiam; et ego sanabo. Ego, inquit, occidam, et ego vivificabo; condens scilicet mala, et faciens pacem. Quâ enim soles illum mobilitatis quoque et inconstantiæ nomine reprehendere, prohibentem quæ jubet, et jubentem quæ prohibet. Id. Lib. 4. c. 1. 502. C. or 404. 35.

[a] Diximus de sacrificiorum rationali institutione, avocante scilicet ab idolis ad Deum officia ea quæ si rursus ejecerat, dicens; Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? hoc ipsum voluit intelligi, quod non sibi ea proprie exegisset. Ad. Mar. Lib. 2. c. 22. p. 470. B. C. or 379. 11. Sacrificiorum quoque opera, et operationum et oblationum negotiosas scrupulositates nemo reprehendat, quasi Deus talia sibi proprie desideravit, qui tam manifeste exclamat, Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? Et quis exquisivit, Ista ex manibus vestris? Sed illam Dei industriam sentiat, qua populum pronum in idololatriam et transgressionem ejusmodi officiis religioni suæ voluit astringere, quibus superstitio seculi agebatur, ut ab eâ avocaret illos, sibi jubens fieri quasi desideranti, ne simulacris faciendis delinqueret. Ib. c. 18. 467. D. 375. 28.

[b] Et si lex aliquid cibis detrahit, et immunda pronuntiat animalia quæ aliquando benedicta sunt, consilium, exercendæ continentiæ intellige; et frænos impositos illi gulæ agnosce, quæ, quum panem ederet angelorum, cucumeres et pepones Ægyptiorum desiderabat. Ibid. Lib. 2. c. 18. 467. D. 377. 20.

also displeased with the orders given to the Jews, [c] to spoil the Ægyptians. In short, Tertullian says, they brought such and so many objections against the law and the prophets, that they looked more like the objections of heathens, [d] than of persons who embraced christianity, though ever so heretical in their notions.

Against these, and many others of the same sort too numerous to mention, Tertullian defends the Old Testament by very good answers, as may be seen at large in his second book against Marcion, where he shows [e] the moral laws to be excellent, and certainly derived from God, as it is related by Moses, who was prior to the famous heathen lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, &c. and who therefore could borrow from none of them.

SECTION XXXIII.

He mutilated the New Testament wherever it contained quotations from the Old.

THEIR aversion to the Old Testament was indeed so great, that on this account they mutilated many passages in the New, in those books which they admitted, rejecting [a] all

[c] Sed et per istas caligines sequemur nequitiam, et in lucem extrahemus ingenia tenebrarum, objicientia creatori vel maxime fraudem illam et rapinam auri et argenti, mandata ab illo Hebræis in Ægyptios. Ib. L. 2. c. 20. 469. A. B. 378. 18.

ΜΕΓ. Ὁ Θεος της γενεσεως εντετακται Μωϋσει εκβαινοντι εκ γης Αιγυπτυ, λεγων· Ἑτοιμοι γενεσθε την οσφυν εζωσμενοι, τους ποδας ὑποδεδεμενοι, τας ῥαβδους εν ταις χερσιν ὑμων, τας πηρας εχοντες εφ' ἑαυτους, χρυσον και αργυρον και τ'αλλα παντα απενεγκασθε των Αιγυπτιων· ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων ὁ αμισθος· κ. τ. λ. Dia. con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 16.

[d] De isto pluribus retractarem, si cum ethnicis agerem, quanquam et cum hæreticis non multo diversa congressio stet. Ad. Mar. lib. 2. c. 27. 474. B. 382. 47.

[e] Veni denique ad inspectationem doctrinarum, disciplinarum, præceptorum, conciliorumque ejus. Dices forsitan hæc etiam humanis legibus determinari. Sed ante Lycurgos et Solonos omnes, Möyses et Deus. Nulla posteritas non a primordiis accipit. Tamen non a tuo Deo didici Creatorem meum præscribere: non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, &c.—Ad hæc innocentiæ, pudicitiæ, justitiæ, et pietatis principalia consulta, accedunt etiam humanitatis præscripta. Non enim injuriæ mutuo exercendæ licentiam sapit, sed in totum cohibendæ violentiæ prospicit, &c. Ibid. lib. 2. c. 17, 18. 467. B. C. 377. 1.

[a] Et super hæc, id, quod est secundum Lucam, evangelium circumcidens et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrinâ sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum patrem confitens, Dominus conscriptus est.—Non evange-

which related to the law and the prophets, or which were quoted from thence, as plainly foretelling the coming of Jesus Christ, or which spoke of his Father as the Creator of the world.

SECTION XXXIV.

He framed Antitheses to show the opposition of the law to the gospel.

THIS Creator, or God of the Jews, they considered as of a character very different from[a] the good God, or the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and therefore they asserted that Christ came to destroy the law given by him, because it was opposite[b] to the gospel. To establish this last point was the design of those Antitheses which were framed by[c] Marcion, and which Tertullian[d] so frequently mentions.

lium sed particulam evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcumque manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcumque ex propheticis memorans apostolus docuit, prænuntiantibus adventum Domini.

In quibus manifestissime conditorem, &c. Respicere præcipue videtur hæc verba Servatoris, Luc. x. 21, 'Confiteor tibi, pater, Domine cœli et terræ,' quæ Marcion corrupit, demens vocem *pater*, et omittens *terræ*. Vid. Grabei notas in hunc Irenæi locum, p. 104. note 5. Ox. 1702.

[a] ΜΕΓ. Εκ τουτου δεικνυται μη ων αγαθος ὁ δημιουργος. Dia. ad. Mar. sec. 1. p. 23.

ΜΕΓ. Ἡ αγαθη αρχη των χριστιανων αρχει. Ibid. sec. 1. p. 4.

[b] ΜΕΓ. Δεικνυω ὁτι ὁ δημιουργος αλλα ενομεθετησε· και ὁ Χριστος αλλα εναντια τουτω—Ἑαυτῳ οὐδεις ποτε εναντιουται οὐδε αντικειται, ὡσπερ αντικειται το ευαγγελιον τῳ νομῳ. Ibid. sec. 1. p. 14. ΜΕΓ. Ὁτι ὁ Χριστος ανετρεψε τα του δημιουργου· και δεικνυμι ὁτι ανετρεψεν. Ibid. p. 16.

ΜΕΓ. Δειξω ὁτι ηναντιωται το ευαγγελιον τῳ νομῳ. Ibid. p. 23.

[c] Separatio legis evangelio proprium et principale opus est Marcionis.—Nam hæ sunt Antitheseis Marcionis,—i. e. contrariæ oppositiones, quæ conantur discordiam evangelii cum lege committere, ut ex diversitate sententiarum utriusque instrumenti diversitatem quoque argumentatur Deorum. Ad. Mar. lib. i. c. 11. p. 359. 10.

[d] Cæterum ipsas quoque Antitheseis Marcionis cominus cecidissem, si operosiore destructione earum egeret defensio creatoris, tam boni quam et judicis. Compendio interim possum Antitheseis retudisse, gestientes ex qualitatibus ingeniorum, sive legum, sive virtutum discernere, atque ita alienare Christum a creatore, ut optimum a judice, et mitem a fero, et salutarem ab otioso. Ad. Mar. lib. 2. c. 29. p. 476. A. D. p. 382, 3. Certe enim totum, quod elaboravit etiam Antitheseis præstruendo, in hoc cogit, ut Veteris et Novi Testamenti diversitatem constituat, proinde Christum suum a creatore separaturus, ut Dei alterius, alienum legis et prophetarum. Ibid. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 506. B. p. 407. 13.

Though, as he rightly observes, it would be no difficult matter to form rival [e] Antitheses against him, by showing many glaring contradictions between one part and another of his opinions. To establish this same point, the contrariety of character between the God of the Jews and the God of the christians, and the opposition between the law and the gospel, is the direct intent of a great part of the objections brought by the Marcionite, in the dialogue ascribed to Origen; [f] some of which have already been quoted at large. [g] Some others of the more remarkable I shall here transcribe, referring [h] only to several of the remaining ones, because they are too many to be all inserted.

But this argument, as Tertullian justly observes, [i] may be easily refuted, since such contrarieties as he produces will never prove that the being who gave the Jewish law is not the same with the God of the christians. For

[e] Nunc et de pusillitatibus, et malignitatibus, cæterisque notis, et ipse adversus Marcionem Antitheseis æmulas faciam.—Mutavit sententias suas Deus noster, proinde quâ vester: qui enim genus humanum tam sero respexit, eam sententiam mutavit, quâ tanto ævo non respexit. Ibid. lib. 2. c. 28. p. 475. B. C. D. p. 382. 36.

[f] See sec. xiv. of this chap. p. 466. note [c]. Sec. xxiii. p. 477. note [f]. Sec. xxxi. p. 484. note [b]. p. 485. n. [g]. Sec. xxxii. p. 486. note [c]. and in the last page, note [a] and [b].

[g] ΜΕΓ. Ὁ προφητης τϖ Θεϖ της γενεσεως πολεμϖ συϖαντος προς τον λαον, αναβας επι την κορυφην τϖ ορϖς, εξετεινε τας χειρας αὐτϖ προς τον Θεον, ἱνα πολλϖς τῳ πολεμῳ ανελῃ. Ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων, ἁγιος ων, εξετεινε τας χειρας αὐτϖ, ϖχι του ανελειν τϖς ανθρωπϖς, αλλα τϖ σωσαι, Dia. ad. Mar. sec. 1. p. 19. ΜΕΓ. Ὁ εν τῳ νομῳ Κυριος λεγει· Αγαπησεις τον αγαπωντα σε, και μισησεις το εχθρον σϖ. Ὁ δε Κυριος ἡμων, αγαθος ων, λεγει· Αγαπατε τϖς εχθρϖς ὑμων, και ευχεσθε ὑπερ των διωκοντων ὑμας. Ibid. sec. 1. p. 20. ΜΕΓ. Ὁ προφητης τϖ Θεϖ της γενεσεως, ἱνα πολεμῳ πλειονας ανελῃ, εστησε τον ἡλιον· τϖ μη δυσαι, μεχρι συντελεση αναιρων τϖς πολεμϖντας προς τον λαον. Ο δε Κυριος, αγαθος ων, λεγει, Ὁ ἡλιος μη επιδυετω επι τῳ παροργισμῳ ὑμων. Ib. p. 22.

[h] Vid. Dia. adv. Mar. sec. 1. p. 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, &c.

[i] Omnem sapientiam et omnem paraturam impii atque sacrilegi Marcionis, ad ipsum jam evangelium ejus provocamus, quod interpolando suum fecit. Et, ut fidem instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est illi, opus ex contrarietatum oppositionibus, Antitheseis cognominatum, et ad separationem legis et evangelii coactum, quâ duos Deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius instrumenti, vel, (quod magis usui est dicere,) Testamenti, ut exinde evangelio quoque secundum Antitheseis credendo patrocinaretur. Sed et istas proprio congressu cominus—cecidissem, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso evangelio, cui procurant, retunderentur. Quamquam tam facile est præscriptive occurrere, et quidem ut accepto eas faciam, ut rato habeam, ut nobiscum facere dicam, quo magis de cœcitate auctoris sui erubescant nostræ jam Antitheseis adversus Marcionem. Atque adeo confiteor alium ordinem decucurrisse in veteri dispositione apud creatorem, alium in novâ apud Christum. Non nego distare documenta eloquii, præcepta virtutis, legis disciplinas, dum tamen tota diversitas in unum et eundem Deum competat. Ad. Mar. L. 4. c. 1. p. 501. A. B. C. p. 403. 36.

those precepts and injunctions of the ceremonial law, produced by Marcion, as directly opposite to the gospel, were rightly calculated for that people to whom they were given, though they would be improper for those who are placed in very different circumstances under the gospel: and this temporary [k] diversity, and seeming opposition, only make manifest the wisdom of that God who suits himself to the different circumstances of things, which very justly require an alteration of conduct.

SECTION XXXV.

Marcion received but eleven books of the New Testament, and of the gospels only that of Luke, and this mutilated.

MARCION received only eleven books of the New Testament, and these strangely curtailed and altered. He divided them into two parts, calling the one the Gospel,[a] and the other the Apostolicon. The former contained only one of the four gospels, viz. that of St. Luke,[b] and this mutilated and altered, and even interpolated [c] in a great variety of

[k] Aufer titulum Marcionis, et intentionem atque propositum operis ipsius; et nihil aliud præstat, quam demonstrationem ejusdem Dei Optimi et judicis, quia hæc duo in solum Deum competunt. Nam et ipsum studium in eis exemplis opponendi Christum Creatori ad unitatem magis spectat. Quia nec mirum erat diversitas temporalis, si postea Deus mitior pro rebus edomitis, qui retro austerior pro indomitis. Ita per Antitheseis facilius ostendi potest ordo Creatoris a Christo reformatus. Ibid. L. 2. c. 29. p. 476. D. p. 383. 7.

[a] ΜΕΓ. Δειξω ὁτι ἐν ἐστι το Ευαγγελιον. Dial. con. Mar. sec. i. p. 12. ΜΕΓ. τῳ σῳ φαλσῳ ϐ πιστευω αποστολικῳ. ΑΔΑΜ. Προσενεγκε το αποστολικον σϐ. Ibid. p. 8. ΜΑΡΚ. τω εμῳ αποστολικῳ πειθομαι. ΑΔΑΜ. Εχω το αποστολικον σϐ. Ibid p. 47. ΜΑΡΚ. Ἡμεις πλεον τϐ Ευαγγελιϐ, και τϐ Αποστολικϐ ϐ δεχομεθα. Ibid. p. 58. Αυτας δη τας τϐ προειρημενϐ βιβλϐς, ἁς κεκτηται, μετα χειρας λαβων, το τε παρ' αυτων λεγομενον Ευαγγελιον, και αποστολικον καλϐμενον. Epi. Adv. Hær. 42. p. 310. C. D.

[b] Μονῳ δε κεχρηται τϐτῳ τῳ χαρακτηρι τῳ κατα Λϐκαν Ευαγγελιῳ. Ibid. p. 309. D. Οὑτος εκ μεν των Ευαγγελιων το κατα Λϐκαν εδεξατο μονον. Theo. H. F. lib. i. c. 24. p. 210. D. Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse quem cæderet. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 405. 8. Itaque de his Marcion flagitandus, quod, omissis eis, Lucæ potius institerit. Ibid. cap. 5. p. 406, 40. Et alia multa quæ—a Lucâ dicta—quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur—Non enim conceditur eis—quædam quidem recipere ex his quæ a Lucâ dicta sunt—quædam vero refutare. Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 236, 20. Ox. See also Dia. con. Mar. sec. 1. from p. 6—12.

[c] Et super hæc id quod est secundum Lucam evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens. Iren. Ad. Hær. lib. 1. 27. [al. 29.] p. 104. Ox. Ελευσομαι δε εις τα ὑπ' αυτϐ γεγραμμενα,

places. He would not allow it to be called the gospel of St. Luke,[d] erasing the name of that evangelist from the beginning of his copy. Some of his[e] followers considered it as written partly by Christ himself, and partly by the apostle Paul. Marcion retrenched the first and second chapters entirely, and began his gospel at the first verse of the third chapter,[f] and even read this different from our copies, viz. that 'in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, God descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee.'

SECTION XXXVI.

He rejected the genealogy and baptism of our Saviour.

ACCORDING to Irenæus,[a] Epiphanius,[b] and Theodoret,[c] he also rejected the genealogy and baptism of Christ. If we compare this with a passage of Tertullian,[d] it seems not

μαλλον δε ερραδιουργημενα· ουτος γαρ εχει Ευαγγελιον μονον το κατα Λουκαν, περικεκομμενον απο της αρχης, δια την του Σωτηρος συλληψιν, και την ενσαρκον αυτου παρουσιαν, ος μονον δε την αρχην απετεμεν ὁ λυμηναμενος εαυτον ὑπερ του Ευαγγελιου, αλλα και του τελος και των μεσων πολλα περιεκοψε των της αληθειας λογων· αλλα δε παρα τα γεγραμμενα προσεθεικε. Epi. Ad. Hær. 42. No. 9. p. 309. C. D.

[d] Contra Marcion, Evangelio scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 405. 3. De Titulo quoque funis ducendus est contentionis—Ego meum dico verum, Marcion suum. Ibid. c. 4. p. 405. 45.

[e] ΜΕΓ. Δειξω ἐν ειναι Ευαγγελιον. ΑΔΑΜ: τις εστιν ὁ γραψας το Ευαγγελιον τουτο, ὁ εφης ειναι ἐν; ΜΕΓ. Ὁ Χριστος. ΑΔΑΜ. αυτος ὁ κυριος εγραψεν, ὁτι εσταυρωθην και ανεστην τῃ τριτῃ ἡμερᾳ; ουτω γραφει; ΜΕΓ. Ὁ αποστολος Παυλος προσεθηκεν. ΑΔΑΜ. παρην γαρ Παυλος εν τῳ σταυρωθηναι τον Χριστον; ΜΕΓ. αυτος εγραψεν το Ευαγγελιον ἁπλως. Dia. con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 12. Nam et Lucæ digestum Paulo ascribere solent. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. iv. cap. 5. p. 406. 39.

[f] Anno quinto decimo principatûs Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galileæ Capharnaüm. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 407. 31. Και αρχην του Ευαγγελιου εταξε ταυτην, εν τῳ πεντεκαιδεκατῳ ετει Τιβεριου Καισαρος, και τα εξης. Epi. Ad. Hær. 42. No. 11. p. 312. A.

[a] Et omnia, quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta, auferens. Iren. Adv. Hær. l. i. c. 27. [al. 29.] p. 104. Ox.

[b] Ὁ μεν γαρ χαρακτηρ του κατα Λουκαν σημαινει το Ευαγγελιον, ὡς δε ηκριωτηριασται, μητε αρχην εχων, μητε μεσα, μητε τελος, ἱματιῳ βεβρωμενῳ ὑπο πολλων σητων επεχει τον τροπον. Ευθυς μεν γαρ εν τῃ αρχῃ παντα τα απ' αρχης τῳ Λουκᾳ πεπραγματευμενα, τουτ' εστιν ὡς λεγει· επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν, και τα ἑξης· και τα περι της Ελισαβετ, και του αγγελου ευαγγελιζομενου την Μαριαν παρθενον, Ιωαννου τε και Ζαχαριου και της εν Βεθλεεμ γενησεως, γενεαλογιας, και της του Βαπτισματος ὑποθεσεως· ταυτα παντα περικοψας απεπηδησε. Epi. Hær. 42. No. 11. p. 311. D. 312. A. [c] Και την γενεαλογιαν περικοψας τα πλειστα. Theod. H. F. l. 1. c. 24. p. 210. D.

[d] Jam eum prophetatum incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu

unlikely that he connected that part of the first and second verses of the third chapter which he retained, with the thirty-first verse[e] of the fourth chapter; because, in that passage, Tertullian upbraids Marcion with introducing Jesus into the synagogue, immediately upon his descent from heaven. If this was really the case, then there is some incorrectness in the account given by Epiphanius of the passages which were omitted, or mutilated, or altered by Marcion. For he says, he began his gospel[f] at the first verse of the third chapter, and gives no particular passage, as altered or omitted by him, till he comes to the fourteenth verse[g] of the fifth chapter. This, however, according to his own account, is somewhat inaccurate, for, in the passage quoted before,[h] he himself had said that he rejected the genealogy and the baptism of our Saviour; the account of both of which is in the latter part of the third chapter; for this reason one may the more readily admit the assertion of Tertullian in the sense above explained.

SECTION XXXVII.

He also rejected the history of the temptation.

IF Marcion expunged the history of the temptation, it might be on the same account that some others rejected the lamentation of Christ over Jerusalem, and the relation of his agony in the garden, and of the angel strengthening him; as we are informed by Epiphanius[a] and Hilary:[b] they did

venisse se, non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum, erasit. Sed frustra negabit Christum dixisse, quod statim fecit ex parte. Prophetiam enim interim de loco adimplevit. 'De cœlo statim ad Synagogam.' Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 408. 1. Et tamen quomodo in Synagogam potuit admitti, tam repentinus, tam ignotus, cujus nemo adhuc certus de tribu, de populo, de domo. Ibid. p. 409. 10.

[e] Anno quinto decimo principatûs, &c. Initium evangelii hujus sic inchoavit Marcion, resectis capitibus precedentibus, junctoque principio hoc capitis tertii cum commate 31mo capitis 4^ti^. Millii Test. in locum.

[f] Vide p. 490, note[f].

[g] Ευτευθεν ην ουτος αρχεται, και ε καθ' ειρμον παλιν επιμενει, αλλα τα μεν, ως προειπον, παρακοπτει, τα δε προσιθησιν ανω κατω, ηκ ορθως βαδιζων, αλλα ερραδιουργημενως παντα περινοστευων, και εστιν, Απελθων δειξον σεαυτον τω ιερει, και προσενεγκε περι τε καθαρισμε σε, καθως προσεταξε Μωϋσης. ινα ᾖ μαρτυριον τουτο ὑμιν, ανθ' ε ειπεν ὁ Σωτηρ, εις μαρτυριον αυτοις. Epi. Hær. 42. p. 312. B. See Luke v. 14.

[h] See p. 491, note [b].

[a] Και εκλαυσε κειται εν τω κατα Λουκαν Ευαγγελιῳ, εν τοις αδιορθωτοις αντιγραφοις. Epi. in Ancor. n. 31. Copies which have not been corrected. See Fa. Simon's Criti. Hist. of the N. T. p. 1. c. 12. p. 111. Vide etiam Mill. N. T. in locum.

[b] Nec sane ignorandum nobis est, et in

this lest they should attribute too much of[c] human weakness to our Saviour.

That the Marcionites did not admit the history of the temptation, seems very probable from a passage in Epiphanius,[d] who gives an account of a dispute which he had with a certain follower of Marcion. When he produced this passage of scripture to prove that Christ was a real man, he received from him the following answer: that 'it was 'impossible for Satan to tempt Christ, who was truly God, 'and, according to the opinion of Epiphanius, his Lord and 'Sovereign.'

The other story contained in this fourth chapter, of Christ's going into the synagogue at Nazareth, and reading out of the prophet Esaias, was also rejected. It appeared to them too favourable to the Jewish religion; and because it established the truth of this prophet's prediction; for our Saviour says, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." There can therefore be no doubt but they expunged this, and all after, to the end of the 30th verse.

SECTION XXXVIII.

An account of many other alterations made by him in St. Luke's gospel.

WE will proceed with the account as given us by Epiphanius, of the alterations, or omissions, or interpolations, which Marcion and his followers made in St. Luke's gospel. It appears from the passage before quoted,[a] that where we read, "for a testimony unto them," Luke v. 14, Marcion read, 'that this may be a testimony unto you.' In verse 24th he

Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis vel de adveniente angelo vel de sudore sanguineo nihil scriptum reperiri. Hil. Lib. 10. de Trin.

[c] *Ορθοδοξοι δε αφειλοντο το ρητον, φοβηθεντες και μη νοησαντες αυτε το τελος και το ισχυροτατον.* Epi. Ibid. Hæc erasa videntur a quibusdam, qui verebantur Christo tribuere tam insignia humanæ infirmitatis argumenta. Jansen. Gand. Com. Evan. cap. 137.

[d] *Και γαρ ποτε διαλεγομενος τισι των αυτε μαθητων Μαρκιωνιτη τινι, και λεγων ως εν τω Ευαγγελιω εχει, ότι παρελαβεν αυτον εις την ερημον το πνευμα πειρασθηναι ύπο τε διαβολε, ηκουσα παρ' αυτε, ότι πως ηδυνατο Σατανας τον οντα Θεον, και μειζονα αυτε ύπαρχοντα, και Κυριον αυτε, ως ύμεις λεγετε, πειρασαι, τον Ιησεν τε αυτε δεσποτην.* Epi. Hær. 42. p. 342. D. A. Ελεγξ.

[a] See p. 491, note [g]. Epiphanius, in his refutation of Marcion, as drawn from this passage, seems to have read *το δωρον* in his copy after *προσενεγκε*, which however is not in our present copies. Epi. ib. p. 322. D.

transposed [b] the words επι της γης, making them follow αμαρτιας, instead of ανθρωπε, as they do in our present copies: this is so trifling a variation, that it probably arose rather from his finding it so in some copy than from any designed alteration. The next passage quoted by Epiphanius,[c] chapter vi. 5, is read both here, and in the repetition of it prefixed [d] to his refutation of Marcion from this text, exactly as in our present copies. The reason of his introducing this text could not be to point out a variation in Marcion's gospel,[e] but hence to prove that the sabbath, an institution of the God of the Jews, was not opposite to what Christ came to establish; and that his calling himself the son of man, was on account of his having assumed human flesh. These are the only points which Epiphanius asserts against Marcion in his refutation of him, following this passage.[f]

I would here observe, once for all, that there are many passages in Epiphanius which Marcion read the same as we do in our present copies; though perhaps upon a comparison with the present readings, some slight variation may appear, either in his making use of other words with the same meaning, or in placing them in a different order. This arose partly from Epiphanius's quoting them by memory, and partly from his giving an abridgment of these passages. The reason of his introducing these, in which there is no variation from our present copies, was, as in the instance just produced, to found arguments on them [g] against the tenets of the Marcionites.

The fourth instance of an alteration is from Luke vi. 17,

[b]—Ὁ υἱος τε ανθρωπε αφιεναι ἁμαρτιας επι της γης. Epi. ib. 312. B. γ.

[c] Epi. ibid. 312. B. δ. [d] Epi. ibid. 323. B. Σχολ. γ.

[e] Δυο ευθυς εν ταυτῳ, και υἱον ανθρωπου και κυριον σαββατε ἑαυτον ὁ Σωτηρ ὁμολογει, διδασκων ἱνα μη το σαββατον αλλοτριον της αυτου ποιησεως νομιζηται; καν το εσχατον υἱος ανθρωπου απο της ενσαρκου παρουσιας κληθῃ. Epi. ibid. 323. B. C. Ελεγ. γ.

[f] There are two MSS. mentioned by Dr. Mill. which have the following clause inserted between the 5th and 6th verses. Τῃ αυτῃ ἡμερᾳ θεασαμενος τινα εργαζομενον τῳ σαββατῳ, ειπεν αυτῳ, ανθρωπε, ει μεν οιδας, τι ποιες, μακαριος ει· ει δε μη οιδας, επικαταρατος και παραβατης ει του νομου. Vid. Millii Test. in locum. There can be no doubt but these words are spurious, notwithstanding these two manuscripts are said to be very ancient; for they are inconsistent with our Saviour's purpose, and contrary to his usual manner. Grotius therefore thinks they were added by some Marcionite. But it is certain they were not in the Marcionite gospel in the time of Epiphanius, because he takes no notice of them, as he undoubtedly would if they had been there, since he mentions the very place. Neither is it easy to see how they will serve the cause of the Marcionites. Vid. Groti. in loc.

[g] See at large his list of the Passages of scripture, and his scholia and refutations drawn from them. Epi. ibid. p. 311—374.

where Marcion read εν αυτοις instead of μετ' αυτων.[h] The sense however is here the same with one particle as with the other; for εν may be only a Hebraism, and may signify with, as well as μετ'.

In chap. viii. 19, Marcion expunged[i] ἡ μητηρ αυτȣ, και οἱ ἀδελφοι αυτȣ from this verse. Tertullian speaks in such a manner as would lead one to think, that Marcion had made an addition to the gospel of St. Luke, by inserting from the gospel of Matthew that answer of our Saviour which we find related by Matthew, chap. xii. 48, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" For he represents Marcion,[k] as well as all[l] the other heretics, who deny the nativity, as making use of these words, for their most common and favourite argument. But Marcion might use these words against those who allowed the authenticity of Matthew's gospel, without inserting them in his gospel, or Tertullian might quote by memory, and think that to be in Luke, which was only in Matthew, as he has done at least in three instances.[n]

Chap. ix. 40, is read[o] somewhat more concisely by Marcion than in our present copies; but the sense is fully preserved: "I besought thy disciples, but they could not cast him out; and he said unto them, O faithless generation, how long shall I suffer you?"

In chap. x. 21, he omitted[p] the first πατερ, and the words και της γης, that he might not allow Christ to call his Father

[h] Κατεβη μετ' αυτων, εχει, κατεβη εν αυτοις. Epi. ibid. 312. B. δ. In our present copies it is καταβας. [i] Epi. ibid. 1. B.

[k] Venimus ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui Domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. Ipse, inquiunt, contestatur se non esse natum, dicendo, 'Quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres?' Ita semper hæretici, &c. Adv. Mar. l. 4. c. 19. p. 531. D. vel p. 423. 43. Fr. 1597.

[l] Sed quoties de nativitate contenditur, omnes qui respuunt eam—ipsum Deum volunt negare se esse natum quod dixerit, 'Quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres?' Audiat igitur et Apelles, quid jam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni—Licet propterea abstulerint hæreses ista de evangelio, quod et creditum patrem ejus Joseph fabrum, et matrem Mariam, et fratres et sorores ejus optime notos sibi dicebant. De Carne Christi, cap. 7. p. 364, 365. vel 302. 9. Fr. 1597.

[n] Non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum, erasit. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 408. 2. Fr. 1597. But this text is not in Luke, but in Matt. v. 17. Detrahe voces Christi mei: res loquentur. Ecce venit in synagogam, certe ad oves perditas Israëlis. Ibid. p. 408. 7. This text also is not in Luke, but in Matt. xv. 24. For the third instance see sec. 253. p. 620. note [a], p. 492.

[o] Εδεηθην των μαθητων σȣ· ειχε δε παρα το, ȣκ εδυνηθησαν εκβαλλειν αυτο· και προς αυτȣς, ω γενεα απιστος, εως ποτε ανεξομαι ὑμων; Epi. ib. p. 313. B. ιθ.

[p] Ἱνα μη πατερα αυτȣ ὑποδειξης, Μαρκιων, τον Χριστον λεγοντα τον δημιεργον. Epi. ibid. 329. B. Ἐλεγ. κβ.

the Lord of earth, or this world. He retained πατερ in the latter part of the verse.

In chap. xi. 29, he omitted the last words of that verse, concerning the sign of Jonas the prophet.[q] He likewise left out all the 30th, 31st, and 32d verses. In verse 42d he read κλησιν, vocation,[r] instead of κρισιν, judgment. The instance from ver. 47,[s] is introduced not on account of any variation, but to found an argument thereon in favour of the law and the Old Testament. He rejected out of his copy[t] the 49th, 50th, and 51st verses of this chapter, because it related to the prophets, and so clearly established their authority. He entirely omitted[u] the 6th verse of the 12th chapter. In the 8th verse[v] he read, 'before God,' instead of, "before the angels of God." He seems to[w] have left out the whole 28th verse. He expunged ὑμων[x] from the 30th and 32d verses, reading only πατερ. In the 38th verse, instead of the[y] "second or third watch," he read, 'the evening watch.' In the 46th and 50th verses,[z] though quoted by Epiphanius, there is no variation. He entirely[a] omitted the first five verses of the 13th chapter. In the 28th verse of the same chapter, where we read, "When we shall see Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out;" he read,[b] by altering, adding, and transposing: 'When ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves rejected, and

[q] Περικεκοπται το περι Ιωνα τυ προφητυ· ειχε γαρ, ἡ γενεα αυτη, σημειον ε δοθησεται αυτη· ουκ ειχε δε περι Νινευη και βασιλισσης Νοτυ και Σαλομωνος. Ibid. 313. D. κε.

[r] Ibid. p. 313. D. κε.

[s] Ουκ αλλοτριοι αυτου ησαν οἱ προφηται αλλα δουλοι και προετοιμαζαι της ενσαρκου αυτου παρουσιας. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 332. D. Ελεγ. κε.

[t] Ουκ ειχε, δια τουτο ειπεν ἡ σοφια του Θεου, αποστελω εις αυτους προφητας, και περι αἱματος Ζαχαριου, και Αβελ και των προφητων, ὁτι εκζητηθησεται εκ της γενεας ταυτης. Epi. ibid. p. 313. D. κη.

[u] Ουκ εχει δε, ουχι πεντε στρουθια. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 314. A. κθ.

[v] Αντι του, ομολογησει ενωπιον των αγγελων του Θεου, ενωπιον του Θεου λεγει. Ibid. 314. A. λ.

[w] Ουκ εχει το, ὁ Θεος αμφιεννυσι τον χορτον. Ibid p. 314. A. λα.

[x] Αντι του ὁ πατηρ ὑμων, ὁ πατερ ειχεν. Ibid. 314. B. λδ·

[y] Αντι του, δευτερᾳ, ἡ τριτῃ φυλακῃ, ειχεν ἑσπερινην φυλακην. Ibid. 314. B. λε.

[z] Ibid. 314. B. λς. λζ.

[a] Ην παρακεκομμενον απο τυ ηλθον τινες αναγγελλοντες αυτῳ περι των Γαλιλαιων ὡν το αἱμα συνεμιξε Πιλατος μετα των Θυσιων αυτων, ἑως ὁπυ λεγει περι των εν τῳ Σιλωαμ δεκα οκτω αποθανοντων εν τῳ πυργῳ, και ὁτε μη μετανοησητε. και ἑως της παραβολης της συκης, περι ἡς ειπεν ὁ γεωργος, ὁτι σκαπτω και βαλλω κοπρια, και εαν μη ποιησῃ, εκκοψον. Ibid. 314. C. λη. et p. 336. B. C. Ελεγ. λη.

[b] Παρεκοψε παλιν τοτε οψεσθε Αβρααμ, κ. τ. λ.—αντι δε τυτυ εποιησεν, ὁτε παντας τυς δικαιυς ιδητε εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ τυ Θευ, ὑμας δε εκβαλλομενυς· εποιησε δε κρατυμενυς εξω, και εκει εστι ὁ κλαυθμος, και ὁ βρυγμος των οδοντων. Ibid. 314. D. μ.

bound without, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' He likewise [c] omitted all the remaining verses of this chapter. He excluded from his gospel [d] all of the 15th chapter after the 10th verse, in which was contained the parable of the prodigal son. In the 10th verse of the 17th chapter he omitted [e] all from the word "say," to the end of the verse. He made several alterations, and expunged [f] many things from the story of the ten lepers; particularly he left out part of the 12th, the whole 13th verse, and altered the 14th, reading thus: 'There met him ten lepers, and he sent them away saying, show yourselves to the priest.' After this he inserted a clause from chap. iv. 27; 'That there were many lepers in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them were cleansed, but Naaman the Syrian.' It is also probable, from the manner in which [g] Epiphanius expresseth himself, that he mutilated and altered other parts of this story.

In the 19th verse of the 18th chapter he added the word [h] 'Father;' and in the 20th verse,[i] he changed "thou knowest" into 'I know.'

He entirely omitted [k] the 31st, 32d, and 33d verses of this same chapter, in which our blessed Saviour declares that the things foretold by the prophets concerning his sufferings, death, and resurrection, should be all fulfilled. He expunged nineteen verses out of the 19th chapter,[l] from

[c] Παρεκοψε παλιν το· ἠξουσιν απο ανατολων, και ανακλιθησονται εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ, και το, οἱ εσχατοι εσονται πρωτοι. και το, προσηλθον οἱ φαρισαιοι λεγοντες, εξελθε, και πορευου, ὁτι Ἡρωδης σε θελει αποκτειναι· και το ειπε, πορευθεντες ειπατε τῃ αλωπεκι ταυτῃ ἐως ὁτου ειπεν· ουκ ενδεχεται προφητην απολεσθαι εξω Ἱερουσαλημ· και το, Ἱερουσαλημ, Ἱερουσαλημ, ἡ αποκτεινουσα τους προφητας, και λιθοβολουσα τους απεσταλμενους—κ. τ. λ. Ib. 314, 315. D. A. μα· Vide p. 337. C. D.

[d] Παλιν απεκοψε την παραβολην πασαν των δυο υἱων, του ειληφοτος το μερος των ὑπαρχοντων, και του αλλου· Ibid. p. 315. A. μβ.

[e] Παρεκοψε το· λεγετε ὁτι αχρειοι δουλοι εσμεν· ὁ ωφειλομεν ποιησαι πεποιηκαμεν. Ibid. 315. B. μζ.

[f] Ὁτε συνηντησαν οἱ δεκα λεπροι· απεκοψε δε πολλα και εποιησε· απεστειλεν αυτους λεγων· δειξατε ἑαυτους τοις ἱερευσι· και αλλα αντ' αλλων εποιησε, λεγων· ὁτι πολλοι λεπροι ησαν εν ἡμεραις Ελισσαιου του προφητου, και ουκ εκαθαρισθη ει μη Νεεμαν ὁ Συρος. Ibid. 315. B. C. μη. [g] Και αλλα αντι αλλων εποιησε. Ibid. [h] Εἰς ἐστι αγαθος, προσεθηκε το, ὁτι ὁ πατηρ. Ibid. 315. C. V. Vide etiam Dia. Con. Mar. p. 3. init.

[i] Αντι του· τας εντολας οιδας, λεγει τας εντολας οιδα. Epi. ubi supra.

[k] Παρεκοψε το· παραλαβων τους δωδεκα ελεγεν· ἰδου αναβαινομεν εις Ἱεροσολυμα, και τελεσθησεται παντα τα γεγραμμενα εν τοις προφηταις περι του υἱου του ανθρωπου· παραδοθησεται, αποκτανθησεται, και τῃ τριτῃ ἡμερᾳ αναστησεται· ὁλα ταυτα παρεκοψε. Ib. 315. D. νβ.

[l] Παρεκοψε το κεφαλαιον της ουης, και Βηθφαγη, και το περι της πολεως και του ἱερου, ὁτι γεγραμμενον ην, ὁ οικος μου οικος προσευχης· και ποιειτε αυτον σπηλαιον λῃστων. Ibid. p. 315. 6. νγ.

the end of the 27th to the beginning of the 47th, containing the history of those things which were transacted near Bethphage, of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem; of his weeping over the city; and of his thrusting those out of the temple who bought and sold therein. In the 20th chapter he omitted[m] ten verses, from the end of the 8th verse to the end of the 18th, in which are related the parable of the vineyard, and the reflections he made on it, to the chief priests and scribes. He rejected also[n] the 37th and 38th verses of this same chapter, in which there is a reference to Moses. Marcion also[o] erased the 18th verse of the 21st chapter from his copy, and the 21st and 22d verses of the same chapter, on account of the concluding sentence[p] of the 22d, "that all things which are written may be fulfilled." The 16th verse of the 22d chaper[q] was entirely omitted by him, as also[r] the 35th, 36th, and 37th, and the 50th and 51st verses[s] of the same, which seems to make it probable that the 38th verse, which contains what the disciples said to our Lord, that they had two swords, and the 49th verse, in which is inserted a question put by the disciples to our Lord, concerning using the sword, were in like manner omitted; because otherwise parts of incomplete sentences would be introduced, and the connection destroyed. In the 2d verse of the 23d chapter Marcion added two clauses, viz. after the words "perverting the nation," he inserted, 'and[t] destroying the law and the prophets:' and after the words "forbidding to give tribute unto Cæsar," he added, 'and[u] perverting the women and children.' He also erased the[v] 43d verse of this chapter from his copy. In the 24th chapter he[w] omitted that part of the conference

[m] Παλιν απεκοψε (την) τα τε αμπελωνος τε εκδεδομενε γεωργοις· και το, τι ȣν εστι το λιθον ὀν απεδοκιμασιν οἱ οικοδομεντες. Ibid. A. νε.

[n] Απεκοψε το, ὁτι δε εγειρονται οἱ νεκροι, Μωϋσης εμηνυσε περι της βατε, καθως λεγει Κυριον τον Θεον Αβρααμ, και Ισαακ, και Ιακωβ· Θεος εστι ζωντων, και ȣχι νεκρων. Ibid. 316. A. νς.

[o] Παλιν παρεκοψε το, Ȣριξ εκ της κεφαλης ὑμων ȣ μη απολητai. Ibid. 316. B. νη.

[p] Παλιν παρεκοψε ταυτα, τοτε οἱ εν τῳ Ιȣδαιᾳ——δια το επιφερομενον ἑως πληρωθῃ παντα τα γεγραμμενα. Ibid. 316. B. νθ.

[q] Παρεκοψε το, λεγω γαρ ὑμιν——κ. τ. λ. Ibid. 316. C. ξγ.

[r] Παρεκοψε το, ὁτε απεστειλα ὑμας, μη τινος ὑστερησατε; και τα ἑξης· δια το, και τȣτο το γεγραμμενον δει τελεσθηναι, το, και μετα ανομων ελογισθη. Ibid. 316. ξδ.

[s] Παρεκοψε το, εποιησε Πετρος οτε επαταξε, και αφειλετο το ȣς. Ibid. 316. D. ξζ.

[t] Προσεθετο μετα τȣτο, τȣτον ευρομεν διαστρεφοντα το εθνος, και καταλυοντα τον νομον, και τȣς προφητας. Epi. ibid. 316. C. ξθ.

[u] Προσεθηκε μετα το, κελευοντα φορȣς μη δȣναι, και αποστρεφοντα τας γυναικας, και τα τεκνα. Ibid. 317. A. ο.

[v] Παρεκοψε το, σημερον μετ' εμȣ εσῃ εν τῳ Παραδεισῳ. Ibid. 317. A. οβ.

[w] Παρεκοψε το ειρημενον προς Κλεοπαν και τον αλλον, ὁτε συνηντησεν αυτοις,

between our Saviour and the two disciples going to Emmaus, which related to the prediction of his sufferings, and which is contained in the 26th and 27th verses. These two verses were wholly expunged by him, and he changed the words in the end of the 25th, ελαλησαν οι προφηται, into ελαλησα ὑμιν.

These are the alterations according to Epiphanius[x] which Marcion made in the gospel of St. Luke.

Dr. Mill says,[y] that Marcion expunged the story about Peter's wife's mother, contained in the 38th and 39th of the 4th chapter. By the mark which he puts before the 37th verse, one would naturally conclude that he meant that the 37th verse also was expunged; he gives no authority for this. Whether he grounds it on Tertullian's omitting to quote this, when he has quoted every circumstance mentioned in that chapter of the 31st verse, I know not.

SECTION XXXIX.

A sufficient number of texts remaining to confute his errors.

Upon an impartial review of these alterations some appear to be trifling, others might arise from the various readings of different copies; but many of them are undoubtedly

τῳ· ω ανοητοι και βραδεις τῃ πιστευειν επι πασιν, οἱς ελαλησαν οἱ προφηται· ϑχι ταυτα εδει παθειν; και αντι δε τῃ, εφ' οις ελαλησαν οἱ προφηται, εφ' οἱς ελαλησα ὑμιν· ελεγχεται δε, ὁτι ὁτε εκλασε τον αρτον, ανεῳχθησαν οἱ οφθαλμοι, και επεγνωσωσαν. Ibid. 317. B. C. οζ.

[x] Tertullian says, (Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 573. A. 450. 30. Fr. 1597.) that Marcion erased the passage which gives an account of the parting of the raiment of our Saviour among the soldiers. ———Vestitum plane ejus militibus divisum, partim sorte concessum, Marcion abstulit. But the reason which he assigns for it, viz. respiciens Psalmi prophetiam, shows that in this, as well as in two or three other instances, where he has accused Marcion of altering passages, his memory deceived him, by taking that to be in Luke which was only in Matthew; for the reference to the text in the Psalms is only given in Matthew, chap. xxvii. 35. Epiphanius has quoted this very passage, Luke xxiii. 34; and founded on it the following argument, &c. against Marcion, which would have been inconsistent with truth and propriety, had these words been erased. Δοξα τῳ ελεημονι, Θεῳ τῳ συνδησαντι σου τα ἁρματα, ῳ Φαραω Μαρκιων—πως ουκ εφυγες το μεγα τουτο ῥητον; πως ουκ επεχειρησας κρυψαι την μεγαλην ταυτην πραγματειαν; meaning the whole transaction concerning the going to Calvary, the crucifixion, the parting the garments, and the obscuration of the sun; all which circumstances are particularly specified. Epi. ib. p. 317. A. p. 347. B. Σχολ. οα. Ελεγ. οα.

[y] Historiam hanc de Petri socru sanatâ amputavit Marcion. Millii Testa. in locum. See also Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 4. cap. 7, 8. p. 408, 9.

designed perversions, intended to countenance, or at least not directly contradict, those absurd principles which he and his followers espoused. There were however a sufficient number of passages left by them in their copies, as appears from the refutation of their doctrine by Epiphanius, to establish the reality of the flesh and blood of Christ, and to prove that the God of the Jews was his Father, and a being of consummate goodness. Tertullian indeed observes, that 'Marcion[a] did purposely avoid erasing all those passages 'which made against him, that he might, with the greater 'confidence, deny his having erased any, or at least that 'what he had omitted was for very good reasons.'

SECTION XL.

The catholic christians asserted the antiquity of the unmutilated gospel.

TO show the unauthenticity of these alterations, omissions, additions, and corruptions, the catholic christians asserted that their[a] copies of Luke's gospel were more ancient than

[a] Et Marcion quædam contraria sibi, illa credo industriâ, eradere de evangelio suo noluit, ut, ex his, quæ eradere potuit, nec erasit, illa, quæ erasit, aut negetur erasisse, aut merito erasisse dicatur. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. cap. 43. p. 451. 36. Franck. 1597.

[a] Sed enim Marcion, nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat. Ter. ibid. cap. 3. p. 503. C. vel p. 405. 23. Fr. 1597. See this passage translated and explained at large, Vol. ii. p. 274. note [n]. Ego meum dico verum; Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum; Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei præscribens auctoritatem, quod antiquius reperietur, et ei præjudicans vitiationem, quod posterius revincetur?—Alioquin quam absurdum, ut si nostrum antiquius probaverimus, Marcionis vero posterius, et nostrum ante videatur falsum, quam habuerit de veritate materiam, et Marcionis ante credatur æmulationem a nostro expertum quam est editum? et postremo id verius existimetur, quod est serius post tot ac tanta jam opera atque documenta christianæ religionis seculo edita, quæ, edi utique non potuissent sine evangelii veritate, id est, ante evangelii veritatem? Quod ergo pertinet ad evangelium interim Lucæ—Adeo antiquius Marcione est, quod est secundum nos, ut et ipse illi Marcione aliquando crediderit—Certe Antitheses non modo fatentur Marcionis, sed et præferunt—Si enim id evangelium, quod Lucæ refertur, ipsum est, quod Marcion per Antitheses suas arguit—utique non potuisset arguere, nisi quod invenerat—Emendatio culpam non antecedit. Itaque dum emendat utrumque confirmat, et nostrum anterius, id emendans quod invenit, et id posterius, quod de nostri emendatione constituens, suum et novum fecit. Ter. ibid. cap. 4. p. 504. C. D. vel p. 405, 406. Fr. 1597.

Marcion's; and [b] maintained the genuineness and integrity of the unmutilated gospel, in opposition to that which was curtailed and altered by him. The whole of Epiphanius's work, to which I have so often referred, proves that the same thing was asserted in his time; this joined to the last quoted passage of Tertullian, in which he asserts the reception of the unmutilated gospel, from the very times of the apostles, gives a continued proof of the authenticity and integrity of this sacred book.

SECTION XLI.

Marcion rejected the Acts of the Apostles.

MARCION did not admit the Acts of the Apostles into the canon of his New Testament. This appears from Epiphanius, who [a] says his New Testament consisted of an Evangelium, or gospel, and an Apostolicon. The Evangelium, as before observed, contained [b] only St. Luke's gospel. The Apostolicon [c] consisted of ten of the [d] epistles of St. Paul. These two books [e] were the only ones which he looked upon as canonical. The Acts of the Apostles is clearly excluded from his catalogue of authentic books, as given by Epipha-

[b] In summâ si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, id ab initio, quod ab apostolis; pariter utique constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus; quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem, sic et cæterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam apostolicas, sed apud universas quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare, quod cum maxime tuemur; Marcionis vero, plerisque nec notum, nullis autem notum, ut non eo damnatum. Ter. ibid. cap. 5. p. 505. B. p. 406. 24. Fr. 1597.

[a] Vid. sec. xxxv. p. 489. note [a]. [b] Ibid. note [b].

[c] *Μονῳ δε κεχρηται τουτῳ το χαρακτηρι τῳ κατα Λουκαν ευαγγελιῳ. εχει δε και επιστολας παρ' αυτῳ του ἁγιου αποστολου δεκα, αἰς μοναις κεχρηται.* Epiph. Hær. 42. No. 9. p. 309. D.

[d] Nicephorus Callisti, in his Ecclesiastical History, (lib. 4. cap. 28,) says that he received only nine of St. Paul's epistles, and those mutilated in very many places. But so late an authority is of no weight against the express testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius.

[e] *Ταυταις δε ταις δυσι βιβλοις κεχρηται.* Epi. ibid. No. 9. p. 309. D. *αυτας δη τας του προειρημενου βιβλους, ἁς κεκτηται μετα χειρας λαβων, το τε παρ' αυτῳ λεγομενον Ευαγγελιον, και Αποστολικον καλουμενον.* Epi. ibid. No. 10. p. 310. C.

nius. The same thing appears from the more ancient authority of Tertullian, who begins his fifth book against Marcion,[f] with showing the absurdity of his conduct in rejecting the history and Acts of the Apostles, and yet receiving St. Paul as the chief of the apostles, whose name is never mentioned in the gospel with the other apostles; especially since the[g] account given by Paul himself in the first and second chapters of Galatians, confirms the account which we have in the Acts. But the reason why he rejected this book is, as Tertullian[h] says, very evident, since from it we can plainly show, that the God of the christians, and the Creator, or God of the Jews, was the same being; and that Christ was sent by him, and by no other.

The arguments against Marcion which follow in this fifth book, are all drawn from only those ten epistles of St. Paul, which are the same with those mentioned by Epiphanius, and placed exactly in the same order, except that the epistle to Philemon is placed last in[i] Tertullian, and that to the Philippians[k] last in Epiphanius. The dialogue against[l] the Marcionites, which is commonly ascribed to Origen, proves also, that the Acts of the Apostles was rejected by the followers of this heretic.

[f] Apostoli quoque Pauli origenem a Marcione desidero, novus aliquis discipulus, nec ullius alterius auditor—quum is mihi affirmatur apostolus, quem in albo apostolorum apud evangelium non deprehendo. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 576. A. vel 458. 11. Fr. 1597. Hæc figurarum sacramenta si tibi displicent, certe Acta Apostolorum hunc mihi ordinem Pauli tradiderunt, a te quoque non negandum. Ibid.

[g] Exinde, decurrens ordinem conversionis suæ, de persecutore in apostolum, scripturam Actorum apostolicorum confirmat, apud quam ipsa etiam epistolæ istius materia recognoscitur. Ibid. l. 5. c. 2. p. 578. B. vel 455. 3.

[h] Quod si ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis jam apparet, ut Deum scilicet non alium prædicantia quam creatorem, nec Christum alterius quam creatoris. Ibid. p. 578. C. vel 455. 7.

[i] Soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit, &c. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 615. D. vel 472. 12. Fr. 1597. See also Cred. Vol. ii. p. 283.

[k] Epi. ubi supra, p. 310. A.

[l] ΕΥΤΡ. Δεχεσθε, Μαρκε, τας των Αποστολων Πραξεις και μαθητων λεγομενων ὡς αληθη η ʁ; ΜΑΡΚ. Ἡμεις πλεον τʁ Ευαγγελιʁ και τʁ Αποστολʁ ʁ δεχομεθα. Dia. con. Mar. sec. 2. p. 18.

SECTION XLII.

And received only ten epistles of St. Paul, and these altered.

THE ten epistles of St. Paul, as they are reckoned up by Epiphanius, and the order in which they are placed is as follows: The[a] first in Marcion's Apostolicon was the epistle to the Galatians; the second, the first epistle to the Corinthians; The third, the second epistle to the Corinthians; the fourth was the epistle to the Romans: the fifth was the first to the Thessalonians; the sixth, the second to the same church; the seventh, the epistle to the Ephesians; the eighth, the epistle to the Colossians; the ninth, the epistle to Philemon; and the tenth, the epistle to the Philippians; Epiphanius hath also given us some fragments of that which is called the epistle to the Laodiceans.

It appears from what the Marcionite says, in the dialogue attributed to Origen, that the followers of that heresy read some passages in St. Paul's epistles different from the manner in which they were commonly read; for he observes, by way of answer to Adamantius the orthodox disputant, 'I do not believe your false[b] Apostolicon;' and again, 'I[c] give credit to my own Apostolicon.' In opposition to the former of these assertions of the Marcionite, viz. that the common way of reading St. Paul's epistles was false, Adamantius declares, that 'the[d] Marcionite Apostolicon was 'very much mutilated.' As Epiphanius has given us a list of these alterations and omissions, I shall insert a particular account of these: not only as they are enumerated by him who was our principal guide with respect to the alterations of St. Luke's gospel, but also as they occur in other ancient writers; proceeding in the order in which Marcion placed his epistles. Galatians was the first in his Apostolicon.

[a] Αἱ δε επιστολαι αἱ παρ' αυτῳ λεγομεναι εισι, πρωτη μεν προς Γαλατας, δευτερα δε προς Κορινθιους, τριτη προς Κορινθιους δευτερα, τεταρτη προς Ῥωμαιους, πεμπτη προς Θεσσαλονικεις, ἑκτη προς Θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα, ἑβδομη προς Εφεσιους, ογδοη προς Κολοσσαεις, ενναται προς Φιλημονα, δεκατη προς Φιλιπησιους· εχει δε και της προς Λαοδικειας λεγομενης μερη. Epi. adv. Hær. 42. No. 9. p. 310. A.

[b] Τῳ σῳ φαλσῳ ϑ πιστευω αποστολικῳ. Dia. con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 8.

[c] Μ. τῳ εμῳ αποστολικῳ πειθομαι. Α. εχω το αποστολικον σϑ. Ibid. sec. 2. p. 47.

[d] Α. προσενενεγκε το αποστολικον σϑ, ει και τα μαλιστα περικεκομμενον εστι. Ibid. sec. 1. p. 8.

SECTION XLIII.

Of the alterations and omissions of Marcion in the Epistle to the Galatians.

IN chap. i. 1, Marcion[a] omitted, "and God the Father," and assigned to αυτον, "him," the signification of εαυτον, "himself," because he would have Christ to be raised by his own power, and not by the power of the Father. The Marcionite, in the dialogue ascribed to Origen,[b] in citing the 7th verse of this chapter, inserts the words, "according to my gospel," after the word "another;" and in the end of the verse, after the word "pervert," instead of "the gospel of Christ," he read, 'to a gospel different from that of Christ.' These variations might be inserted from the Apostolicon of Marcion, as[c] Dr. Mill thinks; or perhaps they might not be intended as an exact quotation, but only as an argument, consisting partly of the words of the apostle in this place, and partly of what the Marcionite had before quoted,[d] which seems to be from Romans ii. 16, together with his own explanation or comment.

In chapter iii. Marcion omitted the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses, in[e] order to get rid of the mention of Abraham, and of the gospel having been preached to him; on which account he ought also to have omitted part of the 9th verse, συν τῳ πιστῳ Αβρααμ, "with faithful Abraham;" and according to Tertullian's[f] manner of stating the argument against him, this was the case. In the 15th verse of this chapter Marcion erased some things. Tertullian gives no particular

[a] Omittebat Marcion, και θεϑ πατρος in ejus αποστολικῳ, volens exponere Christum non a Deo patre sed per semet ipsum suscitatum. Hieron. in locum.

[b] Μ. λεγει γαρ ὁτι ϑκ εστιν αλλο, κατα το ευαγγελιον μϑ· ει μη τινες εισι οἱ ταρασσοντες ὑμας, και ϑελοντες μεταστρεψαι εις ἑτερον ευαγγελιον τϑ Χριστϑ. Con. Mar. sec. 1. p. 9.

[c] Vide Millii Testamentum in locum.

[d] Μ. ὁ αποστολος ειπε—κατα το ευαγγελιον μϑ. ἰδε πως λεγει ἐν ειναι, και λεγει ει τις ὑμας ευαγγελισηται παρ' ὁ ευαγγελισαμεθα ὑμιν, αναθεμα εστω. Con. Marc. sec. 1. p. 9.

[e] 'Sicut Abraham credidit,' &c. Ab hoc loco usque ad eum ubi scribitur, 'qui ex fide sunt,' &c. Marcion de suo Apostolico erasit. Hieron. in loc. T. 4. p. 252. Ab hoc loco (καθως in v. 6.) ad v. 9. ὡστε οἱ εκ πιστεως, &c. Marcion omnia erasit in αποστολικῳ suo, teste Hieronymo in locum. Millii Tes. in loc.

[f] Sed et quum adjicit, omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur quid supra hæretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahæ, quâ nos apostolus filios Abrahæ per fidem affirmat, secundum quam mentionem hic quoque filios fidem notavit. Adv. Mar. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 456. 25. F. 1597.

account of what he left out. Dr. Mill[g] expresses himself dubiously on this head. If I may be allowed to guess from the manner in which Tertullian expresseth himself, I should imagine that Marcion erased the whole of the 3d chapter after the word λεγω, in the 15th verse, and the beginning of the 4th chapter till you come to the word οτε, in the 3d verse, and then the words will be connected in the following manner, turning from the 15th verse of the 3d chapter to the 3d of the fourth chapter: "Brethren, I speak after the manner of men—when we were children, we were in bondage under the elements of the world; but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son." This is precisely what Tertullian's[h] argument requires, and they are the very words which he connects together. Dr. Mill[i] indeed gives the words of Tertullian, as a various reading under the 3d verse. But from what he himself says under the 15th verse of the former chapter, and from this various reading being found no where else but in this place of Tertullian, it appears highly probable, that the sense before given of this passage of Tertullian is the true one.

In the 9th verse of the fifth chapter Marcion read[k] δολοι, 'corrupteth,' instead of ζυμοι, "leaveneth," as it is in our present copies. Marcion's reading is probably[l] the right one.

[g] Hoc loco quædam omisit Marcion in αποστολικῳ suo, teste Tertul. lib. 5. Con. Mar. cap. 4. Si quidem mentem ejus recte assequar. Millii Test. in locum.

[h] Adhuc, inquit, secundum hominem dico, dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad disserviendum eis. Atqui non est hoc humanitus dictum: non enim exemplum, sed veritas. Quis enim parvulus utique sensu, quod sunt nationes, non elementis subjectus est mundi, quæ pro Deo suscipit:—Erubescat spongia Marcionis, nisi quod ex abundanti retracto quæ abstulit, quum validius fit illum ex his revinci quæ servavit. Quum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus filium suum, utique is qui etiam ipsorum temporum Deus est, &c. Adv. Mar. l. 5. c. 4. p. 456. 37. Fr. 1597.

[i] 'Adhuc secundum hominem dico, dum essemus parvuli,' &c. Marcionis αποστολικον, teste Tertul. lib. 5. Contra Marcion. cap. 4. interjecto illo κατ' ανθρωπον λεγω ex v. 15. præcedentis capitis. Millii Test. in locum.

[k] Αντι τω, μικρα ζυμη ὁλον το φυραμα ζυμοι, εποιησε δολοι. Epi. Hær. 42. p. 319. C.

[l] Epiphanius lectionem hanc Marcionis esse dicit. Ego certe ipsius apostoli germanam esse nullus dubito. Vide note 1 Cor. 5, 6. Millii Test. in locum. Vide Simon's Crit. Hist. N. T. part. 1. cap. 15. p. 133.

SECTION XLIV.

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

IN the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the 9th chapter, 8th verse, where we read,[a] "or saith not the law the same also?" he changed it into, 'or doth not the law of Moses say the same?' inserting the word Moses, as if he would thereby make the apostle insinuate, that it was not the law of the God of the christians.

In chapter x. 9, Epiphanius[b] accuses Marcion of having changed κυριον, 'Lord,' which, according to him, was the true reading, into Χριστον, Christ, which is the reading in our present copies. But whatever Epiphanius thought it is probable Χριστον was the true reading; for some person who thought the sense harsh with Χριστον might change it into κυριον: but no good reason can be assigned for the contrary change. In the 19th verse of this chapter, Marcion[c] changed ὁτι ειδωλον τι εστιν, "that the idol is any thing," into ὁτι ἱεροθυτον τι εστιν, 'that what is offered in the temple is any thing.'

In the 14th chapter and 19th verse Marcion read[d] δια τον νομον 'on account of the law,' instead of δια τϐ νοος μϐ, as it is in our copies, or τῳ νοι μϐ, as Epiphanius and some very ancient Greek MSS. read, "with my understanding."

In the 15th chapter and the 38th verse Marcion[e] substituted πνευμα, 'spirit,' instead of σωμα, "body;" and left out

[a] Μεταλλαγμενος· αντι γαρ τϐ και ὁ νομος ταυτα ϐ λεγει, (in nostris codicibus η ϐχι και ὁ νομος ταυτα λεγει) φησι εκεινος· ει και ὁ νομος Μωϋσεως ταυτα ϐ λεγει. Epi. ibid. p. 320. B. Ει is here put for η. Ει quod alibi passim scripto pro η, non autem posito, quod vult Epiphanius, pro conjunctione *tametsi*, quis enim Marcionem adeo vesanum credat, ut dicat legem ista non dicere; et tamen addat in proximo, in lege Mosaïcâ scriptum, ϐ φιμωσεις, &c. Millii Test. in locum.

[b] Q. Doth not Epiphanius understand ει in the same sense with Dr. Mill? Vide Epi. Hær. 42. p. 355. Ελεγ. ζ και ιε. Ὁ δε Μαρκιων αντι τϐ κυριον, Χριϛον εποιησε. Epi. ibid. p. 358. B.

[c] Τι ϐν φημι, ὁτι ἱεροθυτον τι εϛιν, η ειδωλοθυτον τι εϛιν;—προσεθετο δε ὁ Μαρκιων το ἱεροθυτον. Epi. ibid. p. 358. D. προσεθετο, added, because Epiphanius read in his copy only, Τι ϐν φημι, ειδωλοθυτον τι εϛιν.

[d] Πεπλανημενος ὁ Μαρκιων· αλλα εν εκκλησιᾳ θελω πεντε λογϐς τῳ νοΐ μϐ λαλησαι, ἑτερως δε δια τον νομον. Epi. ibid. 361. B. C.

[e] Μ. Εν τῳ ἡμετερῳ αποϛολικῳ ϐκ ϐτω λεγει. Α. Αλλα πως; Μ. ϐ λεγει, ὁ Θεος διδωσιν αυτῳ σωμι, καθως ηθελησεν· αλλα ὁ Θεος διδωσιν αυτῳ πνευμα, καθως ηθελησεν· σπειρεται σωμα ψυχικον, εγειρεται σωμα πνευματικον· σπειρεται εν φθορᾳ, εγειρεται εν αφθαρσιᾳ. Dia. con. Mar. sec. 5. p. 144.

the latter clause of the 38th verse, and the whole 39th, 40th, and 41st verses, and the first clause of the 42d, and introduced part of the 44th verse, before the latter clause of the 42d. For thus the Marcionite, in the dialogue ascribed to Origen, says it is read in their Apostolicon; 'God giveth it a spirit as it hath pleased him. It is sown an animal body, it is raised a spiritual body. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption, &c.' In the 45th verse of this chapter Marcion[f] substituted κυριος, 'Lord,' instead of Αδαμ, "Adam," in the latter clause; and in the 47th verse he omitted[g] ανθρωπος, "man," in the latter clause.

SECTION XLV.

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

IN the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. iv. 4, Marcion understood by Θεος τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ, "the god of this world," the Creator, and considered him as here opposed to the good God, or the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the God of the christians.

In opposition to this, Irenæus,[a] Tertullian,[b] and others[c]

[f] Novissimus Adam in 'spiritum vivificantem,' licet stultissimus hæreticus noluerit ita esse. Dominum enim posuit novissimum, pro novissimo Adam. Ter. Adv. Mar. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 465. 46. 1597. The Marcionite cites these words in the same manner from his Apostolicon, in the dialogue. Μ. Εγενετο ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος Αδαμ εις ψυχην ζωσαν· ὁ εσχατος Κυριος εις πνευμα ζωοποιȣν. Dia. con. Marc. sec. 5. p. 150. [g] Ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοϊκος, ὁ δευτερος Κυριος εξ ȣραιȣ. Ibid. p. 105.

[a] Quod autem dicunt aperte Paulum in 2ª. ad Corinthios dixisse: 'In quibus Deus seculi hujus excœcavit mentes infidelium;' et alterum quidem Deum esse seculi hujus dicunt, alterum vero qui sit super omnem principatum, et initium, et potestatem: non sumus nos in causâ, si hi qui, quæ super Deum sunt, mysteria scire se dicunt, ne quidem legere Paulum sciunt. Si enim quis secundum Pauli consuetudinem, quemadmodum ex multis et alibi ostendimus, hyperbatis eum utentem sic legerit: 'in quibus Deus,' deinde subdistinguens, et modicum diastematis faciens, simul et in unum reliqua legerit, 'seculi hujus excœcavit mentes infidelium,' inveniet verum; ut sit quod dicitur, 'Deus excœcavit mentes infidelium hujus seculi.' Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 210. Ed. Ox. 1702.

[b] Hanc Marcion captavit, sic legendo, 'in quibus Deus ævi hujus' ut creatorem ostendens Deum hujus ævi, alium suggerat Deum alterius ævi. Nos contra sic distinguendum dicimus: 'in quibus Deus;' dehinc, 'ævi hujus 'excœcavit mentes infidelium.' Tertul. Adver. Marcionem, lib. 5. c. 11. p. 467. 36. 1597.

[c] Augus. Con. Faust. (lib. 21. c. 2. 9.) who mentions this, but seems better pleased to understand Θεος τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ of the devil. Quocirca in opere malo, i. e. excœcatione infidelium, si intelligatur et diabolus per persuadendi

who wrote against the Marcionites, were for placing a comma after Θεος, and referring αιωνος τουτου to απιστων. 'In whom God hath blinded the eyes of the unbelievers of this world.' To us of the present day, who are but little interested in the dispute with the Marcionites, this sense appears very harsh, and is one instance, among many others, how far the heat of controversy will carry men. In the 13th verse of this same chapter Marcion[d] erased the words, κατα το γεγραμμενον· επιστευσα, διο ελαλησα. "according as it is written, I believe, and therefore have I spoken."

SECTION XLVI.

In the Epistle to the Romans.

IN the Epistle to the Romans, which is placed the fourth in the Apostolicon,[a] Tertullian informs us, Marcion had made great erasures; but the particular passages mutilated by him, he says he shall not point out, intending only to mention others, which upon the same principle he might have expunged, because they made against him; and which he therefore produces as instances of his negligence and blindness.

Epiphanius has given us no instance of any corruptions or mutilations made by Marcion in this epistle; the passages produced by him from thence are only intended to confute Marcion from those texts which he allowed to be genuine. He finds fault[b] indeed with his ranking it the fourth in his Apostolicon, and says it was because he would have nothing right. However we are informed by Origen, or rather by Rufinus,[c] in his edition of Origen's Commentary on this epistle, that Marcion omitted the two last chapters as spurious, ending the epistle in his Apostolicon with the 23d verse of the 14th chapter.

malignitatem, ut sic distinguatur, Deus hujus seculi, non mihi videtur absurdum: hujus seculi, i. e. hominum improborum non nisi in hoc seculo florere volentium—cujus Deus venter. cap. 9.

[d] Εχοντες δε το αυτο πνευμα της πιστεως και ἡμεις πιστευομεν, διο και λαλουμεν· εξεκοψε δε το κατα το γεγραμμενον. Epi. ibid. p. 367. C.

[a] Quantas autem foveas in istâ vel maxime epistolâ Marcion fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de nostri testamenti integritate parebit. Mihi sufficit, quæ proinde eradenda non vidit, quasi negligentias et cœcitates ejus accipere. Adv. Mar. l. 5. cap. 13. p. 469. 38. 1597.

[b] Της προς 'Ρωμαιους τεταρτης επιστολης· ουτως γαρ εστι παρα τω Μαρκιωνι κειμενη, ινα μηδεν ορθον παρ' αυτω ειη. Epi. ibid. p. 368. B.

[c] Vide Origen. seu potius Rufin. Commen. in Ep. ad Rom. c. 14, 23.

It is also observable, that Tertullian[d] quotes no passage from the 15th or 16th chapters in his confutation of Marcion, from passages contained in this epistle.

SECTION XLVII.

In the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

THE fifth in Marcion's Apostolicon is the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, which Epiphanius says,[a] 'was so entirely 'corrupted by him, that he had selected nothing from thence 'on which to found any refutations of him, or his doctrine.' Tertullian however was of a different mind. From him it appears, that though there might be alterations made by Marcion, yet sufficient was left untouched to show the absurdity of his opinions. He[b] says, 'it will not be unprofitable to attend to the shorter epistles; for there is a 'savouriness in few words.' He accordingly draws arguments from the 2d, 4th, and 5th chapters of this first epistle. He says that the word "own," ιδιες,[c] in the 15th verse of the second chapter, was an addition of this heretic. It is read in our present copies, but it is left out in some of the most ancient Greek MSS.[d] and by Origen, as well as Tertullian and some others.

SECTION XLVIII.

In the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

EPIPHANIUS[x] affirms the same concerning the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the sixth in Marcion's Apostoli-

[d] Vide Tert. ad. Marcion. L. 5. c. 14.

[a] *Της προς Θεσσαλονικεις πεμπτης επιστολης· ουτω γαρ κειται εν τω Μαρκιωνι—τα παντα τυ Μαρκιωνος διεστραμμενως απ' αυτης εχοντος, ουδεν εξ αυτης παρεθεμεθα.* Epi. ibid. p. 371. A.

[b] Brevioribus quoque epistolis non pigebit intendere. Est sapor et in paucis. Ter. ad. Mar. L. 5. c. 15. p. 472. 5. 1597.

[c] Licet *suos* adjectio sit hæretici. Ibid. p. 472. 12.

[d] Vide Millii Test. in locum. et Dia. Con. Marcion, sec. 4. p. 125. et Res. ad Afric. p. 234.

[x] *Της προς Θεσσαλονικεις δευτερας· εκτης δε κειμενης παρα τω Μαρκιωνι —ομοιως διαστραφεισης υπ' αυτυ τυ Μαρκιωνος, παλιν ουδεν εξεθεμεθα.* Epi. ibid. p. 371. A.

con, which he had before affirmed concerning the first, viz. that the reason why he selected nothing from thence was, because it was entirely corrupted by Marcion. Tertullian [b] however produces several passages from this second epistle to confute this heretic; and accuses him only [c] of erasing εν πυρι φλογος, in flaming fire, from the eighth verse of the first chapter, lest he should attribute vengeance and the infliction of punishment to Christ, who was the Son of the good God.

SECTION XLIX.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was called by him the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

THE Epistle to the Ephesians is the seventh, according to the order in which Marcion has placed St. Paul's writings. Tertullian [a] says, Marcion had entitled this the epistle to the Laodiceans, as if to show his great diligence in investigating this matter. According to Epiphanius, as before quoted, [b] he had in his Apostolicon some fragments of that which was called the epistle to the Laodiceans. That passage which he quotes from his Apostolicon under this title, [c] is evidently taken from Eph. iv. 5, 6, with only the insertion of εις Χριστος, 'one Christ,' between the words "one baptism" and "one God."

Mr. Jones asserts, [d] that 'it does not appear Tertullian 'ever saw the Apostolicon of Marcion.' But to me it seems highly probable, as he gives an account of several variations which were in this Apostolicon, from his own copy of the epistles that he had seen, and compared it with his own. What Marcion had in his Apostolicon under the title of an epistle to the Laodiceans, is expressly said by Epiphanius

[b] Vide Ter. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 16. passim.

[c] Sed flammas et ignem delendo hæreticus extinxit, ne scilicet nostratem Deum faceret. Ter. ibid. lib. 5. c. 16. p. 473. 3. 1597.

[a] Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in illo diligentissimus explorator. Adv. Mar. l. 5. c. 17. p. 471. 40.

Prætereo hic et de aliâ epistolâ, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodicenos. Ibid. l. 5. c. 11. p. 468. 6.

[b] Vide sec. xlii. p. 502. note [a].

[c] Εις Κυριος, μια πιστις, ἐν βαπτισμα, εις Χριστος, εις Θεος, και πατηρ παντων, ὁ επι παντων, και δια παντων, και εν πασιν. Συναδοντως μεν τῃ προς Εφεσιους, ω Μαρκιων, και ταυτας τας κατα σε μαρτυριας απο της λεγομενης προς Λαοδικειας συνηγαγες. Dia. ibid. p. 274. B.

[d] Canon of the New Test. Vol. 2. pt. 3. c. 6. p. 50.

to be only μερη, parts or fragments. Possibly in the time of Epiphanius, some passages from the epistle to the Ephesians, and from other epistles of St. Paul, might be inserted in the Apostolicon, which the Marcionites then used under the title of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, though in the Marcionite Apostolicon in the time of Tertullian, the epistle to the Ephesians bore that title. This is certain, that Tertullian quotes [e] precisely from those ten epistles of St. Paul, which Epiphanius says Marcion received, and from those only; and they are ranged in the same order in both authors; except, as before said, [f] that Epiphanius places Philemon the ninth, and Philippians the last: and Tertullian Philippians the ninth, and Philemon the last. Epiphanius, by saying [g] that Marcion received but ten epistles of St. Paul, farther shows, that what was added in the Apostolicon of Marcion, under the title of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, in those places, if any, wherein it differed from the other ten epistles, was not considered as the genuine writing of St. Paul. Might not this therefore be a forgery later than Tertullian's days, and inserted by some Marcionite who lived after him, in the Apostolicon used in the time of Epiphanius? because Tertullian expressly says, that in his time the epistle to the Ephesians bore the title, in Marcion's Apostolicon, of the epistle to the Laodiceans. Another thing also proper to be observed is, that with respect to four of the epistles which Marcion received in his Apostolicon, [h] viz. the two to the Thessalonians, that to the Philippians, and that to Philemon, Epiphanius has asserted they were so totally corrupted that he quoted nothing from them for that reason. Whereas Tertullian quotes several passages from the three former, which are the same as in our former copies, and which one would from thence imagine were

[e] Vide adv. Mar. l. 5. passim.

[f] See sec. xlii. p. 502.

[g] Εχει δε και επιστολας παρ' αυτῳ τῳ ἁγιῳ αποστολῳ δεκα αἰς μοναις κεχρηται. Epi. Ibid. p. 309. D. After this passage Epiphanius reckons them up, in the order before mentioned: adding at the end of his enumeration, εχει δε και της προς Λαοδικεας λεγομενης μερη. The critique also which he gives us, is only upon these ten epistles, and upon one passage selected from the fragment of the epistle to the Laodiceans. And yet, as Mr. Jones has observed, (Canon. N. T. vol. 2. p. 49,) there is a strange passage in Epiphanius, in the beginning of which he says, 'Marcion did not receive all the epistles of St. Paul into his Apostolicon.' Notwithstanding this, he immediately proceeds to enumerate all the fourteen, in a different order from what he gives in any other place, with the epistle to the Laodiceans also inserted in the middle of them, as if a complete epistle, and not μερη, fragments. But this passage, upon the face of it, must appear to be in a very corrupt state. See the passage. Epi. Ibid. p. 321. C. D.

[h] See the passages which assert this, quoted this sec. xlvii. xlviii. p. 508, notes [a] and [x], and p. 513, notes [x] and [a].

admitted in that genuine state by this heretic; and the variations which he accuses him of making in these three are but trifling. With respect to the epistle to Philemon he also expressly says,[i] that this epistle alone has had an advantage from its brevity, for hereby it has escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion. One need not however greatly wonder that forged writings in different ages should be different, though they go under the same general name. For this is certainly the case with this very epistle to the Laodiceans, as it is called: since what is now extant under this name,[k] has not a single passage in it like that which Epiphanius quotes from the Apostolicon of Marcion.

In Ephesians ii. 15, Marcion[l] erased the word αυτϑ, "his," that he might make the enmity to refer to flesh, as if the apostle was here asserting that it was a carnal enmity which Christ destroyed, and not pointing out the method by which he destroyed it, viz. by his incarnation and death. In the 20th verse of this chapter, he erased[m] the words προφητων, "prophets," from that clause, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets: because if our building as christians rested in part upon that foundation, our God and the God of the Jews must be the same; which he denied. In the 9th verse of the 3d chapter he erased[n] the preposition εν, "in," in order to give a different turn to the whole sentence; which, to coincide with his notions, must be thus rendered: 'And to make all men see by Jesus Christ, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which hath for ages been hid from God the creator of all things.' A construction which the Greek language will by no means admit of: since if εν be left out it should be Θεϑ, and κτισαντος. In chap v. 31, Marcion erased some words; according to Epiphanius[o] only τῃ γυναικι, "unto his wife:" but Tertullian[p] quotes the

[i] Soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Adv. Mar. l. 5. c. 21. p. 479. 13.

[k] See this epistle at large in Jones's Canon, N. T. vol. 2. p. 3. c. 6. p. 42, &c.

[l] Sed Marcion abstulit *sua:* ut inimicitiæ daret carnem, quasi carnali vitio, non Christo æmulæ. Tertul. adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 17. p. 475. 12.

[m] Abstulit hæreticus *et prophetarum*, oblitus Dominum posuisse in ecclesiâ, sicut apostolos, ita et prophetas. Timuit scilicet, ne et super veterum prophetarum fundamenta ædificatio nostra constaret in Christo. Tertul. adv. Mar. Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 475. 25.

[n] Rapuit hæreticus, *in*, præpositionem, et ita legi fecit, occulti ab ævis Deo, qui omnia condidit. Ibid. l. 5. c. 18. p. 475. 32.

[o] Αντι τϑ, καταλειψει ανϑρωπος τον πατερα αυτϑ, και την μητερα, και προσκολληϑησεται τῃ γυναικι, και εσονται οι δυο εις σαρκα μιαν, παρα το, τῃ γυναικι.—καν τε συ, ω Μαρκιων, παρακοψῃς το γυναικι. κ. τ. λ. Epi. ibid. p. 372. 3. D. A.

[p] Laborabo ego nunc eundem Deum probare masculi et Christi mulieris et

text, as if he had omitted the whole clause, 'and shall be joined unto his wife:' which Dr. Mill thinks [q] was the case. Though in the manner in which Epiphanius represents it the sense will be complete: "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined," (to the Lord mentioned in verse 29th,) "and they two shall be one flesh." In chapter vi. ver. 2, he omitted the latter clause, [r] "which is the first commandment with promise," lest the Mosaic law should hereby be thought to be established.

SECTION L.

He probably did not much alter the epistle to the Colossians.

COLOSSIANS stands next after Ephesians in Marcion's Apostolicon. [a] I cannot find that Marcion is accused of altering any passage in this epistle by Origen, Epiphanius, or any other ancient author, except in what follows by implication from a passage of Tertullian [b] before quoted, in which he asserts that the epistle to Philemon was the only one that had escaped his falsifying hands. 'Though I wonder,' says he, 'why he should receive this which was written to a single person, and yet reject the two to Timothy, and that to Titus, which treat of the government of the church. But I suppose he had a mind to alter even the number of the epistles.

ecclesiæ, carnis et spiritûs, ipso apostolo sententiam creatoris adhibente, imo et disserente: propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carnem unam. Sacramentum hoc magnum est. Sufficit inter ista, si creatoris magna sunt apud apostolum sacramenta, minima apud hæreticos. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 18. p. 476. 28.

[q] Neque enim expungere vellet προς την γυναικα, nisi expunxerit una et reliquum και προσκολληθησεται. Millii Test. in locum.

[r] Obaudiant et parentibus filii. Nam etsi Marcion abstulit; hoc est enim primum in promissione præceptum; lex loquitur, honora patrem et matrem Tert. adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 18. p. 476. 35.

[a] Της προς Κολοσσαεις, ογδοης παρα τῳ Μαρκιωνι κειμενης. Epi. ibid. 373. A.

[b] Soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum, duos, et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Affectavit opinor etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. Adv. Mar. L. 5. c. 21. p. 479. 13.

SECTION LI.

Nor at all that to Philemon.

PHILEMON is the ninth epistle in Marcion's Apostolicon.[x] 'This epistle,' Epiphanius[b] says, 'was so entirely corrupted 'by Marcion, that he quoted nothing from it on that account.' On the other hand Tertullian asserts, 'it was the only one 'which remained unfalsified.'

SECTION LII.

Nor but little that to the Philippians.

PHILIPPIANS is the tenth and last of St. Paul's epistles received by Marcion in his Apostolicon.[a] 'This also,' Epiphanius says, 'was so mutilated by him, that he did not 'choose to quote any part of it out of his copy.'

Tertullian has quoted several passages from this epistle,[b] but doth not accuse Marcion of any particular corruptions. Nor doth any other author, that I can find, except Epiphanius.

SECTION LIII.

An argument from hence in favour of the authenticity of the New Testament.

THUS then we have gone through what Marcion thought proper to receive into his Evangelium and Apostolicon, from the gospel of St. Luke and the writings of St. Paul. In many places in the epistles, as well as the gospel, he hath altered and mutilated passages to serve his own purpose.

[x] Προς Φιλημονα εννατης, ουτως γαρ παρα τῳ Μαρκιωνι κειται. Epi. Ibid. p. 373. C.

[b] Ὁμως απο ταυτης της προς Φιλημονα ωδεν παριθεμεθα, δια το ὁλοσχερως αυτην διαστροφως παρ' αυτῳ κεισθαι. Epi. Ibid. p. 373. D.

[a] Προς Φιλιππησιους δεκατης, ετως γαρ κειται παρα τῳ Μαρκιωνι εσχατη και δεκατη· ὡσαυτως ωδε απ' αυτης δια το διαστροφως παρ' αυτῳ κεισθαι, ωδεν εξελεξαμεθα. Ibid. 373. 4.

[b] Adv. Mar. Lib. v. cap. 20. passim. p. 478. 9.

In others, the variations probably arose from the difference in copies. The testimony to be drawn from this view, in favour of the books of the New Testament, is very strong. By means of this heretic's rejecting some books entirely, and mutilating others, the ancient christians were led to examine into the evidence for these sacred writings, and to compare copies together, and on this account to speak of whole books, and particular passages, very frequently in their works; which hath enabled us of later ages to authenticate these books, and to come at the genuine reading of many texts, in a better manner than we otherwise could have done.

CHAP. XI.

OF LUCIAN, OR LEUCIUS

SECTION I.

Some general account of him from ancient authors, with observations thereon.

THE person concerning whom we are now going to treat, I suppose, has been already mentioned several times. Nevertheless, it is fit that he should appear here in his proper time and place.

'Lucian the elder,' says Epiphanius[a] in his Summary, to distinguish him from another of a later time, 'in all 'things followed Marcion. But, by making some additions, 'he endeavoured to improve his scheme.'

In his larger work he again calls him the elder, or ancient[b] Lucian: and says he was a follower of Marcion, but separated from him, and formed a distinct sect. He held[c] one being or good God; another creator, judge, and just; and a third evil. In this he agreed with Marcion, according to

[a] Λεκιανος τις αρχαιος—παντα κατα Μαρκιωνα εδογμα εδογματισε. p. 230. D.

[b] Λεκιανος τις αρχαιος———συνεπομενος τῳ προειρημενῳ Μαρκιωνι και απο τουτου αποσχισας, και αυτος αθροισμα ἑαυτῳ ποιησαμενος, αἱρεσεως προεστη. Ibid. Hær. 43. No. 1. p. 378. B. C.

[c] Ἑτερον μεν τον δημιουργον, και κριτην, και δικαιον· ἑτερον δηθεν αγαθον ὡσαυτως, και ἑτερον τον πονηρον. Hær. 43. n. 1. p. 378. D.

the manner in which Austin understands Epiphanius:[d] though, according to Eusebius, it was one Synerus who introduced the notion of three principles and three natures:[e]

He alleged some texts from the prophets,[f] particularly Mal. iii. 14, 15, in support of his notions concerning the Creator. He[g] rejected marriage, and commended virginity: not from a love of chastity, but from an aversion to the Creator and his works. Epiphanius, in his next article, says[h] that Apelles was his fellow-disciple under Marcion.

Augustine hath not given this Lucian any distinct place in his book of heresies. Mr. Jones indeed thinks[i] he is spoken of by him under the name of Seleucus, in the account which he gives of the Seleuciani and Hermiani, which is the 59th heresy in his catalogue. Though the names Seleucus and Leucius are different, yet it must be allowed that no sufficient argument can be drawn from thence against the identity of the persons, since names more different than these have been sometimes confounded. And this hath been the case in the present instance, as has been frequently observed.[k] The name of this very person being Seleucus in some printed copies of Jerom,[l] while the MSS. copies still retain Leucius.[m]

A more important objection against Mr. Jones's opinion is, that the time is too late for Lucian. Besides it must be observed, that Austin cannot mean by the Seleuciani the followers of this person whom we are here speaking of: because, having given an account of the Psalliani, and some

[d] Quamvis Epiphanius eum (Marcionem) tria dicat asseruisse principia, bonum, justum, pravum: sed Eusebius Synerum quendam, non Marcionem, trium principiorum atque naturarum scribit auctorem. De Hær. T. 6. n. 22. f. 5. c. 3. G. Ven. 1570.

[e] See more on this head in the foregoing chapter of Marcion, sec. x. p. 459, 460.

[f] Βελεται χρησθαι και μαρτυριαις τισι κατα τον Μαρκιωνα, κατα την αυτε ὑπονοιαν απο της των προφητων γραφης. Φημι δε το, ματαιος ὁ δελευων Κυριῳ· και το ειρημενον· αντεστησαν Θεῳ, και εσωθησαν. Epi. Hær. 43. n. 1. p. 378. D.

[g] Απαρνειται τον γαμον, και ἁγνειαν ασκει· ε δι' ἁγνειαν, αλλ' ἱνα αθετηση τα εργα τε δημιεργε. Ibid.

[h] Απελλης—ων και αυτος συσχολαστης αυτε Λεκιανε, και μαθητης τε προειρημενε Μαρκιωνος. Hær. 44. n. 1. p. 380. C.

[i] Jones's Canon. Vol. 1. p. 305.

[k] Séleucus, ou Leuce, qui en est le premier auteur. Beaus. His. de Mani. Tom. 1. L. 11. c. 11. p. 353. Cela se trouvoit sans doute, avec d' autres erreurs, dans le livre de Séleucus, qui avoit écrit l'histoire de la Vierge. Ibid. p. 354. See also p. 348. See also Casau. Exercit. ad apparat. Baron. annal. No. 15. p. 74, &c. et Fabricii Cod. Apoc. Nov. Testam. p. 137. p. 1.

[l] Sed factum est———a Seleuco. Epis. 82. Par. 2. Tract. 6. fol. 140. vel apud Hieron. Oper. T. ix. p. 203.

[m] Millii Prole. in N. T. sec. 336. p. 37.

others, ranked under the same article by himself and Epiphanius, he says,[n] I shall now speak of some which we find in Philaster, but which Epiphanius has not mentioned; and the second of this class is Seleucus and his followers. This therefore must be a different person from the Lucian who was mentioned expressly by Epiphanius, and placed both by him and Philaster between Marcion and Apelles. Austin moreover declares[o] that he followed the order of Epiphanius, though he did not insert the whole number of his heresies. It is not difficult to account for the present omission in him: for he informs[p] us that he had inserted some which Epiphanius had wholly omitted, and had omitted others which he had inserted: enlarging the accounts of some, and abridging those of others; and reducing the sixty heresies after the coming of Christ, which we find in Epiphanius, to fifty-seven; considering those as only one heresy, when there was but a trifling difference between them, which Epiphanius had made two. In the present case therefore, as Epiphanius had himself said that Lucian in all things followed Marcion, Austin, in this short account which he was giving of heretics, might think it unnecessary to speak of him as distinct from Marcion, since he could find little or no difference between them.

I place at the bottom of the page the account of this person given by Philaster,[q] and the author[r] of the Additions to Tertullian; but they call him Lucan; their order is

[n] Nunc ergo addo quas Philaster posuit, nec posuit Epiphanius. Aug. ad. 9. v. Deum de Hær. 59. T. 6. fol. 8. c. 4. I. Ven. 1570.

[o] Cujus ego (scilicet Epiphanii episcopi) in commemorandis hæreticis non modum sed ordinem sum secutus. Ibid. Hær. 57. f. 8. c. 3. H.

[p] Nam et aliqua ex aliis posui, quæ ipse non posuit; et aliqua non posui, quæ ipse posuit: itaque alia latius quam ipse, alia et brevius explicavi; paremque in nonnullis exhibui brevitatem, omnia moderans sicut intentionis meæ ratio postulabat. Proinde ille de octoginta hæresibus, separatis viginti, quas ante Domini adventum extitisse, sicut ei visum est, computavit; reliquas post Domini ascensum natas sexaginta, brevissimis libris quinque comprehendit, atque omnes in sex libros totius ejusdem sui operis fecit concludi. Ego autem, qui secundum petitionem tuam eas hæreses memorare institui, quæ post glorificationem Christi se adversus doctrinam Christi, et sub velamine christiani nominis extulerunt, quinquaginta septem ex Epiphanii ipsius opere in meum transtuli, duas in unam referens, ubi nullam differentiam potui reperire: et rursus, ubi ille ex duabus unam facere voluit, sub numeris suis singulas posui. Ibid. Hær. 57. f. 8. c. 3. 4. H.

[q] Lucanus post istum quidam similia Marcionis statuens ac decernens, ut ille doctor ipsius Marcion est in omnibus ementitus. Hær. 47. p. 97. p. 12. La Prigne.

[r] Extitit post hunc Lucanus quidem nomine, Marcionis sectator atque discipulus. Et hic per eadem vadens blasphemiæ genera, eadem docet quæ Marcion et Cerdon docuerant. Præs. c. 51. p. 253. D. 217. 21. Fran.

Cerdon, Marcion, Lucan, Apelles; which serves to show that they mean the same person whom Epiphanius calls Lucian. He is also mentioned by Tertullian himself,[s] as not allowing the resurrection of the body. He too calls him Lucan, as doth Origen in his book against Celsus. The latter says,[t] he did not know of any christians who had altered the text of the gospel, except the followers of Valentinus and Marcion, and perhaps of Lucan.

Having thus put down the accounts of the most ancient writers relating to Lucan, or Lucian, or Leucius, I beg leave to refer to what hath been already said somewhat largely concerning him in[u] another place; but I must resume some particulars there mentioned; I shall repeat however as little as may be.

My method in treating of him shall be to consider his time, his opinions, and his works or writings.

SECTION II.

Of the time when he lived.

FIRST, of his time. I formerly mentioned several[a] learned moderns, who place him in the second century, viz. Grabe, Mill, and Beausobre: to whom I now add[b] Cave. But he thinks he appeared not till about the year 180, supposing him to have been a leader of the Cataphrygians, or Montanists,[c] as some other authors also suppose. But in this they are evidently mistaken. Mill[d] thinks he flourished about the year 140, or soon after. And Fabricius[e] nearly

[s] Viderit unus aliquis Lucanus, nec huic quidem substantiæ parcens, quam secundum Aristotelem dissolvens, aliud quid pro eâ subjicit, quasi sit tertium quiddam resurrecturum, neque anima neque caro, id est non homo, sed ursus forsitan, quâ Lucanus. De Res. Carne, c. 2. p. 380. D. p. 315. 11.

[t] Μεταχαραξαντας δε το ευαγγελιον αλλως ως οιδα, η τως απο Μαρκιωνος, και τως απο Ουαλεντινω, οιμαι δε και τως απο Λευκανω. Con. Cels. L. 2. p. 77. Can. p. 411. Bened.

[u] Vol. iii. p. 431—435.

[a] Ibid p. 433.

[b] Lucius rectius Leucius Charinus, pessimæ notæ hæreticus, sectâ sive Marcionita, sive Montanista, sive ex utrâque conflatus, circa annum CLXXX. vixisse videtur. Certe post exortam Montani hæresin, si modo Cataphrygum antesignanus fuerit. His. Lit. sec. 2. p. 82. vel p. 49. Gen. 1720.

[c] Ætatem designat Pacianus, cum ait, illi ipsi Phryges se animatos mentiuntur a Leucio. Ibid. p. 83. vel 49. Gen.

[d] Erat Lucianus Marcionis sectator, ita et Leucius. Iste, vivo adhuc magistro, novam sectam instituit; vixitque adeo circa annum Christi 140, seu paulo postea. Prol. n. 334. p. 37.

[e] Sed quis præstabit a Paciano innui Leucium? Certe mentiri hoc Phryges

agrees with him, endeavouring to prove that the Leucius spoken of by Pacian against the Montanists, is a different person from him we are now treating of. Though in this I think him wrong,[f] because ancient authors mention but one. It however appears to me most agreeable to the current of history to place him somewhere between the years 135 and 150.

SECTION III.

Of his opinions.

SECONDLY, we are to speak of his opinions. What they were was shown distinctly in the place before referred to.[a] The account there given is further confirmed by what we have quoted just before, and shall now proceed to mention.

He was a scholar and follower of Marcion. He believed the Creator to be different from God the Father.[b] He said that the God of the Jews was an evil being, and that Simon Magus was his minister: but that the God whom Christ revealed was different from him, and was good;[c] and to him he applies the appellation of both Father and Son. He was one of the[d] Docetæ. He condemned marriage, and

ait Pacianus. Itaque Leucium istum non habuit ipse pro antesignano, verum pro viro catholico, ad cujus consensum frustra a Montanistis provocaretur. Fab. Cod. Apoc. N. T. p. 42. in notis. Suspicor autem illum a Paciano Leucium denotari, quem inter Johannis discipulos nominat Epiphanius. Hær. 51. n. 6. p. 427. D. Id. Ibid. p. 768.

[f] Vide Beaus. H. Man. T. 1. p. 351, 2. n. 3.

[a] Vol. iii. p. 432, 433. [b] Vide note [c], p. 514, of this chapter.

[c] *Φησι γαρ αλλον ειναι τον των Ιεδαιων Θεον, και κακον· ε και Σιμωνα τον μαγον ὑπηρετην καθεσταναι· αλλον δε τον* Χριστον (lege Χριστε) *ὀν φησιν αγαθον. και φυρων ἁπαντα, και συγχεων, καλει αυτον και πατερα και υιον.* Phot. Cod. 114. p. 292.* [d] *Λεγει δε μηδε ενανθρωπησαι* (Χριστον) *αληθως, αλλα δοξαι—Γαμες δε νομιμες αθετει, και πασαν γενεσιν πονηραντε, και τε πονηρε λεγει.* Phot. Cod. 114. p. 292.

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* Photius, who relates this, differs in some measure from Epiphanius. According to the former, Leucius allows but two principles, one evil and the other good; and the good one, or the God preached by Christ,[a] he considers under the characters of Father and Son. According to the latter, Leucius asserted there were three principles, and that one of his three, which was the Creator, was just, and a judge. This character of the Creator is agreeable to the Marcionite doctrine, of which Leucius[b] was a follower.

[a] Fabricius has well observed that there is a false reading here, and that it ought to be *τε Χριστε*, and not *τον Χριστον*. Cod. Apo. N. T. T. 1. p. 771.

[b] *Οὑτος γαρ συνεπομενος τῳ προηρημενῳ Μαρκιωνι——κατα παντα μεν ην κατα τον Μαρκιωνα δογματιζει.* Epi. Hær. 43. p. 378. B. C. Vide etiam Gr. Spic. Pat. v. 1. p. 78.

denied the resurrection of the body. He also had a notion that the Divine Being, or an angel, appeared at a certain time in the shape of a beautiful boy, and imitated a small female voice; as we find it related at large in the book entitled 'de Fide,'[e] among Austin's works. He also thought, according to Philaster,[f] that the souls of men were like the souls of dogs and beasts: alleging in proof of it, from the spurious Acts of Andrew and Peter, that cattle and dogs, and wild beasts, had been miraculously made to speak.

SECTION IV.

Some observations on his notion about the souls of brutes, and the resurrection of them.

THIS doth not seem to have been an opinion peculiar to Lucian and his followers; but was held, according to Philaster,[a] in the place before quoted, by the Manichees, Gnostics, Nicolaitans, Valentinians, and many other heretics. There is indeed no doubt but Lucian believed that the souls of men and the souls of beasts were of the same kind. For it is expressly said by Philaster to be contained in those spurious writings, which went under the names of Andrew, John, Peter, and some others of the apostles; which writings it will evidently appear were the forgeries of Lucian. This tenet is also ascribed to him by Photius, though in somewhat a different manner. He says[b] that this heretic

[e] Attendite in actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sunt quæ accipitis de Maximillâ uxore Egetis, &c.———Ibi scriptum est quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul essent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum vel certe angelum intelligi, commendaverit eas Andreæ apostolo, et perrexerit ad prætorium Egetis, et ingressus cubiculum eorum finxerit vocem muliebrem, quasi Maximillæ murmurantis de doloribus sexûs feminei, et Iphidamiæ respondentis. Quæ colloquia cum audîsset Egetes, credens eas ibi esse discesserit. De Fide, c. 38. Ap. Aug. T. 8. in Appen. T. 6. fol. 187, 1, 2, Venet. 1570.

[f] Unde et habent Manichæi et alii tales, Andreæ beati et Joannis actus evangelistæ, beati et Petri similiter apostoli, et Pauli pariter apostoli; in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et pecudes et canes et bestiæ loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales, velut canum et pecudum similes, imputaverunt esse hæretici perditi. Hær. 87. vel Hær. Apocry. 40. p. 22. La Bigne, Par. 1624.

[a] E quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaïtæ, et Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui Apocrypha prophetarum et apostolorum, id est actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere scripturas contemnunt. Id. Ibid.

[b] Νεκρων δε ανθρωπων και βοων και κτηνων παραλογωτατας και μειρακιωδεις τερατευει αναστασεις. Photii Cod. 113. p. 292.

strangely believed a most absurd and puerile kind of resurrection of dead men, and oxen, and cattle.

Photius seems here to have mistaken the meaning of the terms. It should be observed, that all the Docetæ denied the resurrection of the body, or of the flesh.[c] This was a consequence of their believing that Christ had not really a body, but only appeared to have one. However, the Marcionites talked of a resurrection, which may be called a figurative resurrection, and which[d] they applied to souls. They considered souls as dead while they were in the body; and therefore the death of the body was the life, or, in their phraseology, the resurrection of the soul. This is agreeable to the Platonic doctrine, which represented the soul as in a prison while confined in the body. From this philosophy Docetism seems to have derived its origin; for the followers of this opinion were principally among the higher classes of men, and were chiefly those who had been converted from heathenism to christianity. Lucian might therefore very probably be a believer in the resurrection of the souls of brutes in this sense, as well as in that of the souls of men. For it was a Marcionite tenet, to which he also undoubtedly gave his assent, that the souls of men and the souls of brutes[e] are of the same kind. Thus far then Philaster is undoubtedly right, in saying that he believed the souls of men and beasts to be alike: and this is one proof, among many others, that he was a follower of Marcion, and not a Manichee, and therefore he is justly placed, as before observed, in the second century.

SECTION V.

A belief in another kind of resurrection ascribed to him by Tertullian.

TERTULLIAN indeed here ascribes to him the belief of a different kind of resurrection, for he says, 'it[a] was his

[c] Την της σαρκος δε αθετει αναστασιν καθαπερ πολλαι των αιρεσεων. Ep. ad. Hær. 42. p. 304. B.

[d] Ψυχης δε αναστασιν ειναι λεγει, και ζωην και σωτηριαν μονης. Epi. Ibid. p. 305. B.

[e] Νομιζει δε ὁ ελεεινος ϐτος ἁμα τοις ϐτω φρονϐσιν, ὁτι ἡ αυτη ψυχη εν τοις ανθρωποις και ζωοις ὑπαρχει. Epi. Ibid. 330. B.

[a] Omnes enim fere hæretici eam, (animæ salutem,) quoquo modo volunt, tamen non negant. Viderit unus aliquis Lucanus, nec huic quidem substantiæ, parcens, quam secundum Aristotelem dissolvens, aliud quid pro eâ subjicit, quasi sit tertium quiddam resurrecturum, neque anima neque caro, id est non homo, sed ursus forsitan, quâ Lucanus. De Carne Christ. c. 2. p. 315.

'opinion that a kind of third thing, which was neither soul 'nor body, was to be raised, and which consequently was not 'man, but might be a bear.' This Dr. Mill [b] understands, as pointing out his belief in the Pythagorean transmigration of souls from one body to another, and even into the bodies of beasts; and therefore that men were endowed with the souls of other men, and that even brutes had sometimes those souls which had before resided in a human body. Epiphanius, in his refutation of Marcion on the article of eating flesh, says,[c] that 'the traduction and passage of souls from one body 'to another, was a common opinion [d] among most of the he-'retics, and that Marcion and his followers, among whom 'our Lucian must be ranked, esteemed the souls of men and 'of brutes equally precious.'

SECTION VI.

Some general account of his Writings.

THIRDLY, I proceed to give some account of his writings. Grabe, who applied himself very particularly to these matters, hath assured us,[a] that he was the author of many forgeries under the names of the holy apostles; and [b] that he

[b] Tum vero quod prodigiosam nescio quam resurrectionem commentus sit, quâ neque anima hominum resuscitanda foret, neque corpus, sed tertium quiddam, scilicet (ex Pythagoricâ, quam probavit, hypothesi de transmigratione animarum de corporibus in corpora hominum, nec non pecudum) homines alienis animabus præditi, ideoque nec iidem qui ante fuerant, ut et pecudes, hominum animis donatæ. Sic enim Tertulliani verba interpretor ex Photio. Millii Prole. 334. p. 37. Ox.

[c] *Διδασκει γαρ ουτος εμψυχων μη μεταλαμβανειν, φασκων ενοχους ειναι τη κρισει τους των κρεων μεταληπτορας, ως αν ψυχας εσθιοντας—ου γαρ τα κρεα ἡ ψυχη, αλλα εν τοις κρεασιν ἡ ψυχη και ουτε ψυχην φαμεν ειναι την εν τοις ζωοις, ως την των ανθρωπων τιμιαν—νομιζει δε ὁ ελεεινος ουτος ἁμα τοις ουτω φρονουσιν, κ. τ. λ. τουτο γαρ παρα πολλαις των πεπλανημενων αιρεσεων ματην ὑπολαμβανεται, και γαρ, και Ουαλεντινος, και Κολοβαρσος, Γνωστικοιτε παντες, και Μανιχαιοι, και μεταγγισμους ειναι ψυχων φασκουσι, και μετενσωματωσεις της ψυχης.* Epi. adv. Hær. 42. p. 330. B. C.

[d] See some observations on this point, in the foregoing chapter of Marcion, sec. xvii. p. 469.

[a] Evangelium ejus (Petri) fuisse reor figmentum Leucii hæretici seculo secundo plura ejusmodi cudentis, eaque nominibus S. apostolorum supponentis. Spi. Pat. T. 1. p. 58.

[b] Quos unâ cum aliorum apostolorum rebus gestis composuit et publicavit Leucius sive Lucius, Marcionis successor, seculi ii. quosque summatim perstrinxit Photius Cod. 114. Ego vero suo loco fragmenta eorum hactenus inedita orbi erudito offeram. Ibid. p. 77, 8. Jam fateor quidem me in nullis excusis historiæ ecclesiasticæ monumentis istud S. Thomæ (scilicet Judæ)

himself had found several fragments of his writings in MS. which were never yet published, but which he intended to give to the world in their proper places. Had he lived to have completed his design, perhaps many pieces would have clearly appeared to have been the forgeries of this person, about which there are now some remaining doubts. However he hath been long and justly regarded as the grand framer of apocryphal books: in which, as Photius the patriarch of Constantinople says, 'His[c] style is altogether unequal and various. The construction and words which he 'makes use of, though they are sometimes far from being 'mean, yet they are however for the most part very low and 'vulgar; and there are in his writing no traces of an even 'and flowing phraseology; or of a native grace, similar to 'that which we find in the style of the evangelists and apostles.' Pope Gelasius[d] hath condemned him and his works in the strongest terms; declaring, that all those books which go under the name of the travels of Andrew and the other apostles, were forged by Lenticius, as he is there called, or Leucius; and that all his writings are apocryphal; and he himself a disciple of the devil. It is however necessary to be observed, that all the contradictions, all the silly stories, all the vulgarisms and inaccuracies which are now in these books, are not to be imputed entirely to Leucius; since it is evident from some of the pieces themselves that they have been interpolated, as Beausobre[e] hath clearly made appear, and that they have been interpolated by several hands, and some of them extremely ignorant.

I would also further remark, that this heretic is called by many names; such as Lucanus, Lucius, Leicius, Leucius, Lentitius, Leontius, Lentius, Seleucus, Leucius Charinus, and even Nexocharides, and Leonides, which mean all one and the same person, as is fully shown by Mr. Jones[f] and Beausobre.[g] Several of the differences in these names were undoubtedly owing to the carelessness of transcribers, and

cognomen reperire potuisse, reperisse tamen in MSS. actis Græcis Thomæ in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ Cod. 180. Barocc. fol. 42. p. 2. Quæ Leucium, seculi ii. hæreticum, auctorem habere videntur. Ibid. 324.

[c] Ἡ δε φρασις εις το παντελες ανωμαλως τε και παρηλλαγμενη. Και συνταξεσι γαρ και λεξεσι κεχρηται ενιοτε μεν ουκ ημελημεναις, κατα δε το πλειξον αγοραιοις και πεπατημεναις. Και ουδεν της ὁμαλης και αυτοσχεδιω φρασεως, και της εκειθεν εμφυτου χαριτος, καθ' ἡν ὁ ευαγγελικος τε και αποστολικος διαμεμορφωται λογος, ου' ιχνος εμφαινων. Phot. Cod. 114.

[d] Libri omnes, sub nomine Andreæ, &c. quos fecit Lentitius, seu Leucius, filius Diaboli, apocryphi. Gelas. Decret. app. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 1264.

[e] Hist. De Man. F. 1. p. 371, 2. Vide etiam p. 354.

[f] Jones, Vol. 1. p. 305, 6. and 309, 10. Vol. 2. p. 419, 20.

[g] His. de Man. T. 1. p. 348, &c. passim.

some to the ignorance of those who altered and falsified these forgeries.

This being premised, I proceed to mention in brief those forgeries which are attributed to Lucian, or Leucius, as he is more frequently called. They who would see a more minute examination of particulars, with the reasons at large on which this opinion is founded, may consult Beausobre[h] and Jones.[i]

SECTION VII.

Some observations on Mr. Jones's assertions that Leucius was a Manichee.

THIS latter writer has given us, in the second volume of his Canon of the New Testament, several of the spurious pieces here referred to, viz. the gospel of the Nativity, the Protevangelion, the gospel of the Infancy, and the gospel of Nicodemus.

He is, I think, greatly mistaken in making Leucius a Manichee, and in assigning him so late an æra as the latter end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. The only evidences which I can find for his being a Manichee, is the assertion of it in a supposititious letter found among Jerom's works, and because the opinions contained in his forgeries are agreeable to some of the Manichæan doctrines, and therefore these writings were received by the Manichees. But the oriental philosophy had infected christians long before Manes arose; and this Leucius is very justly considered as a forerunner of him, and a source from which he and his followers derived some of their principal arguments. For he, as I have before observed, held an evil principle as well as a good one, and a just one. The Manichees therefore readily received his writings, which contained sentiments so favourable to their own. From hence it is probable, the author of that epistle inserted among Jerom's works was induced to call him a Manichee. Neither Austin nor Pope Gelasius apply this name to him in those places referred to by Mr. Jones; they only say that the Manichees respected his writings. If he had been one of this sect, the place assigned him by Mr. Jones would have been right; but as he was contemporary with Marcion, and his scholar, it is un-

[h] Hist. de Manich. T. l. p. 348, 407.

[i] Canon of the N. T. Vol. l. p. 284, 326. and Vol. 2 p. 419.

doubtedly wrong. Grabe,[x] a proper and an accurate judge in these matters, declares he was the successor of Marcion, and an heretic of the second century.

To proceed then to his forgeries.

SECTION VIII.

Leucius was the author of the History of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.

HE is said to be the author of a spurious book, entitled, The History of the Virgin: or, The History of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. This is mentioned in a letter,[a] which is generally thought to be supposititious, from Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerom. In the answer ascribed to Jerom it is said[b] to be written by one Seleucus, (or Leucius, according to the MS.) and he is there called a Manichee. It is also said[c] in these letters to have been written in Hebrew; and that there was a report current that the evangelist Matthew was the author of it, and that he prefixed it to the beginning of his own gospel. This is partly contradicted by the writer of the second letter, and by another letter in Jerom, which is a kind of preface to this book. In both these it is ascribed to that Leucius[d] who wrote a spurious history of the acts and sufferings of the apostles.

[x] Vide p. 521. notes [a] and [b], sect. vi.

[a] Ortum Mariæ Reginæ Virginis,—in Apocryphis invenimus libris, in quibus multa contraria nostræ fidei considerantes scripta, recusanda credimus universa. Apud Hieron. Op. T. v. vel P. 2. Trac. 2. Ep. 23. fol. 38.

[b] Sed factum est ut a Manichei discipulo, nomine Seleuco. (Leucio MS.) Qui etiam apostolorum gesta falso sermone conscripsit; hic Liber editus. Ibid. T. v. p. 445. vel. P. 2. Tra. 2. Ep. 24. fol. 38. vel. Tr. 6. Ep. 82. fol. 140.

[c] Extiterunt viri Dei Armenius et Virtuus, qui dicerent sanctitatem tuam beatissimi Matthæi evangelistæ manuscriptum Hebraïcum invenisse, in quo et Virginis Matris, et Salvatoris infantia esset scripta. Ib. Nec ipse sanctus Matthæus apostolus et evangelista voluit in aperto conscribi. Si enim hoc secretum non esset, evangelio utique ipsius quod edidit, addidisset: sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraïcis literis, obsignatum, quem usque adeo edidit, ut ex manu ipsius liber scriptus Hebraïcis literis a viris religiosissimis habeatur, qui etiam a suis prioribus per successus temporum susceperunt; hunc autem ipsum librum, nunquam alicui transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter, atque aliter narraverunt. Sed factum est ut a Manichæo, &c. Ibid. Proinde ut in Hebræo habetur, verbum ex verbo transferre curabo; si quidem sanctum Matthæum eundem libellum liquet composuisse, et in capite evangelii sui Hebraïcis literis obsignatum apposuisse. Quod an verum sit, auctori præfationis et fidei scriptoris committo. Ibid. Epi. 25. F. 39.

[d] De Nativitate S. Mariæ———ideo scire vos volo multa in eo falsa inveniri. Quidam namque Seleucus, (Leucius MS.) qui passiones apostolorum conscripsit, hunc libellum composuit. Ibid.

A gospel of this kind, which was in being [e] in the second century, is referred to by Epiphanius [f] and Austin.[g] But our present copies are very much altered from the ancient ones. For in that which is now extant, there is not the least mention of the death of Zacharias, concerning the cause of which Epiphanius has produced a passage from the copy extant in his time, the purport of which is as follows: That Zacharias,[h] while ministering in the temple, saw a vision, and being willing to reveal what he saw to the people, was struck dumb. Afterwards, when he recovered his speech, he declared to the Jews, that he saw a man standing there in the form of an ass: upon which they slew him.

SECTION IX.

The writer of it not a Jew.

THERE are Hebraisms in the phraseology which induced Mr. Jones to ascribe this piece to some Jew, or Hellenist. Though he himself allows afterwards [a] that it might be composed by Leucius Charinus, or our Leucius, who borrowed from some former forgery, and that what we now have is different from his. For, in the fragment preserved by Austin, Mary is said to be of the tribe of Levi, whereas in our present copies she is said [b] to be sprung from the royal race and family of David. Though it must be allowed that there are some Hebraisms in this piece, and some allusions to Jewish customs, yet it is also certain there are other things

[e] Jones's Canon, Vol. 2. p. 163.

[f] Αλλα δε μυρια παρ' αυτοις πεπλασμενα γραφεια τε τολμαται, Γενεαν μεν γαρ Μαριας βιβλιον τι φασιν ειναι. κ. τ. λ. Hær. 26. n. 12. p. 94. A. Ει γαρ και ἡ της Μαριας ἱστορια, και παραδοσεις εχουσιν ὁτι ἐρρεθη τῳ πατρι αυτης Ιωαχειμ. κ. τ. λ. Hær. 79. n. v. p. 1062. C. D.

[g] Quia eadem patrem habuerit sacerdotem quendam, nomine Joachim. Contr. Faus. Mani. L. 23. c. 4. opp. T. 6. Ven.

Ac per hoc illud, quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam, nomine Joachim, quia non canonicum est, non me constringit. Ibid. c. 9.

[h] Τον Ζαχαριαν απεκτανθαι εν τῳ ναῳ, επειδη, φασι, οπτασιαν ἑωρακε, και απο τυ φοβυ θελων ειπειν την οπτασιαν απεφραγη το στομα· ειδε γαρ, φασιν, ανθρωπον ἑστωτα, ονυ μορφην εχοντα. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 94. A. B.

[a] Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. p. 175, and 207.

[b] Beata et gloriosa semper virgo Maria, de stirpe regiâ et familiâ David oriunda, in civitate Nazareth nata, Hierosolymis in templo Domini nutrita fuit. Pater ejus Joachim, mater vero Anna dicebatur. Domus paterna ex Galilæâ et civitate Nazareth. Maternum autem genus ex Bethlehem erat. Evan. Nativ. Mariæ apud Hieron. Opp. P. 2. Tr. 2. Ep. 25. fol. 39.

which are contrary to facts well known among the Jews, and inconsistent with their established customs, as Jones himself has observed.[c] For instance, that Issachar was the name of the high priest who discoursed with Joachin; whereas, if this history be supposed to be true[d] in other respects, Simon the son of Boethus Alexandrinus was then high priest, and continued so for nineteen years. It is also said in the history, that Mary was brought at three years old to the temple, and continued there, according to custom, till she was fourteen. But it is certain there were no such cells or apartments in the temple at Jerusalem, nor was there any such custom of keeping nuns there. These appear to me such decisive proofs against the author's being a Jew, as the few Hebraisms found therein are not able to countervail. The truth seems to me to be, that many of the things contained in this spurious piece were current traditions in the second century.[e] Leucius interwove with these some passages from the genuine scriptures, and thus made up the heterogeneous mass. The author of the pretended letter from Chromatius and Heliodorius, altered the beginning of this gospel of the Nativity to what we now find it to contain, expunging that false opinion, of Mary's being descended from Levi, and inserting the real fact, that she was of the royal race and family of David.

The inculcating the propriety of perpetual virginity seems to have been the design of the original composer, especially in the latter part of this piece. This is entirely agreeable to the opinions of Leucius: it is therefore probable that he was the author, and that this part remains the same as he first wrote it.

SECTION X.

The Protevangelion, or gospel of James was composed by Leucius.

ANOTHER forged gospel ascribed to Leucius is the Protevangelion, or gospel of James, which[a] hath been published

[c] Jones, Vol. 2. p. 185, 6.

[d] Vide Josephi Anti. Jud. L. 15. c. 12. Helvici Chronol. et Sigon. de Repub. Judæor. L. 5. c. 2. p. 220. The same as this is hinted by Baronius, Appar. ad Annal. Eccles. No. 39. and Casaub. Exerc. in eundem numerum. Jones, ubi sup. note.

[e] Canon of the N. T. V. 2. p. 169, 173, and p. 184.

[a] Vide Protevange. sive evangelium Jacobi. Basil. 1552. Grynæi Orthodox. p. 71. Fabric. Cod. Apocry. N. T. Jones, V. 2. p. 129.

in Greek several times. Of this gospel there are several MSS. copies now extant. It pretends to give an account of the birth of Christ, and contains many of the same things which are in the gospel of Mary. It proceeds farther indeed, and adds some remarkable stories: such as Joseph's drinking the water of trial, to prove whether Mary was with child by him or not; their journey to Bethlehem; the standing still of the clouds, birds, and all other things at the birth of our Saviour; the affair of the midwife; the coming of the wise men, and many others. It also adds to the account given us by the former of the age of Joseph, that he was a widower, and had several children. The story of the murder of Zacharias is inserted, though a different cause is here assigned for it from that which Epiphanius has assigned in the extract before given. Here it is attributed to Herod, who put Zacharias to death because he would not discover where John was, when by his order the children were murdered.

SECTION XI.

A current tradition that Joseph was a widower, and had children by his former wife.

THE opinion that Joseph was a widower, and had children by a former wife, when he was betrothed to Mary, was current in the primitive ages. Origen mentions it in his commentary on Matt. xiii. 55,[a] and says, 'Many believed 'that the brethren of Christ there mentioned were the chil- 'dren of Joseph by a former wife; and that they were in- 'duced to be of this opinion by some passages in the gos- 'pel of Peter, or the book of James.' Eusebius[b] gives us the same reason why James was called the brother of Christ. Epiphanius[c] hath frequently mentioned this same thing. He says, that 'James was the son of Joseph by a 'former wife, and therefore called the brother of Jesus.' And again, that 'Joseph was about eighty years old when 'he married Mary, and that he had six children by a for-

[a] Τȣς δε αδελφȣς αυτȣ φασι τινες ειναι, εκ παραδοσεως ὁρμωμενοι, τȣ επιγεγραμμενȣ κατα Πετρον ευαγγελιȣ, η τȣ βιβλȣ Ιακωβȣ, υἱȣς Ιωσηφ εκ προτερας γυναικος. Origen. T. xi. in Matt. vel ex Huet. edit. T. i. p. 223. A. B.

[b] Ιακωβον, τον τȣ Κυριȣ λεγομενον αδελφον, ὁτι δε και ȣτος τȣ Ιωσηφ ωνομαστο παις. Ecc. His. L. 2. c. 1. B.

[c] Ad. Hær. 29. n. 2, 3. and 51. n. 10.

'mer wife.' And still more particularly in his dispute with the Antidicomarionites, he informs us[d] that Joseph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower, that he was the brother of Cleophas, and the son of James, surnamed Panther: that his first wife was of the tribe of Judah, that he had by her six children, four sons and two daughters: that James, surnamed Olbias, was his eldest son; that he was born when his father was about forty years of age: that his next son was Jose, and then Simeon and Judas: that his two daughters were named Mary and Salome: that he continued many years a widower, and when he was about eighty years old married Mary.

This same opinion was embraced by many other of the Greek fathers.[e] From this account it appears to have been an opinion generally received in the primitive ages.

SECTION XII.

Passages in Epiphanius referring to the gospel of the Nativity and the Protevangelion.

MR. JONES mentions two places more in Epiphanius, where there seem to be references to the two foregoing gospels. The first is as follows: 'When[a] lots were cast for the 'widowers and unmarried of every tribe, to determine who 'should take virgins which were in the temple; (for it 'was the custom that the first-born of both sexes should 'be devoted to the temple service,) he (Joseph) was obliged 'by the necessity of the lot to take the holy virgin Mary.' This is agreeable to the account given us both in the gospel of Mary and the Protevangelion. The other reference is in a tract ascribed to Epiphanius, but generally supposed not to be his.[b] The purport of it is, that Joachim and Anna were the names of the father and mother of the virgin; that Joachim retired into the wilderness, where he prayed for issue; and Anna into the garden on the same account; and that their prayers were answered by the birth of Mary. The whole of this is in the Protevangelion; and the greater part in the gospel of the Nativity of Mary.

[d] Ibid. 79. n. 7, 8.

[e] Jones's Canon. N. T. p. 172. Pearson on the Creed, p. 175. ar. iii. Sixt. Senens. Biblio. Sanct. L. 6. p. 455. Annot. 64. Vales. An. in Eus. H. Ecc. L. 2. c. 1.

[a] Ancoratus. V. c. 60.

[b] Oratio de Laud. Vir. Mar. V. 2. p. 292.

SECTION XIII.

Observations on some of the contents of these two gospels.

THE perpetual virginity of Mary, mentioned in both these gospels, and pretended to be confirmed by the testimony of the midwife, was a favourite opinion among the ancient christians.

If we will pay any attention to what is said in the letter of Pope Innocent the first,[a] Leucius was the author of this gospel, as well as of that of the Nativity; for he informs us that the writings under the names of Matthew and of James the less, meaning thereby the gospel of the Nativity, and the Protevangelion, were forged by Leucius. This last also was a work of the second century; for it is referred to by Origen as before observed.[b] It is called the book of James because, both at the beginning and end, James is said to be the author.

The story of the midwife[c] was undoubtedly invented to make us believe that Christ was not really a man, but only one in appearance. This was a story current in the second century, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus.[d] As perpetual virginity is also strongly inculcated in this apocryphal piece, it accords entirely with the sentiments of Leucius, and very probably he was the author.

[a] Cætera autem, quæ sub nomine Matthæi, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt———non solum repudianda, verum noveris esse damnanda. Innocent. Ep. 3. ad Exuper. c. 7. Ap. Concil. Labb. T. 2. p. 6. 125. [b] Vide p. 527. note [a], of this chapter.

[c] *Και εξηλθεν ἡ μαια απο τϐ σπηλαιϐ, και απηντησεν αυτῳ Σαλομῃ, και ειπεν αυτῳ ἡ μαια, Σαλωμη, Σαλωμη, καινον σοι θεαμα εξηγησομαι· παρθενος εγεννησεν, ὁ ϐ χωρει ἡ φυσις· ειπε δε Σαλωμη· Ζῃ Κυριος ὁ Θεος μϐ, ὁτι εαν μη κατανοησω την φυσιν αυτης, ϐ μη πιϛευσω, ὁτι ἡ παρθενος εγεννησε. Ηλθε δε Σαλωμη, και ειπε ἡ μαια, Μαρια, σχηματισον σεαυτην, ϐ γαρ μικρος αγων περικειται περι σϐ· και εσημειωσατο Σαλωμη, και εξηρανθη ἡ χειρ αυτης.* Protevangelion. c. 19, 20.

[d] *Αλλα, ὡς εοικεν τοις πολλοις, και μεχρι νυν δοκει ἡ Μαριαμ λεχω ειναι δια την τϐ παιδιϐ γεννησιν, ϐκ ϐσα λεχω· και γαρ μετα το τεκειν αυτην, μαιωθεισαν φασι τινες παρθενον εὑρεθηναι.* Strom. l. 7. p. 756. B. C.

SECTION XIV.

Leucius is thought to have interpolated the gospel of the Infancy.

THE gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour is supposed by Mr. La Croze to have been forged by some Nestorians; but it is more likely to have been the work of the Gnostics, or rather of that sect of them called[a] Marcosians. Irenæus refers[b] to this gospel, and says it was received by them, and indeed owed its existence to their forgeries. Epiphanius has quoted this passage from Irenæus,[c] and therefore gives his testimony to the same. This gospel is joined with that of the Nativity of Mary, and ranked among apocryphal books,[d] by the author of the letter from Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerom. Dr. Mill thinks, that[e] the gospel of the Infancy was generally joined to the gospel of the Nativity of Mary. The passage just quoted from the epistle of Chromatius, as far as that is to be depended on, certainly confirms it: as doth the answer attributed to Jerom,[f] who considered it part of the task assigned him to translate the account of the Infancy of our Saviour. The Doctor also believes, that though it was not originally a composition of Leucius, yet it was altered and interpolated by him, receiving from thence the addition of several idle stories. Mr. Jones is of opinion,[g] that it was first forged by the Gnostics, in the beginning of the second century; that it was frequently joined to, or considered as a second part of, the gospel of Mary, or of the Protevangelion; that Leucius was so far concerned in altering, and interpolating it, that he was considered by some as its author. There are certain

[a] Beaus. His. de Man. T. 1. L. 2. c. 3. No. 6. p. 368. Jones's Can. N. T. V. 2. p. 208, and 283.

[b] *Ιδιος δε τω τοις αμυθητον πληθος αποκρυφων και νοθων γραφων, ας αυτοι επλασαν, προσεισφερεσιν—ως τω Κυριω, τα δια τω διδασκαλω αυτω φησαντος, καθως εθος εστιν, ειπε αλφα, αποκρινασθαι το αλφα· παλιν τε το βητα τω διδασκαλω κελευσαντος ειπειν αποκρινασθαι τον Κυριον, συ μοι προτερον ειπε τι εστιν το αλφα, και τοτε σοι ερω. κ. τ. λ.* Adv. Hær. L. 1. c. 17. Gr.

[c] Ad. Hær. 34. No. 18. p. 253. C. D.

[d] Ortum Mariæ reginæ virginis simul et nativitatem atque infantiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in Apocryphis invenimus libris. Apud Hieron. Op. part 2. Tra. 2. Ep. 23.

[e] Prol. in N. T. p. 37. c. 1.

[f] Qui ad Servatoris nostri infantiam sanctam per nostram potuerint obedientiam pervenire. Hieron. Op. pt. 2. Tr. 2. Ep. 24.

[g] Jones's Canon, Vol. 2. p. 316, 321.

things in it which are undoubtedly of later invention; such as the prodigious respect paid to the Virgin Mary, and the attention to the preservation of relics. These were probably added by some Asiatic christians of later times, whom La Croze[h] supposes to have been the first authors of this book.

SECTION XV.

He was the forger of the gospel of Nicodemus.

THE gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate, as it is otherwise called, was also a forgery of our Leucius. There were probably some accounts[a] transmitted by Pilate to Tiberius, concerning the transactions relative to Jesus Christ; because it was always customary for the Roman governors to send annually from their provinces a relation of the most material transactions to the senate or emperor; especially if any thing new or extraordinary happened. This Eusebius expressly tells[b] us was the case in the present instance. Justin Martyr, the first and most ancient apologist for the truth of the christian religion, appeals to these accounts[c] in his address to the emperor Marcus Antoninus.[d] But whether such accounts were really transmitted by Pilate or not, it is evident a report of this kind was current early in the second century.

From hence the hint was taken; and to this the present forgery owes its origin. A great part of this piece[e] is taken up in giving an account of things seen in the other world by Charinus and Lenthius, and which they are said to have

[h] Crozii Epis. ap. Fab. Cod. Apo. N. T. T. 3. p. 421. Jones's Can. Vol. 2. p. 316.

[a] Jones's Can. Vol. 2. p. 304.

[b] Παλαιϑ κεκρατηκοτος εϑϐς τοις των εϑνων αρχϱσιν, τα παρα σφισι καινοτομημενα, τῳ την βασιλειον αρχην επικρατϱντι σημαινειν, ὡς αν μηδεν αυτον διαδιδρασκοι των γιγνομενων, τα περι της εκ νεκρων αναϛασεως τϑ Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησϑ Χριϛϑ, εις παντας ηδη καϑ' ὁλης Παλαιϛινης βεβοημενα, Πιλατος Τιβεριῳ βασιλει κοινηται· ὡς τας τε αλλας αυτϑ πυϑομενος τερατειας, και ὡς ὁτι μετα ϑανατον εκ νεκρων αναϛας, ηδη Θεος ειναι παρα τοις πολλοις επεπιϛευτο. Ecc. His. L. 2. p. 40. C. D.

[c] Και ταυτα ὁτι γεγονε δυνασϑε μαϑειν εκ των επι Ποντιϑ Πιλατϑ γενομενων ακτων. Ap. 2. p. 76. D. Ὁτι τε ταυτα επoιησεν, εκ των επι Ποντιϑ Πιλατϑ γενομενων αυτῳ μαϑειν δυνασϑε. Ibid. p. 84. C. The former of these refers to his crucifixion, the latter to his working miracles.

[d] Cred. Vol. ii. p. 126.

[e] See this gospel in Jones's Canon, v. 2. p. 322, 401. but particularly from p. 370, 396.

written down. Now, as Mr. Jones observes,[f] this is no other than Lucius Charinus. They are said indeed to be the names of the two sons of Simeon; but every one knows they are not Hebrew, but Greek or Roman names. Our Leucius seems therefore to have been the first framer of a book of this kind; but there are most certainly in the present copies interpolations or additions to what he originally composed; such as the signing themselves with the sign of the cross before they began to relate the things they had seen: the descent of Jesus into hell to fetch the patriarchs thence: his address to all the saints, commanding them to live by the wood of his cross; and his signing them with the sign of the cross before they were led into Paradise, and many other things of a like sort; all of which strongly savour of the superstition of later ages. This will account for its being said the vision was written down by Lenthius and Charinus. The forger, who lived in after times, probably took this part from a piece of that author; adding to it what appeared proper to accommodate it to his own view of things; so that a great part of it may be justly attributed to our Leucius.

From the form of expression in the beginning of the 27th chapter, Charinus and Lenthius seem to have been but one person,[g] though afterwards, to give the air of a miraculous authenticity to their vision, they are multiplied into two distinct persons, each of which wrote an account of the vision on different papers, one of which was given into the hands of Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel; the other into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph; and, upon comparing them, they were found to be the same verbatim et literatim. But I forbear to enlarge on some other absurdities contained in it: since the whole may be seen in Jones, as before referred to; and both he and Beausobre[h] have made some good observations on its contents.

SECTION XVI.

Two other gospels ascribed to Leucius.

THERE are two other gospels mentioned by Beausobre,[a] as attributed to Leucius. One of which Grabe, in his notes

[f] Jones's Canon. p. 418, 20.
[g] Ego Charinus et Lenthius, Evan. Nic. c. 27. Apud Jones, p. 394, 5.
[h] Jones, ubi sup. p. 402, 430. Beaus. His. de Manich. Vol. i. p. 370, 375.
[a] His. Man. Vol. i. p. 375. n. 3.

on Irenæus,[b] says is preserved in MS. at Oxford. This Beausobre thinks is no other than the gospel of the Infancy already spoken of. Grabe agrees with him: for the passage he quotes from thence proves it plain enough, though it varies a little from the other copy published by Sike.

The other mentioned by Beausobre is the gospel of Peter, which Grabe[c] also assures us is a forgery of Leucius. There was a spurious book under his title, which was mentioned and confuted by Serapion, as hath been already observed.[d] It is also mentioned by Origen in his Commentary on Matthew.[e] Dr. Mill[f] is of the same opinion, that Leucius was the author of it. It appears indeed very probable from Serapion's words, who says[g] that he borrowed it from some of the followers of Marcian, (Marcion,) whom he calls Docetæ, and that they used it. This agrees exactly to the followers of Leucius, who was himself a follower of Marcion, and one of the chief of the Docetæ, and who it is very likely forged this piece under the name of Peter.

Pope Innocent[h] in his decree concerning the canonical books says, that those writings which go under the names of Peter and John, were composed by Leucius, and were apocryphal.

These are all the gospels which I can find ascribed to Leucius, either as the author or interpolator.

[b] Nec non, licet paulo diversum in pseudo-evangelio Leucii, quod MS. hic Oxonii extat in Bibliothecâ C. C. C. ubi capite quomodo Jesus docendus erat literas, hæc leguntur. Et cœpit magister impiose (l. imperiose) eum docere dicendo: Dic Alpha. Jesus vero dixit ei: Tu mihi dic prius, quid sit Beta, et ego dicam tibi quid sit Alpha; et ob hæc magister iratus percussit Jesum, et postquam percussit eum, mortuus est. Ir. L. 1. c. 17. n. 4. p. 86.

[c] Vide p. 521. note [a], of this chapter: or Spic. Pat. T. 1. p. 58.

[d] Vol. ii. p. 264—266. [e] Vide p. 527, note [a], of this chapter.

[f] Eidem porro adscripta sunt ab Innocentio quæ sub Petri nomine exiere. Certe in evangelio κατα Πετρον, notatus est a Serapione, qui de evangelio isto librum edidit, error Δοκητων, cui addictum fuisse Leucium testatur Photius. Prol. p. 37.

[g] Εδυνηθημεν γαρ παρ' αλλων των ασκησαντων αυτο τουτο το ευαγγελιον (Πετρου) τουτέστι παρα των διαδοχων των καταρξαμενων αυτου (Μαρκιανου) ως Δοκητας καλουμεν. Eus. Ec. H. L. 6. c. 12. p. 213. 4. D. A.

[h] Vide p. 529. note [a], of this chap.

SECTION XVII.

Of the traditions of Matthias. It is rather uncertain what they were.

THE traditions of Matthias are supposed by Grabe[a] and Mill[b] to be the same with the gospel of Matthias; and the latter[c] thinks Leucius interpolated these, though he did not forge them. But I cannot agree with them in this point; for I think the decree of Pope Innocent to which Dr. Mill refers, means the gospel of the Nativity of Mary, by the writings under the name of Matthias.[d] Origen[e] and Eusebius[f] probably referred to the same, or to the Nazarene gospel, when they speak of the gospel of Matthias. Ambrose[g] also in all likelihood meant one or other of these. Jerom seems[h] to intend by the gospel of Matthias the gospel of the Nativity; and by a spurious one ascribed to Matthew,[i] if really different from the former, the Nazarene gospel, or that of the twelve apostles. It is mentioned by Gelasius according to some copies, but his words will determine nothing in this dispute.

These traditions of Matthias are mentioned under that

[a] Inter evangelia malâ hæreticorum fide nominibus apostolorum supposita, Matthiæ quoque adscriptum aliquod memorat Eusebius, Lib. 3. His. Eccles. cap. 25. quod idem esse puto cum παραδοσεσι (traditionibus) a Clemente Alexandrino memoratis; quia evangelia scribebantur καθως παρεδοσαν οἱ απ' αρχης αυτοπται και ὑπηρεται γενομενοι τȣ λογȣ. Spic. Pat. sec. 2. T. 2. p. 117.

[b] Mihi sane videntur παραδοσεις istæ ex ore Matthiæ in Judæâ prædicantis initio exceptæ fuisse a christiano quopiam, et in libellum redactæ; cui, ad majorem traditionibus istis auctoritatem conciliandam, apostoli nomen præfixerit auctor, quisquis ille fuerit.—post editionem canonicorum evangeliorum in desuetudinem abiit. Prol. in N. T. sec. 53. p. 7.

[c] Quin et παραδοσεις, Matthiæ a primævorum christianorum aliquo compositas, quod diximus, falsis absurdisque narratiunculis passim interspersit hic ipse impostor, ut ex Innocentio colligimus. Ibid. sec. 337. p. 37.

[d] See p. 529, n. [a], of this chapter.

[e] Scio evangelium———quod appellatur juxta Matthiam, &c. Hom. in Luc. 1. in init.

[f] Ητοι ὡς Πετρȣ και Θωμα και Ματθαια—τȣτȣς εναγγελια περιεχȣσας. His. Ecc. L. 3. c. 25.

[g] Præf. in Com. in Lucam in init.

[h] Quæ a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæresium fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Matthiam. Præf. in Comm. in Matthæum.

[i] In evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaïco Syroque sermone sed Hebraïcis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazaræi, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum. Id. Dial. ad Pelag. l. 3. Ep. 17. in init.

name by Clemens[k] Alexandrinus, and by him only. These Mr. Jones thinks[l] were only oral traditions, and not therefore to be inserted among the forgeries of Leucius, though placed to his account by Dr. Mill, who says he at least interpolated them. Beausobre[m] mentions traditions, as spoken of by Clemens Alexandrinus, in a small piece of his on the first epistle of John; which he imagines to be part of the false or forged Acts of which Leucius was the author, and of which I shall presently take notice. In some copies of the decrees of Gelasius, mention is made of apocryphal Acts under the name of Matthias. These may be the forged Acts of Leucius, to which I proceed.

SECTION XVIII.

Leucius was the author of the forged Acts or Journeyings of the Apostles.

THIS book was called the Acts or Journeyings of the Apostles; and, according to Mill,[a] it contained the Acts of Peter, of John, of Andrew, and of Thomas. The Acts of Peter are mentioned by Eusebius,[b] by Athanasius,[c] or whoever was the author of the Synopsis attributed to him, by Philaster,[d] by Jerom,[e] and by Epiphanius.[f] The Acts of John are mentioned by all the foregoing writers[g] except Jerom. They are also spoken of by Austin.[h] The Acts of Andrew are mentioned by most of the foregoing writers,[i] and by Gelasius in his decree. The Acts of Thomas are spoken of by several of the same persons. The Acts of Paul also

[k] Grabe has inserted two fragments from Clemens. Vide Spic. Pat. sec. 2. T. 2. p. 117. Jones has added three more. Can. N. T. p. 317, 18. Beausobre has inserted another from Cotelerius, which is downright Docetism, and of which probably Leucius was the author. It is likely therefore to have been in the spurious acts or travels of John. Beaus. His. Man. T. 1. p. 383. n. 4.

[l] Jones's Can. N. T. p. 318, 23. [m] See note [k] immediately preceding.

[a] Proleg. in N. T. p. 37.

[b] *Τογε μην των επικεκλημενων αυτε [Πετρε] πραξεων—εδ' ὁλως εν καθολικοις ισμεν παραδιδομενα.* Ecc. His. L. 3. c. 3. p. 72. A.

[c] *Περιοδοι Πετρε—ταυτα εισι—νωθα και αποβλητα.* In Synops. initio.

[d] Actus beati et Petri similiter apostoli. Hær. 87.

[e] In Catal. V. J. in Petro. c. 1. [f] Hær. 30. n. 15. p. 139. B.

[g] Eus. H. E. L. 3. c. 25. Athan. in Synop. init. Phil. H. 87. Epi. H. 47. n. 1. p. 406. A.

[h] Con. Adver. Leg. et Pro. L. 1. c. 20. T. 6. p. 195. c. 1. Opp. Venet.

[i] Eus. H. E. L. 3. c. 25. Phil. Hær. 87. Epiph. Hær. 47. n. 1. 61. n. 1. 63. n. 2.

are mentioned by Origen,[k] and by Eusebius, and Philaster, in the places before referred to.

These all are expressly condemned by Photius,[l] who had perused the books, and asserts, that they plainly spoke their author to be Leucius Charinus. Leucius is thrice said to be the author of them by Austin.[m] Jerom,[n] in the epistle ascribed to him, in answer to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and in the preface to the translation of the gospel of Mary's Nativity, says, Leucius was the author of the spurious Acts of the Apostles. In the three quotations from Austin, it is observable, he is called by three different names. There can therefore be no reason to doubt but the same person and the same books are meant in the decree of Pope Innocent, though he goes by different names.[o] As the author of the Acts of Peter and John he is called Leucius. But as the author of the Acts of Andrew he is increased into two persons, Xenocharides and Leonides, with the title philosophers adjoined. Mr. Jones[p] hath made it appear very probable, that these two names were a corruption of Charinus and Leucius. For as names were written contractedly in the ancient MSS. and as ξενος might be prefixed to denote his strange doctrines being used by the fathers in that sense, an ignorant scribe might easily mistake, and change the words ξενος and χρ's, the contracted way of writing χαρινος, into ξενοχαριδες. And Leonides is not further from Leucius than Leontius and Lenticius are from one another. Though the same person is undoubtedly meant in Austin by these two names.[q]

[k] De Prin. L. i. c. 2. Comm. in Joan. T. 21. opp. vel T. 2. p. 298. Huet.

[l] Ανεγνωσθη βιβλιον, αἱ λεγομεναι των Αποστολων Περιοδοι, εν αἱς περιειχοντο πραξεις Πετρε, Ιωαννε, Ανδρεε, Θωμα, Παυλε. Γραφει δε αυτας, ὡς δηλοι το αυτο βιβλιον, Λευκιος Χαρινος. Cod. 114.

[m] Attendite in actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit. De Fid. Con. Man. c. 38. T. 6. opp. F. 186. c. 4. Ven.

In actibus conscriptis a Lenticio (l. Leucio) quos, tanquam actus apostolorum, scribit. Act. cum Fel. Mani. L. 2. c. 6. T. 6. opp. F. 165. c. 1, 2. Ven.

In actibus etiam conscriptis a Leontio, (l. Leucio,) De Fide, &c. c. 5. The same person and the same book is here referred to; for exactly the same words are quoted from this spurious piece in the two last references.

[n] Sed factum est a——Leucio, qui etiam apostolorum gesta conscripsit. Hieron. Op. T. 5. p. 445. Vel P. 2. Tr. 2. Ep. 24. fol. 38. Quidam namque Leucius, qui passiones apostolorum conscripsit. Ibid. p. 25. F. 38, 39. Vel ep. 82. fol. 140.

[o] Cætera, quæ sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Nexocharide (l. Xenocharide) et Leonide philosophis, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. Inno. Ap. ad Exup. 3. c. 7. Ep. Con. Lab. T. 2. p. 1256.

[p] Jones's Canon, vol. i. p. 309, 310.

[q] See above, note [m].

SECTION XIX.

Some account of the contents of this book.

THIS book of the Acts or Journeyings of the Apostles, contained a number of idle, ridiculous stories; one of which is given in the margin [a] from Austin, or whoever was the author of the book of De Fide. One part of the story seems to be the interpolation of some one after Leucius, for he who was in some sort of the sect of the Encratites could never approve of the prostitution of a christian servant to a heathen husband, instead of the wife. That he might insert something concerning the scruples of Maximilla, is consistent with his avowed principles, and therefore not improbable.

In the commentaries which go under the name of Clement of Alexandria, these Journeyings of the Apostles are probably referred to, and a passage cited from them, [b] which says that John, attempting to touch the body of Christ, perceived no hardness of the flesh, and met with no resistance from it, but thrust his hand into the inner part. This is perfectly agreeable to the opinion of Leucius, who was one of the chief of the Docetæ.

[a] Qualia sint quæ accipitis de Maximillâ, uxore Egetis, quæ cum nollet marito debitum reddere, cum apostolus dixerit uxori vir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor viro, illa supposuerit marito suo ancillam suam, Eucliam nomine, exornans eam, sicut ibi scriptum est, adversariis lenociniis et fucationibus, et eam nocte pro se vicariam supponens, ut ille nesciens cum eâ, tanquam cum uxore, concumberet. De Fide, T. 6. opp. F. 187. 1, 2.

[b] Cum quo consentiunt fabulosæ illæ traditiones citatæ in commentariolis quæ sub Clementis Alexandrini nomine prodierunt ad 1 Joh. i. dum in iis fertur Johannes, corpus externum Christi tangendo, manum suam in profunda misisse, duritiâ carnis nullo modo ei reluctante, sed locum manui præbente discipuli. Cotel. notæ in Ign. Ep. ad Smyrnæ. p. 37. n. 7. Ed. Cleric.*

* I cannot help observing here, that this epistle to the Smyrneans proves that the word *δαιμονια* was used by the primitive christians for the souls of dead men. For Christ says, after his resurrection, to Peter, and those who were with him, Handle me and see, for I am not *δαιμονιον ασωματον*, a human soul raised from the dead without a body. Epis. ad Smyr. p. 34. 5. Ed. Cleri. See before, sect. 14. p. 94—97.

SECTION XX.

These forgeries prove the truth of the canonical scriptures.

ONE obvious conclusion to be drawn from this long account of the forgeries of Leucius is, that the scriptures of the New Testament, particularly the gospels and Acts of the Apostles, were then received with distinguished respect, and regarded as writings of great authority; otherwise he would not have thought of publishing books under the names of the evangelists and apostles.

Besides, these forged writings do not oppose, but confirm, the general account given us in the canonical scriptures. They all take for granted the dignity of our Lord's person, and his power of working miracles; they acknowledge the certainty of there having been such persons as Matthew and the other evangelists: and Peter and the other apostles. They authenticate the general and leading facts contained in the New Testament. They presuppose that the apostles received from Christ a commission to propagate his religion, and a supernatural power to enforce its authority. And thus they indirectly establish the truth and divine original of the gospel.

CHAP. XII.

OF APELLES.

PART I. *His history.*

SECTION I. *Of his time.*

APELLES is not in Irenæus nor Clement of Alexandria. Nevertheless several ancient authors have spoken of him. He is often mentioned by Tertullian in his books against Marcion, and elsewhere. Tertullian published a treatise

against his[a] followers; but it is not extant. Apelles is also mentioned several times by [b] Origen.

Apelles is spoken of by Basnage[c] in the year 141. Tillemont thinks he lived about[d] the year 180. Cave placeth him[e] at the year 188. As Apelles was acquainted with Marcion, and[f] was an old man in Rhodon's time, who flourished[g] about the year 190, I think we may place him at about 160.

SECTION II.

Of his connexion with Philumene.

APELLES was at first[a] a disciple of Marcion; but he made some alteration in his system, as we are assured by several. Tertullian[b] and others say it was owing to instructions which he received from Philumene, a virgin, who pretended to prophetic illuminations. And it is sometimes said, particularly by Tertullian, that[c] Apelles was guilty of some

[a] Et hoc suo loco tractavimus. Nam est nobis adversus illos libellus. De Carne Christi, c. 8. p. 365. D. vel 303. Fra. 1597.

[b] Et Marciones quidem, et Basilides, et Valentiniani, et Apelleiani, et Ophitæ, multum a propositâ errant viâ, qui omnino contraria sapiunt veritati. Orig. Comm. in Matt. T. 3. p. 852. D.

[c] Ex scholâ Marcionis multæ sectæ prodierunt: unius autem caput fuit Apelles, a virgine quâdam dæmoniacâ, nomine Philumene, in errorem inducitur. Ann. Pol. Ecc. An. 141. n. 4. p. 88.

[d] Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Marcionites, art. x. [e] Hist. Lit. T. 1.

[f] Vide Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 13. [g] See Credib. Vol. ii. p. 324.

[a] Credunt aliqui Marcioni. Sed non est discipulus supra magistrum. Hoc et meminisse debuerat Apelles, Marcionis de discipulo emendator. Tertul. adv. M. L. 4. cap. 17. p. 529. A. vel 421. 50.

Quasi non eâdem licentiâ hæreticâ et ipse potuisset, aut admissâ carne nativitatem negare, ut Apelles discipulus, et postea desertor ipsius. De Carne Christi, c. 1. p. 358. B. vel 298. 18. Vide et Epiph. H. 44. n. 1.

[b] Providerat et tum spiritus sanctus futurum in virgine quâdam Philumene angelum seductionis transfigurantem se in angelum lucis, cujus signis et præstigiis Apelles inductus novam hæresim induxit. De Pr. Hær. c. 6. p. 232. C. p. 202. 49.

[c] Si et Apellis stemma retractandum est, tam non vetus et ipse, quam Marcion institutor et præformator ejus. Sed lapsus in feminam, desertor continentiæ Marcionensis, ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit. Inde post annos regressus non melior, nisi quâ jam tantum non Marcionites, in alteram feminam impegit, illam virginem Philumenen, quam supra edidimus, postea vero immane prostibulum et ipsam, cujus energemate circumventus, quas ab eâ didicit Phaneroses scripsit. De Pr. c. 30. p. 242. B. p. 209. 35. Pervenimus igitur———a Marcione ad Apellem, qui postea quam a disciplinâ Marcionis in mulierem carne lapsus, dehinc in virginem Philumenem spiritu eversus est. De C. Christi, c. 6. p. 362. C. D. p. 301. 10.

act of sensuality contrary to the strictness of the Marcionite institution; but what it was is not clearly [d] said: if it had been fornication, it would have been said plainly. We might therefore be led to think that Apelles had married, but even that is not certain; yea, there is some evidence to the contrary, as may appear hereafter.

SECTION III.

No foundation for the story of his incontinence.

BEAUSOBRE says, there [a] are good reasons to suspect that story to be false. One reason is, the testimony given to Apelles by Rhodon in Eusebius, who says, that [b] he was venerable for his age and abstemious course of life. Rhodon, who had a conference with Apelles, and confuted him, would not have spoken thus of a man who lay under the charge of shameful conduct. Secondly, in all probability the woman intended is [c] Philumene, that fanatical virgin who affected to be thought a prophetess, and who, as is said, persuaded Apelles that the Old Testament was not a divine revelation. Thirdly, St. Jerom contents himself with saying, that [d] Apelles had Philumene an associate with him in sentiments; without adding any thing else dishonourable to the one or the other. In short, Tertullian should not have touched this string. Apelles was as good as Montanus; and Philumene equal to Priscilla and Maximilla, his prophetesses.

I beg leave to add, that Rhodon and divers other writers who give an account of Apelles, and speak of Philumene as a visionary woman, and his instructress, say nothing scandalous of either. And farther, according to Tertullian

[d] Hos subsequitur Apelles, discipulus Mareionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est, a Marcione segregatus est. App. ad Tertull. de Pr. c. 51. p. 254. A. p. 217. 23. [a] Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 78, 79.

[b] Απελλης μεν, ὁ τῃ πολιτειᾳ σεμνυνομενος, και τῳ γηρᾳ. Eus. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177. B.

[c] Tertullian speaks of another woman beside Philumene. Nevertheless Cave too understands this affair to relate to Philumene. Erat Alexandriæ puella, Philumene dicta, quæ a dæmone obsessa mira fecit, et responsa tanquam oracula reddidit—hanc puellam adamavit Apelles, et postea compressit. Cav. H. L. p. 85. I do not need to concern myself about that point. But I think I show by the considerations which are above, that these are no sufficient proofs that Apelles was guilty of impurity with any woman whatever.

[d] Apelles Philumenen suarum habuit comitem doctrinarum. Ad. Ctes. T. 4. p. 477. Bened.

himself, [e] Apelles, notwithstanding his differing from Marcion in some respects, still continued to condemn marriage: which makes me think that Apelles never married; and, therefore, very probably, never did any thing worse than marrying. Such a behaviour must have been loudly censured by all ecclesiastical writers in general. It could not be omitted by any. For Tertullian's hints relate to something, supposed to be done after Apelles was become a scholar of Marcion; not something done in very early life, but after mature age: which renders it less likely to be omitted by any writers of heresies, if indeed any thing very scandalous had been done by him. What therefore is said of Marcion's displeasure against Apelles, in all likelihood ought to be understood of some difference of opinion, and of Apelles having erected a new sect; and having drawn several of Marcion's disciples into his scheme, and that by the assistance of the virgin Philumene, who is often spoken of as a woman pretending to inspiration. To the passages already referred to, or quoted, others[f] might be added. But I do not think it proper to put down here the silly story about her, as it is in some edition of Augustine's book of heresies; especially since the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine have openly and justly declared it to be wanting in the MSS. of that father's works, and a late addition.

SECTION IV.

Unjustly accused of discouraging inquiry.

IT is sometimes said, that [a] Apelles was against all inquiries concerning things of religion: which seems very unlikely. And Epiphanius tells us, that Apelles [b] quoted as from the gospels, and, as a saying of our Saviour, that advice, "Be ye good money-changers." Wherefore, says Apelles, we should endeavour to collect what is good

[e] Timotheum instruens, nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat. Ita instituunt Marcion et Apelles ejus secutor. De Pr. c. 33. p. 243. D. p. 210. 39.

[f] Et angelo quidem illius Philumenes eâdem voce apostolus respondebit—dicens; Etiamsi angelus de cœlis aliter evangelizaverit vobis, quam nos evangelizavimus, anathema sit. De Carn. Chr. c. 6. p. 362. D. p. 301. 13. Æque—ad energema Apelleiacæ virginis Philumenes filium dirigit. Ibid. c. 24. p. 378. A. p. 311. 21.

[a] Fidem denique christianam examini qualicunque subjici noluit. Cav. ibid.

[b] Οὑτως γαρ Ιησους εφη εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ· Γινεσθε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται. Χρωγαρ, φησιν, απο παντης γραφης αναλεγων τα χρησιμα. Ep. H. 43. n. 2. p. 382. B.

from every part of scripture. And Apelles is named by Tertullian[c] among other heretics who recommended inquisitiveness.

That charge, I suppose, is founded upon[d] Rhodon's account of his conference. The case seems to be this: Rhodon pressed Apelles very hard. Apelles answered that the knowledge of God was a very difficult thing; that exactness in matters of an abstruse nature was not of the utmost importance. And supposing him to err in some points, yet he hoped he was not in an unsafe condition. Forasmuch as all who believed in Christ crucified would be saved, if they maintained good works. Here is plainly a testimony to the piety, and, I think, to the charitableness of Apelles's principles: though Rhodon, it must be owned, laughs at him, as believing without reason, and in him whom he did not know. Jerom does the same,[e] speaking of Rhodon: but Philaster gives a different turn to that discourse; and understands Apelles to say[f] that he was under no obligation to show the reasons of his dissent from Marcion, in holding one principle only, whilst he held two. Nor is that interpretation altogether disagreeable to the tenor of Rhodon's account. However, it is very probable that Rhodon thought there was a confusion of ideas in the mind of Apelles.

[c] Ubi enim erit finis quærendi?—Apud Marcionem? Sed Valentinus proponit: Quærite, et invenietis. Apud Valentinum? Sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit. De Pr. c. 10. p. 234. D. p. 204. 23.

[d] *Ὀθεν και εφασκε, μη δειν ὁλως εξεταζειν τον λογον, αλλ ἑκαστον, ὡς πεπιστευκε, διαμενειν· σωθησεσθαι γαρ τους επι τον εσταυρωμενον ηλπικοτας απεφαινετο, μονον εαν εν εργοις αγαθοις εὑρισκωνται· το δε παντων ασαφεστατον εδογματιζετο αυτῳ πραγμα—το περι θεου—το δε πως εστι μια αρχη, μη γινωσκειν ελεγεν. οὑτως δε κινεισθαι μονον—μη επιστασθαι, πως εἰς εστιν αγεννητος Θεος, τουτο δε πιστευειν. Εγω δε, γελασας, κατεγνων αυτου· διοτι, διδασκαλος εινα λεγων, ουκ ηδει το διδασκομενον ὑπ' αυτου κρατυνειν.* Ap. Eus. L. 5. c. 13. p. 177, 178.

[e] Apellem senem, alium hæreticum, a se quondam conventum, et risui habitum, eo quod Deum, quem coleret, ignorare se diceret. De V. L. c. 17.

[f] Fuit Apelles discipulus ejus, similia in quibusdam Marcioni prædicans, qui, interrogatus a quibusdam, quonam modo de fide sentiret, respondit, non mihi opus est discere a Marcione, ut duo principia adseram coæterna. Ego enim unum principium esse prædico. Philast. H. 47. p. 97. edit. Fabr.

SECTION V.

Of his writings.

APELLES was an author. His book, or books, if there were two, seem to have contained questions upon difficult texts of the Old Testament. This may be argued from a quotation in Origen [a] relating to Noah's ark, and from another in St. Ambrose [b] concerning the tree of life in Paradise. And, as it seems, he there argued against the divine original of the ancient scriptures. Both [c] Tertullian and Theodoret [d] intimate that he wrote a book entitled Philumene's Visions, or Prophesy. The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions speaks plainly [e] of two books of Apelles, the Visions of Philumene, and another, which he calls Syllogisms. Rhodon says that [f] Apelles published many, or large writings against the Law of Moses.

SECTION VI.

His country rather uncertain.

I THINK it is not any where said by Tertullian, or Epiphanius, or any other ancient writer, of what country Apelles was. He first became acquainted with Philumene at Alex-

[a] Επιπορων τινες, ει δυναται ἡ τηλικαυτη κιβωτος χωρησαι κἀν το πολλοστον μοριον των επι γης παντων ζωων, και μαλιστα Απελλης, ὁ τυ Μαρκιωνος γνωριμος, και γενομενας ἑτερας αἱρεσεως παρ' εκεινον πατηρ, αθετειν βυλομενος, ὡς ουχ ἁγια τα Μωϋσεως γραμματα· τουτο επαφορησας επιφερει, το, ψευδης αρα ὁ μυθος, ουκ αρα εκ του θεου εγραφη. Orig. in Gen. Hom. 2. Tom. 2. p. 6162.

[b] Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, sicut habes in trigesimo et octavo tomo ejus, has quæstiones proponunt. Quomodo lignum vitæ plus operari videtur ad vitam, quam insufflatio Dei? Ambr. De Paradiso, c. 5. T. 2. p. 155. 4.

[c] Cujus energemate circumventus, quas ab eâ didicit Phaneroses scripsi. De Pr. cap. 30. p. 242. B. 209.—39.

[d] Βιβλιον συνθεις, Φιλουμενης προφητειαν ωνομασε. Theod. H. F. l. 1. c. 25.

[e] Habet præterea privatas, sed extraordinarias lectiones suas, quas appellat Phaneroseis cujusdam puellæ, quam quasi prophetissam sequitur. Habet præterea suos libros, quos inscripsit syllogismorum, in quibus probare vult, quod omnia quæcumque Möyses de Deo scripserit, vera non sint, sed falsa sint. De Pr. cap. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217. 35.

[f] Ὁ γε τοι Απελλης ουτος μυρια κατα του Μωϋσεως ησεβησε νομου, δια πλειονων συγγραμματων του θειου βλασφημησας λογους. Ap. Eus. p. 178. B. C.

andria. But that does not appear to have been the place either of his nativity, or ordinary residence. Rhodon, who had a conference with Apelles in his old age, was[x] of Asia. I think it probable therefore that Apelles was of the same country likewise.

This may suffice for the history of Apelles; let us now observe his peculiar principles.

PART II.

Of his peculiar principles.

SECTION VII.

He believed one first principle, who created another inferior deity.

IT has been already hinted that Apelles differed from Marcion in several things: for, as Rhodon says, he[a] believed one principle. Again: 'He[b] held one principle, as our religion teaches.'

Epiphanius says, more at large: 'Apelles[c] taught that 'there is one God, perfectly good, and one principle, and 'one power ineffable, or without a name: that this holy and 'good God, who is over all, made one other god who made 'heaven and earth, and all things in this world.' I put in the margin[d] that part of Philaster's article of Apelles which relates to this point. Tertullian often speaks of that inferior deity of Apelles, who made the world, who was only a[e] glo-

[x] Eus. p. 177. A.

[a] Μιαν αρχην ὁμολογει. Ap. Eus. p. 177. B.

[b] Ελεγε γαρ μιαν αρχην, καθως και ἡμετερος λογος. Ib. D.

[c] Φασκει γεν Απελλης, και οἱ απ' αυτε, ὁτι εκ εισι τρεις αρχαι, ετε δυο, ὡς τοις περι Λεκιανον και Μαρκιωνα εδοξεν· αλλα φησιν, εἱς εστιν αγαθος Θεος, και μια αρχη, και μια δυναμις ακατονομαστος—ὁ αυτος ἁγιος Θεος και αγαθος, ὁ ανωθεν Θεος και αγαθος εποιησεν ἑνα αλλον Θεον· ὁ δε γενομενος αλλος Θεος εκτισε τα παντα, ερανον και γην, και παντα τα εν τῳ κοσμῳ. Hær. 44. N. 1. p. 381. A.

[d] Ego enim unum principium esse prædico, quem Deum cognosco, qui Deus fecit angelos. Fecit etiam alteram virtutem, quem Deum scio esse secundum, qui et virtus Dei est, quæ fecit illum. Hic autem Deus, qui fecit mundum, non est, inquit, bonus, ut ille qui fecit illum. Subjectus autem est Deo illi, a quo et factus est iste, qui et nutui et jussioni et præceptis paret illius in omnibus. Cujus Ariani nunc consortes sunt atque fautores, sic prædicantes atque sentientes. Ph. H. 47. p. 48.

[e] Apelles creatorem, angelum nescio quem gloriosum superioris Dei, faceret

rious angel and the god of the Jewish people. Nor is that particular omitted by the author[f] of the Additions to Tertullian's Book of Prescriptions.

That inferior deity, or angel, is spoken of by Tertullian,[g] in a passage already transcribed, and by[h] Theodoret, as a fiery being.

SECTION VIII.

Believed that the difference of sex depended on the soul.

OF that[a] fiery angel bringing souls into bodies Tertullian speaks in a passage which I place below. He likewise affirms, that[b] Apelles believed souls to have sexes, or at least that bodies derived their sexes from the souls that animated them.

SECTION IX.

Was not a Docete in opinion concerning the body of Christ.

OF his opinion concerning Christ Epiphanius writes after this manner: 'He[x] also says, that in the last times Christ

Deum Legis et Israëlis, illum igneum affirmans. De Pr. c. 34. p. 244. B. 211. 7. Sed quoniam et isti Apelleiani carnis ignominiam prætendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo præside mali——adstructam——Angelum quendam inclytum nominant, qui mundum hunc instituerit, et instituto eo pœnitentiam admiserit. De Carne Chr. cap. 8. p. 365. D. 303. 15. Futile et frivolum illud corpusculum, quod malum denique appellare non horrent, etsi angelorum fuisset operatio, ut Menandro et Marco placet; etsi ignei alicujus exstructio, æque angeli, ut Apelles docet. Ter. de Resur. Carn. c. 5. p. 382. B. 316. 11.

[f] Hic introducit unum Deum ———hunc potestates multas, angelosque fecisse, præterea et aliam virtutem, quam dominum dicit, et angelum ponit. Hoc vult videri mundum institutum ad imitationem mundi superioris; cui mundo permiscuisse pœnitentiam, quia non illum tam perfecte fecisset, quam ille superior mundus institutus fuisset. De Pr. cap. 51. p. 254. A. 217. 25.

[g] See above, note [e].

[h] Τοις τϑ Μαρκιωνος αγεννητοις και ἑτερον προστεθεικε πνρινον. Theod. H. F. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 211. D.

[a] Apelles solicitatas refert animas terrenis escis de supercœlestibus sedibus ab igneo angelo, Deo scilicet Israëlis et nostro, qui exinde illis peccatricem circumfinxit carnem. De Animâ, cap. 23. p. 325. B. 275. 8. See note [e] second passage.

[b] Quoniam et Apelles, non pictor, sed hæreticus, ante corpora constituens animas viriles ac muliebres, sicut ab Philumenâ didicit. Utique carnem, ut posteriorem, ab animâ facit accipere sexum. Ibid. c. 36. p. 339. D. 284. 39.

[x] Ὑιον οντα τϑ ανω αγαϑϑ ϑεϑ, και το ἁγιον αυτϑ πνευμα—Και ελθοντα ϑ

'was manifested, being the Son of the good God and his 'Holy Spirit. He came for the salvation of those who should 'believe in him. Nor was he in appearance only, but had 'flesh really, though not from the Virgin Mary: for, as he 'descended from the supercelestial places to this earth, he 'collected to himself a body out of the four elements. Hav-'ing thus formed to himself a body, he really appeared in 'this world, and taught men the knowledge of heavenly 'things. And he says that Jesus was really crucified, and 'afterwards showed that very flesh to his disciples. As he 'ascended he returned his body to the elements, from which 'he took it, and returned to heaven.'

That account is very agreeable to Tertullian, who says that Apelles[b] and divers of Marcion's disciples left him so far. They allowed that Jesus Christ had flesh truly, though 'he was not born of a woman.' That opinion, as well as most other peculiarities of Apelles, is ascribed[c] to the teachings of Philumene.

He believed then that Christ was not a mere phantom, but had really a body; not born however, but composed and formed to himself out of aerial matter, as he descended from heaven. So Tertullian in the places already cited; as in like manner the[d] author of the Additions to his book of Prescriptions; and as Philaster says, 'according[e] to him

δοκησει πεφηνεναι, αλλα εν αληθειᾳ σαρκα ειληφεναι—εδωκεν ὁ Χριστος ἑαυτον παθειν εν αυτῳ τῳ σωματι, και εσταυρωθη εν αληθειᾳ, και εδειξεν αυτην την σαρκα τοις ἑαυτου μαθηταις. H. 44. cap. 2. p. 381, 382.

[b] Sed quidam discentes Pontici illius, supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem, sine præjudicio tamen renuendæ nativitatis. Habuerit, inquiunt, carnem, dum omnino non natam. Pervenimus igitur —a Marcione ad Apellem, qui posteaquam a disciplinâ Marcionis in mulierem carne lapsus, dehinc in virginem Philumenen, spiritu eversus est, solidum Christi corpus, sed sine nativitate, suscepit ab eâ prædicare—Confitentur vere corpus habuisse Christum. Unde materia? Unde caro, si non nata? De sideribus, inquiunt, et de substantiis superioris mundi mutuatus est carnem. Et utique proponunt, non esse mirandum corpus sine nativitate, cum et apud nos angelis licuerit, nullâ uteri operâ, in carnem processisse. De Carne Christi, c. 6. p. 362. C. D. 301. 10.

[c] Nam et Philumene illa magis persuasit Apelli, cæterisque desertoribus Marcionis, ex fide quidem Christum circumtulisse carnem, nullius tamen nativitatis, utpote de elementis mutuatam. Adv. Mar. l. 3. cap. 11. p. 486. A. 391. 13.

[d] Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut Marcion, neque in substantiâ veri corporis, ut evangelium docet; sed, eo quod a superioribus partibus descenderit, ipso descensu sideream sibi carnem et aeream contexuisse: hunc resurrectione singulis quibusque elementis, quæ in descensu suo mutuata fuissent, in ascensu reddidisse, et sic, dispersis quibusque corporis sui partibus, in cœlum spiritum tantum rediisse. cap. 51. p. 254. A. 217. 29.

[e] Dicit autem Christum in carne apparuisse, non tamen sicut Valentinus de cœlo carnem desumsisse—Sed de quatuor elementis. cap. 47. p. 99.

'Christ had flesh, and that not brought from heaven, as Va-'lentinus, but formed out of the four elements.'

In support of that opinion, that Jesus was not born, Apelles, as well as others, laid hold of those words of our Lord, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?" as Tertullian[f] informs us, and at the same time confutes their reasonings.

In his ascension to heaven Christ restored his body to the stars, or the elements, from whence he had taken it. So Epiphanius, as before quoted, and other authors. Thus we have seen the opinion of Apelles concerning Christ. Origen[g] takes notice of a particular which must have been a consequence of rejecting Moses and the ancient prophets, that Apelles said, 'Jesus was the only person who ever came from God.'

SECTION X.

He denied the resurrection of the body.

EPIPHANIUS adds: 'He[a] denies also the resurrection of 'the dead; and in other things he agrees with his master 'Marcion.' That Apelles denied the resurrection of the body or the flesh is very probable; and Tertullian[b] and others[c] confirm the account.

[f] Sed quoties de nativitate contenditur, omnes qui respuunt eam, ut præjudicantem de carnis in Christo veritate, ipsum Deum volunt negare esse natum, quod dixerit: Quæ mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres? Audiat igitur Apelles, quid jam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni, eo libello quo ad evangelium provocavimus—Primo quidem nunquam quisquam adnuntiâsset illi matrem et fratres ejus foris stare, qui non certus esset, et habere illum matrem et fratres, et ipsos esse quos tunc nuntiabat. De Carne Christi, cap. 7. p. 364. A. B. 302. 11.

[g] Ὁτι Απελλης———μυθον ἡγεμενος ειναι τα Ιεδαιων γραμματα. φησιν, ὁτι μονος ὑτος επιδεδημηκε τῳ γενει ανθρωπων——Λεγοντα μονον επιδεδημηκεναι τον Ιησην απο τ θεε τοις ανθρωποις. Cont. Cels. lib. 5. 54. p. 619. 4. p. 267. Cantab.

[a] Φασκων μη ειναι αναστασιν νεκρων. Ibid. n. 4. p. 383. B.

[b] Partem ejus usurpat Marcion, et Apelles, et Valentinus, et ii qui ab eis resurrectionem carnis infringunt. De Pr. H. cap. 33. p. 243. D. p. 210. 37. Vide et de Carn. Chr. cap. 1. p. 358. 298.

[c] Hic carnis resurrectionem negat——Animarum solarum dicit salutem. De Pr. c. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217. 33. Quæ caro mundo reddidit, cum sine carne resurgens. August. Hær. 23. Ait etiam post passionem non carnem surrexisse, sed de quatuor elementis quæ de mundo acceperat, eaque in terram dimisisse ipsum in cœlum sine carne ascendisse asserit. Philas. Hær. 41.

However, Apelles, as we have seen,[d] allowed that Christ rose again from the dead. And he says[e] he showed that very flesh in which he had been crucified to his disciples. Nevertheless, that is no proof of the resurrection of the flesh, or the bodies of others, or that any thing beside the human soul should be saved. For, according to him,[f] Christ was not born, nor was his body like ours, though real and solid, or substantial. His body consisted of aerial, ethereal particles, not such gross matter as that of our bodies, of which Apelles had[g] a very low opinion.

I think it worth while to transcribe, and place at the bottom of the page, a long passage of Jerom[h] relating to this point, which some of my readers will see with pleasure.

PART III.

What scriptures he received.

SECTION XI.

In other matters he generally agreed with Marcion.

ÉPIPHANIUS says, that in other things Apelles agreed with Marcion. It is therefore somewhat probable, that he

[d] See the last quotations from Austin and Philaster.

[e] See sect. ix. note [a].

[f] Satis esse debuerat ad probationem carnis humanæ in Christo, per defensionem nativitatis. Sed quoniam et isti Apelleiaci carnis ignominiam prætendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo præside mali solicitatis animabus adstructam, et idcirco indignam Christo, et idcirco de sideribus illi substantiam competisse, debeo illos de suâ paraturâ repercutere. De Carne Christi, c. 8. p. 365. D. p. 303, 14.

[g] Futile et frivolum illud corpusculum, quod malum denique appellare non horrent,—etsi ignei alicujus cxstructio, æque angeli, ut Apelles docet. De Res. Carn. cap. 5. p. 382. B. p. 316. 11.

[h] Dicit Origenes in pluribus locis, et maxime in libro de resurrectione quarto, et in expositione primi Psalmi, et in Stromatibus, duplicem errorem versari in ecclesiâ; nostrorum, et hæreticorum—Hæc nos innocentes et rusticos dicere; hæreticos vero, in quorum parte sunt Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus—penitus carnis et corporis resurrectionem negare, et salutem tantum tribuere animæ, frustraque nos dicere ad exemplum domini resurrecturos, quum ipse quoque dominus in phantasmate resurrexerit; et non solum resurrectio ejus, sed et ipsa nativitas τῳ δοκειν, id est, putative, visa magis ait quam fuerit. Sibi autem utramque displicere sententiam; fugere se et nostrorum carnes, et hæreticorum phantasmata. Ad Pamm. Ep. 38. [al. 61.] Tom. 4. p. 320. et ap. Orig. T. 1. p. 36. ed. Bened.

continued to condemn marriage, as before argued from Tertullian. Nor do I remember that any ancient writers have observed Apelles to have made any alteration in Marcion's scheme upon this head.

We now at length come to his sentiments about the scriptures.

SECTION XII.

Did not pay any great regard to the Old Testament.

HOW far Apelles rejected the Old Testament may be disputed. Rhodon in Eusebius says, that[a] Philumene by her visions persuaded Apelles to reject the Old Testament. He likewise tells us,[b] that Apelles said that the prophets were full of contrarieties and contradictions, and therefore confuted themselves. Origen, in his books against Celsus, says[c] much the same. But in his comments upon the epistle to Titus, as cited by Pamphilus,[d] he expresseth himself more favourably, and supposeth that there was a good harmony between the supreme God, and him who made the world, and was the god of Israel, and of the law and the prophets. Nor is Philaster[e] very different upon that head. The author of the Appendix to Tertullian's Prescriptions says,[f] he rejected the law and the prophets. Moreover it appears, from what was before said of the writings of Apelles, that they were designed to show the difficulties of the Old Testament, if not totally to overthrow its authority.

[a] Τας δε προφητειας εξ αντικειμενε λεγει πνευματος πειθομενος αποφθεγμασι παρθενε δαιμονωσης, ονομα Φιλεμενης. Ap. Eus. p. 177. B.

[b] Εφη, τας μεν προφητειας εαυτας ελεγχειν, δια το μηδεν ὁλως αληθες ειρηκεναι· ασυμφωναι γαρ ὑπαρχεσι και ψευδεις, και εαυταις αντικειμεναι. p. 178. A.

[c] Ὁτι ὁ Μαρκιωνος γνωριμος, Απελλης, αἱρεσεως τινος γενομενος πατηρ, και μυθον ἡγεμενος ειναι τα Ιεδαιων γραμματα——κ. λ. Contr. Cels. lib. 4. cap. 54. p. 619. A. Tom. 1. Bened. p. 267. Can.

[d] Sed et Apelles, licet non omnibus modis Dei esse legem deneget et prophetas, tamen et ipse hæreticus designatur, quoniam Deum, qui hunc mundum condidit, ad gloriam alterius ingeniti et boni Dei eum construxisse pronuntiavit; illum autem ingenitum Deum in consummatione seculi misisse Jesum Christum ad emendationem mundi, rogatum ab eo Deo qui eum fecerat, ut mitteret filium suum ad mundi sui correctionem. Pamph. pro Origen. Ap. ap. Hieron. T. 5. 226. B.

[e] See above, p. 544. note [c].

[f] Legem et prophetas repudias. c. 51. p. 254. A. p. 217. 29.

SECTION XIII.

His sentiments about the New Testament probably not very different from Marcion's.

WITH regard to the New Testament, as Apelles was a disciple of Marcion, and ancient writers do not take any particular notice of his dissenting from his master about the canon of the New Testament, it may be argued, that upon this head the sentiments of both were much alike. Let us however observe a few particulars.

The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions says, that 'Apelles[x] received the apostle Paul 'only, and him not entire.' But that must be a mistake, or misrepresentation, and deserves little or no regard. Apelles certainly received some gospel, if not all the gospels, as well as Paul's epistles: though perhaps all of them curtailed and altered after the manner of Marcion.

SECTION XIV.

It is likely that he rejected the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, as well as that of St. Luke.

AS Apelles denied the nativity of Jesus, it is likely that he rejected the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, if he received the other part of it, and also those chapters from the beginning of St. Luke's gospel that Marcion did.

Origen,[a] in a letter to his friends at Alexandria, joins Marcion and Apelles together in a censure, for altering the gospels and the apostle, or both parts of the New Testament; though perhaps his words do not necessarily imply that Apelles followed Marcion in every alteration of scripture. However, as we have only a Latin version of that epistle, we must not be too nice in our remarks.

Tertullian, in a passage where he censures Marcion,

[x] Solo utitur et apostolo, sed Marcionis, id est, non toto. cap. 51. p. 254. B. p. 217. 34.

[a] Videte, quali purgatione disputationem nostram purgavit: tali nempe, quali purgatione Marcion evangelia purgavit vel apostolum, vel quali successor ejus post ipsum Apelles. Orig. Ep. Tom. 1. p. 6. B.

Valentinus, and Apelles, for a wrong usage of scriptures, speaks of Apelles as[b] removing the ancient bounds; though the meaning of that expression is not easily determined with exactness.

In their argument against our Lord's nativity, from his saying, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?" and in Tertullian's answer, it is supposed that they did receive a gospel or gospels where that account is recorded. Of this I took notice formerly.[c]

SECTION XV.

He treated the scriptures just as Marcion did, by receiving part, and rejecting what did not suit his purpose.

I ADD here another passage of Tertullian[a] in the margin, relating to the same matter, and supposing, I think, that Apelles treated the scriptures of the New Testament much after the same manner that Marcion did.

Tertullian too mentions an[b] interpretation which the followers of Apelles gave of the lost sheep in the parable. In other places he supposes their respect[c] for some of St. Paul's epistles.

Epiphanius, in his history of Apelles, and in his confutation of him, quotes freely[d] St. John's gospel, the Acts of the Apostles,[e] and several of St. Paul's epistles. He also refers to St. Mark's and[f] the other gospels. At the same time he[g] chargeth him with taking or leaving what he liked: 'which,' he says, 'is acting like a judge, not like an interpreter of scripture.'

[b] Ad quos merito dicendum est: qui estis? quando, et unde venistis—Quo denique, Marcion, jure silvam meam cædis? Quâ licentiâ, Valentine, fontes meos transvertis. Quâ potestate, Apelles, limites meos commoves. De Pr. c. 37. p. 245. D. p. 212. 3. [c] See before, in the account of Marcion, sec. xxxvii.

[a] Eodem sensu denique et illi exclamationi respondit; non matris uterum et ubera negans, sed feliciores designans, qui verbum Dei audiunt. Solis istis capitulis, quibus maxime instructi sibi videntur Marcion et Apelles, secundum veritatem integri et incorrupti evangelii interpretatis, satis esse debuerat, ad probationem carnis humanæ in Christo, per defensionem nativitatis. De Carn. Christ. cap. 7, 8. p. 365. D. p. 303. 11.

[b] Cum angelum etiam de figurâ erraticæ ovis interpretentur. De Carn. Christ. cap. 8. p. 366. A. 303. 21. [c] Vide De Carn. Christ. cap. 6. p. 362. D. p. 301. 13. De Pr. H. cap. 33. p. 243. D. p. 210. 33. et passim.

[d] H. 44. n. 5. 384. [e] Ibid. notes 5, 6, p. 386.

[f] Ὡς εχει και το τυ Μαρκυ ευαγγελιον, και των αλλων ευαγγελιστων. Ibid n. 6. p. 386. C. [g] Ει δε και ἁ βυλει λαμβανεις απο της θειας γραφης, και ἁ βυλει καταλιμπανεις, αρα γυν κριτης προκαθισας, ουχ ἑρμηνευτης των νομων, κ. λ. n. 5. p. 384. D. 385. A.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE SETHIANS.

SECTION I.

Some general observations concerning these heretics, and the Ophites and Cainites.

TILLEMONT speaks of the Cainites[a] under the article of the Nicolaitans. He joins[b] together the Ophites and Sethians. He says 'the heretics called Ophites descend, as to 'their doctrine, from the Nicolaitans and Gnostics.' They are reckoned not to have appeared till after the Heracleonites and some other branches of the Valentinians: therefore we cannot place their rise before the year 150, nor much later, since they were known to Irenæus. So he.

Irenæus, at the conclusion of his first book, has two chapters, the first of Ophites and Sethians, whom he joins together; the other of the Cainites. The former is long, and he there seems to design we[c] should think them all sprung from the Valentinians; and yet, in the following chapter of the Cainites, he speaks as if the Valentinians had sprung from them.[d] A large part of his long chapter of the Ophites and Sethians is very obscure; for which reason I shall not attempt to translate or transcribe it; but by and by I shall take out of it several particulars.

The[e] Cainites, or Cainists, and Ophians, are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria. He gives no distinct account of them, but says, that 'some heretics are denominated from 'their opinions, or the objects of their veneration, as the 'Cainists and Ophians.'

Philaster has three chapters of Ophites, Cainites, and Sethians. They are placed by him among the heresies before Christ, and are the very first in his catalogue. Nor has he any thing that might lead us to think them christians; except that in the article of the Sethians he says, 'they

[a] Mem. Ec. Tom. 2. p. 47. Paris.

[b] Ibid. p. 288.

[c] Tales quidem secundum eos sententiæ sunt; a quibus multiplex captibus fere de Valentini scholâ generata est. lib. 1. cap. 30. [al. 34.] n. 15. p. 112. Vide et c. 31. [al. 35.] n. 3. p. 113.

[d] A talibus matribus, et patribus, et proavis, eos qui a Valentino sint, sicut ipsæ sententiæ et regulæ ostendunt eos. cap. 31. n. 3. p. 113.

[e] Αἱ δε απο ὑποθεσεων, και ὡν τετιμηκασιν, ὡς Καϊανιτ̃αι τε και οἱ Οφιανοι προσαγορευομενοι. Stir. lib. 7. p. 765. C.

'[f] not only said that the Christ descended from Seth, but 'also that he was Seth himself.'

In Epiphanius, and in Augustine, who follows him, the order is Ophites, Cainites, and Sethians. The author of the Additions to Tertullian observes the same order, and has a long article of each. Theodoret joins the Sethians and Ophites, and then has a distinct article for Cainites.

SECTION II.

Epiphanius's account of the Sethians.

HAVING given this general view of the most ancient catalogues of heresies, where these people are mentioned, I choose to begin with the Sethians; and Epiphanius's account shall be our text.

He says: 'neither the Sethians nor the former heresy of 'the Cainites are to be met with every where.' He[a] thinks however that he had seen some of them in Ægypt: but he could not recollect in what part of it.

'The[b] Sethians,' he says, 'boast that they are descendants 'of Seth, the son of Adam, whom they mightily extol, say-'ing that he was an example of righteousness and every 'virtue. They also call him Christ, and say he is the same 'as Jesus. They say that the world was made by angels, 'and not by the supreme power.' Let us go over these things.

SECTION III.

They called themselves the descendants of Seth.

THEY said they were descendants of Seth the son of Adam. In which there is nothing wonderful; for so are all men

[f] De Seth autem ipso Christum Dominum genus deducere aiunt. Quidam autem ex iis non solum genus de eo deducere, sed etiam ipsum Christum esse asserunt atque opinantur. p. 11, 12.

[a] *Ταχα δε οιμαι εν τῃ των Αιγυπτιων χωρᾳ συντετυχηκεναι και ταυτῃ τῃ αἱρεσει· ϐ γαρ ακριϐως την χωραν μεμνημαι, εν ᾗ αυτοις συνετυχον.* H. 39. n. 1. i. p. 284.

[b] *Οὗτοι—απο Σηθ—σεμνυνονται το γενος καταγειν· αυτον δε δοξαζϐσι, και εις αυτον παντα, ὁσαπερ αρετης, αναφερϐσι. κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 284. B.

living since the flood. But they boasted that they were the children of Seth; meaning thereby, probably, that they were the children or people of God, not the children of Cain, who was of the evil one,[a] nor the seed of the evil one, or men of the world. In this referring, it is likely, to divers texts in the books of[b] Genesis and Numbers. For the Sethians[c] being, as seems probable, Hebrews by descent, and christians by profession, and well acquainted with the Jewish scriptures, were oftentimes led to speak of themselves in this manner. So Rhenford understood this, whose reasonings appear to have a great deal of probability.[d]

SECTION IV.

They spoke of Seth in a very honourable manner.

THEY ascribed all virtues to Seth; nor can any say that they did so without reason.

They likewise called him Christ, and said he was the same as Jesus. In what they said of Seth it is likely they had a reference to Gen. iii. 15, and iv. 25. But here is probably some mistake, or misrepresentation; for, as we shall see presently, they say Christ was descended from Seth.

[a] 1 John iii. 12. [b] See Gen. iii. 15. iv. 25, and 26. Numb. xxiv. 17.

[c] Nempe illud 'filii Sethi,' in vaticinio Bileami, Num. xxiv. 17. 'Ecclesiam vel fideles' notat, quos Messias suo beneficio sit servaturus. Et 'veluti gallina glocitando sub alas suas convocabit,' fovebitque ac defendet Messias 'omnes filios Sethi.' Ita enim hæc verba reddenda et explicanda esse, ex nexu et scopo totius orationis et significatu vocis Heb. cæterarumque versionum incommodis, Altingius solide atque præclare evicit in Locis Parallelis. p. 8, 9. Rhenfordi Diss. de Sethianis. n. 6. p. 166. Opp. Philolog. Trajec. ad. Rhen. 1722.

[d] Id ergo cum non ignorarent hi homines, natione Hebræi, professione Nazareni vel christiani, linguæ Hebrææ Syræque callentissimi, Catecheseos veterum patrum, mysteriorum Cabalisticorum minime ignari, filios Sethi se professi sunt, id est illius fidei et pietatis, quæ quondam in Setho fuerat, studiosos atque æmulos, id est vere fideles, vere christianos, illorumque beneficiorum, quæ quondam, cum alibi, tum Num xxiv. 17, filiis Sethi per Messiam promissa erant, participes. Ib. n. 9. p. 167.

SECTION V.

They ascribed the creation of the world to angels.

THEY said that the world was made by angels, and not by the Supreme Power. Rhenford is clear that[x] the Sethians, and all Ebionite or Jewish christians, meant no more by this than what Christ and his apostles do when they speak of the prince of this world, the powers of this world, and the god of this world, and the like.

SECTION VI.

They believed that Jesus Christ descended from Seth in an extraordinary way.

AFTERWARDS Epiphanius informs us, they said that[a] from Seth in a continued succession descended Jesus Christ, not in the ordinary way of generation, but after a wonderful manner: which shows they thought Jesus to be the Christ, and that he was born of a virgin.

This will be confirmed by Irenæus. His words are obscure; but I shall put them at the bottom of the page, and translate them as well as I can, somewhat loosely.

'They[b] believe,' says Irenæus, 'that 'Sophia, or Wisdom,

[x] Unum illud hæreticum ac plane impium videtur, quod 'ab angelis, non a superiori vi producta esse dicunt omnia.'———Cum Sethiani, cæterique ejusdem commatis Ebionitæ, per τον δημιουργον η δημιουργος τα κοσμα, conditorem condituresve mundi,———nihil aliud intellexerint, quam quos Christus et apostoli αρχοντα τα κοσμα τουτου, et αρχας και εξουσιας και κοσμοκρατορας τα κοσμα τουτου appellant. Ib. n. 31. p. 176. Vide et n. 37. p. 179.

[a] Απο δε τα Σηθ κατα σπερμα, και κατα διαδοχην γενος ὁ Χριστος ηλθεν αυτος Ιησους, ουχι κατα γενη, αλλα θαυμαστως εν τω κοσμῳ πεφηνως. Ibid. n. 3. p. 286. A.

[b] Horum (prophetarum) igitur unusquisque glorificans suum patrem et Deum. Sophiam et ipsam per eos multa loquutam esse de primo homine—et de illo Christo qui sit sursum, quæ a prophetis annuntiabantur—duorum hominum factas esse emissiones; alterum quidem de sterili Elizabethâ, alterum autem ex Mariâ virgine—Cognoscentem autem eam quæ deorsum est Sophiam, descendere ad fratrem ejus, et annuntiâsse ejus adventum per Joannem, et præparâsse baptismum pœnitentiæ, et ante adaptâsse Jesum; uti descendens Christus inveniat vas mundum. Jesum autem, quippe ex virgine per operationem Dei generatum, sapientiorem et mundiorem et justiorem hominibus omnibus fuisse: Christum perplexum Sophiæ descendisse, et sic factum esse

'spake by the prophets; and that their predictions were 'partly fulfilled in two men with divine commissions, one 'born of barren Elizabeth, the other of Mary a virgin: they 'say that the appearing of Jesus was foretold by John, who 'preached the baptism of repentance, and baptized Jesus, 'that the Christ, when he descended, might find a pure 'vessel. That Jesus, being born of a virgin by the opera-'tion of God, was wiser, more holy, and more excellent than 'all men: that Christ, the companion of Wisdom, came 'down upon him, and so Jesus was made the Christ. This, 'they said, was not rightly understood by all christians; 'and that the truth is, that Christ having come down upon 'Jesus, he immediately thereupon began to work miracles, 'and heal diseases, and preach the true God, and thus ma-'nifestly to show himself to be the son of the first man (or 'the promised Messiah); at which the rulers (or certain 'powers) being offended, they contrived to put him to 'death. And they say that the Christ with Wisdom then 'forsook him, but Jesus was crucified. However, the 'Christ did not forget Jesus, but raised him from the dead. 'Nevertheless, when he was risen, his disciples did not (at 'first) know him. And they hence endeavour to support 'their opinion, that Christ came down upon Jesus, and then 'went away from him, as just mentioned: forasmuch as 'that the disciples do not relate him to have wrought mira-'cles either before his baptism or after his resurrection. He 'staid with his disciples eighteen months; and having in that 'time sufficiently instructed them, especially some of them, 'he was received up into heaven, and Christ sat down at 'the right hand of God.'

Jesum Christum. Multos igitur ex discipulis ejus non cognovisse Christi descensionem in eum dicunt; descendente autem Christo in Jesum tunc coïncepisse virtutes perficere, et curare, et annuntiare incognitum patrem, et se manifeste filium primi hominis confiteri. In quibus irascentes principes, et patrem Jesu, operatus ad occidendum eum; et in eo cum adduceretur, ipsum quidem Christum Sophiâ abstitisse in incorruptibilem Æonem dicunt; Jesum autem crucifixum: non autem oblitum suum (f. eum) Christum, sed misisse desuper virtutem quandam in eum, quæ excitavit eum in corpore—Videntes autem discipuli resurrexisse eum, non eum cognoverunt, sed ne ipsum quidem Jesum, cujus gratiâ a mortuis resurrexit.—Confirmare autem volunt descensionem Christi et ascensionem ex eo, quod neque ante baptismum, neque post resurrectionem a mortuis, aliquid magni fecisse Jesum dicunt discipuli——Remoratum autem eum post resurrectionem xviii. mensibus: et paucos ex discipulis suis, quos sciebat capaces tantorum mysteriorum, docuit hæc. Et sic receptus est in cœlum, Christo sedente ad dexteram patris Jaldabaoth. Iren. L. 1. c. 30. [al. 34.] n. 11, 12, 13, 14. p. 111, 112.

SECTION VII.

By Christ who descended upon Jesus, they probably meant the Holy Ghost.

IRENÆUS says they believed that the Christ descended upon Jesus at his baptism. It is very likely that by Christ they meant the Holy Ghost. This may be reckoned to be confirmed by Theodoret, in his article of Sethians and Ophites, whose[a] words I shall place below. They also said that, upon Jesus being led away to be crucified, the Christ, or Wisdom in him, went away, and that Jesus only was crucified. Their meaning probably was, that the divine nature in Jesus did not suffer. They said that Jesus staid with his disciples eighteen months after his resurrection; in which possibly there is some mistake, or misrepresentation. I think that Irenæus is the only person who mentions this: it is not in Epiphanius, or Theodoret, or other ancient writers of heresies. In the main, these Sethians appear to have been good christians. They believed that Jesus was born of a virgin, and was a most excellent man; that John born of Elizabeth prepared the way for him, and baptized him; that the Holy Ghost descended upon Jesus at his baptism; after which he wrought miracles of healing, and taught true religion, and manifestly showed himself to be the promised Messiah. They believed that Jesus was crucified, and was afterwards raised from the dead and received up into heaven, where he sat at the right hand of God. And if these were Jewish believers, as is reasonably supposed, it may be argued from their calling themselves by so catholic a denomination as that of Sethians, that they approved of the vocation of the gentiles: though possibly, for themselves, they observed circumcision, and other rites of the law, so far as they could in the places where they lived.

Theodoret also confirms the account, that they[b] believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, and that the Christ came down upon him from heaven.

[a] Θηλυ δε το πνευμα καλεσι, και τοις στοιχειος επιφερεσθαι· ερασθηναι δε φασι τον πρωτον ανθρωπον, και τον δευτερον, της ὡρας τε πνευματος, και παιδοποιησαι φως, ὁ καλεσι Χριστον. H. F. L. 1. p. 204. C.

[b] Τον δε Ιησεν αλλον λεγεσι παρα τον Χριστον· και τον μεν Ιησεν εκ της παρθενε γεννηθηναι, τον δε Χριστον ερανοθεν εις αυτον κατελθειν. H. F. L. 1. c. 14. p. 205. C.

SECTION VIII.

An account of what books they used.

LET us now see what books they had and made use of. 'They have,' says [a] Epiphanius, 'certain books written by 'themselves, with the names of great men affixed to them; 'seven books of Seth, and others; another of Abraham, 'which they call his Revelation, and others with the name 'of Moses.' Afterwards Epiphanius speaks [b] of other books called the Jubilees, and another book called the Little Genesis, in which were the names of Cain's and Seth's wives.

But possibly the books called The Seven Books of Seth, were not ascribed to him as the author; but only contained an account of his being the seed obtained after the death of Abel, and chosen to uphold religion in the world, with reflections upon the state of things on this earth in his time. The books were called not from the author of them, but from their subject. This [c] was the opinion of Mr. Rhenford.

The book called Abraham's Revelation, probably was not ascribed to him as the author, but rather contained only an account of his faith,[d] or the covenant made with him, and the promises delivered to him.

The books with the names of Moses might [e] be his Penta-

[a] Βιβλους δε τινας συγγραφοντες εξ ονοματος μεγαλων ανδρων. Εξ ονοματος μεν Σηθ επτα λεγοντες ειναι βιβλους· αλλας δε βιβλους ετερας αλλογενεις ουτω καλουσιν· αλλην δε εξ ονοματος Αβρααμ, ην και αποκαλυψιν φασκουσιν ειναι— ετερας δε εξ ονοματος του Μωϋσεως, και αλλας αλλων. H. 39. n. 5. p. 286. C.

[b] Ως δε εν τοις ιωβηλαιοις ευρισκεται, τη και λεπτογενεσει καλουμενη. κ. λ. Ibid. n. 6. p. 287. B.

[c] Quid vero in eos sit vitii, haberi libros Sethi de nomine inscriptos. Impudentia, inquies, et mendacium, quod libros a se conscriptos Setho attribuant. At unde constat Setho ab illis attribui? Satis illis causa erat, cur libros illos Sethi et αλλογενων nomine vocarent, quod in illis de Setho, ejusque doctrinâ, vitâ, et rebus gestis: de semine item alio, de filiis Sethi, eorumque civitate, jure, legibus, et beneficiis ageretur: etsi libros ipsos ad Sethum, tanquam scriptorem, non referebant. Nempe facile est ad intelligendum eundem, qui in ecclesiâ scholâve doctrinam illam de filiis Sethi tradere solebat, eandem etiam dignam judicâsse, quam literis etiam consignaret, librosque illos, ita uti dicebat, ab ipso argumento inscripsisse, vocâsseque libros Sethi, vel filiorum Sethi, vel αλλογενων, vel si quâ aliâ ratione ipsi lubitum fuerit. Ibid. n. 43. p. 184.

[d] Eâdem itaque ratione hos Sethianos, quos et divinorum oraculorum, et veterum traditionum judaïcarum callentissimos fuisse undique elucet, &c. Ibid. n. 28. p. 174.

[e] Deinde vero et illud notandum, Sethianos, de quibus hactenus egimus, fuisse credentes ex Judæis, quibus illa exempla cum ex lectione legis notissima

teuch in Hebrew, which the gentile christians did not understand; who likewise used and preferred the Septuagint version.

I can say nothing particularly of the book called the Jubilees and the Little Genesis. But it may be reasonable to think that all these books, composed by the Sethians, who seem to have been Hebrew believers, contained explications of some parts of the books of Moses; and were designed to support their faith in Jesus, and justify their embracing the christian revelation, by the literal or mystical sense of their ancient writings: though, possibly, some of the arguments made use of might be weak, and their traditions false and ill-grounded.

SECTION IX.

What scriptures they received.

THERE can be no question made but the Sethians respected the books of the Old Testament. Irenæus takes particular notice of[a] it. We can likewise perceive by the long passage transcribed from him above, that they received the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and particularly the first chapters of both: where there is an account of the birth of John the Baptist, and of Jesus, and John's Baptism and ministry. They received probably all the gospels and the Acts, and most other books of the New Testament. This may be argued from the clear knowledge they appear to have had of our Lord's miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven. It is plain it was not one gospel only that was received by them, but several; for, as Irenæus assures us, they insisted upon it that the disciples had related none, or few miracles, done by Christ, before his baptism, or after his resurrection; which manner of speaking shows that they referred to more gospels than one.

erant, tum a suis maxime doctoribus, apostolis, inquam, circumcisionis, de novo serio et solicite fuerant inculcata. Ibid. n. 62. p. 191.

[a] Sic autem prophetas distribuunt: hujus quidem Jaldabaoth Möysen fuisse, et Jesum Nave, et Amos, et Abacuc: illius autem Jaho, Samuel, et Nathan, et Jonam, et Michæam: illius autem Sabaoth, Hebiam, et Joël, et Zachariam: illius autem Adonei, Esaiam et Ezechiel, et Jeremiam, et Daniel: illius autem Eloi, Tobiam, et Aggæum; illius autem Horei, Michæam, et Nahum: illius autem Astaphæi, Hesdram, et Sophoniam. L. 1. c. 30. n. 14. p. 3. Vide et n. 10.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE CAIANS, OR CAINITES.

SECTION I.

Some account of the accusations brought against them from Epiphanius and Irenæus.

'THE Caians, or Cainites,' says[a] Epiphanius in his Summary, 'extol Cain, saying he was from the superior power. 'They pay divine honours to Judas, Core, Dathan, and 'Abiram, and the people of Sodom.'

In his Panarium, the heretics[b] called Caians from Cain, whom they greatly respect and call their father, say that he was from the superior power, Abel from the weaker. They esteem also[c] Esau, Core, and the people of Sodom, whom they call their kindred. They[d] reckon Judas likewise among their kindred, and ascribe to him a wonderful knowledge of things. And they have among them a book which they call the gospel of Judas: they have also some other like books. And they[e] say, that 'in order to be 'saved, men must run through a course of all manner of 'iniquity, like the Carpocratians.' Epiphanius proceeds to relate more[f] to the same purpose; and afterwards adds: 'They[g] have also forged a book with the name of Paul the 'apostle, called his Ascension, filled with mysteries of ini-'quity.' Their pretence for it is taken from what he writes, 2 Cor. xii. 4. Afterwards: 'Judas,' they said 'was[h] in-

[a] Τον Καϊν δοξαζεσι ——— 'Αμα δε και Ιεδαν εκθιαζεσιν, ὁμε τε και τες περι Κορε και Δαθαν και Αβειρωμ, αλλα και τες Σοδομιτας. Anacep.

[b] P. 229. D. [c] H. 38. n. 1. p. 276. A. B. C.

[d] Και τετον γαρ θελεσιν ειναι συγγενη ἑαυτων, και εν γνωσεως ὑπερβολη τον αυτον καταριθμεσιν. ὡτε και συνταγματιον τι φερειν εξ ονοματος αυτε ὁ ευαγγελιον τε Ιεδα καλεσι. Ibid. D.

[e] Και μη δυνασθαι φασι σωθησεσθαι τινα, εαν μη δια παντων χωρησωσιν, ὡς και ὁ Καρποκρατης λεγει. Ib.

[f] Ibid. n. 2. p. 277. A. B. [g] Ibid. C.

[h] Αγαθον αυτον οντα παρεδωκε κατα την επερανιαν γνωσιν· εγνωσαν γαρ, φησιν, οἱ αρχοντες ὁτι εαν ὁ Χριτος παραδοθη τωυρῳ, κενεται αυτων ἡ δυναμις. Και τετο, φασιν, γνες ὁ Ιεδας εσπευσε, και παντα εκινησεν, ὡτε παραδεναι αυτον, αγαθον εργον ποιησας ἡμιν εις σωτηριαν. Και δει ἡμας επαινειν—ὁτι δι' αυτε κατεσκευασθη ἡμιν ἡ τε τωυρε σωτηρια, και ἡ δια ταυτης ὑποθεσεως των ανω αποκαλυψις. Ibid. n. 3. p. 278. B. C.

'duced to betray Jesus from the heavenly knowledge he had 'obtained. The princes were aware that if Jesus was crucified their power would be weakened; Judas therefore hastened to betray him for our salvation: for which reason he 'ought to be honoured, because he had procured for us the 'salvation which is by the cross of Christ, and the heavenly 'knowledge obtained thereby.'

Irenæus gives the like account of the wickedness of this people and of the gospel of Judas. Epiphanius undoubtedly borrowed from him. His [i] words will be placed below.

SECTION II.

Observations tending to show the incredibility of these accounts.

THESE are the accounts left us of these men. But can they be true? It seems not. For first, the wickedness ascribed to those men is incredible. It is not easy to conceive, that any number of men, calling themselves christians, should honour Cain, and Core, and Judas, and all those who lie under just condemnation in the scriptures both of the Old and New Testament for the most notorious wickedness. [a]

[i] Alii autem rursus Caïn a superiore principalitate dicunt, et Esau, et Core, et Sodomitas. Et omnes tales cognatos confitentur—Et hæc Judam proditorem diligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum præ cæteris cognoscentem veritatem, perfecisse proditionis mysterium—Et confictionem afferunt hujusmodi, Judæ Evangelium illud vocantes—Nec enim aliter salvari eos, nisi per omnia eant, quemadmodum et Carpocrates dixit. Et in unoquoque peccatorum et turpium operationum angelum adsistere, et operantem—id quod inest ei operationi angeli nomine dicere: 'O tu, angele, abutor opere tuo: O tu, illa po-'testas, perficio tuam operationem.' Et hoc esse scientiam perfectam, sine timore in tales abire operationes, quas ne nominare fas est. lib. 1. cap. 30. [al. 35.] n. 1, 2. p. 112, 113.

[a] Ejusmodi vero homines, quales Epiphanius nobis hic describit, unquam aliquo numero extitisse, et cœtum sectamque constituisse, id adeo nullam veri speciem habet, ut fidem omnem superare videatur. Tametsi enim primis christianismi temporibus sceleratissimi flagitiosissimique quidam homines in ecclesiam irrepserunt, Petro Judâque testibus; tamen nobis non est verosimile, tantâ illos et tam immani impudentiâ fuisse, ut cum christiani, si non esse, certe videri vellent, cum historiam item Caïni reliquorumque istorum scelatorum nôssent———ut, inquam, se illorum socios publice profiteri, et gloriari voluerint, et a bipedum omnium nequissimis simul atque miserrimis, generis sui atque originis deducere commendationem. Rhenf. de Sethian. cap. 61. p. 191.

Secondly, the account is inconsistent, therefore overthrows itself. It is not possible that men should be extremely wicked in practice and in principle, and at the same time be concerned about the salvation that is by the cross of Christ, and honour[b] Judas for his love of truth, and solicitous concern for the salvation of the world and the general good.

Thirdly, the rise of this denomination of the Cainites may be accounted for another way, without making a particular sect. It might arise from the Sethians.[c] They who called themselves by that name, and extolled their ancestor Seth, could not well avoid declaiming against Cain. And they might sometimes say of those in a different course of life from themselves, that they acted as if they were the children of Cain, who was of the evil one; and seemed to show themselves kindred of Core, and Dathan, and even Judas himself.

[b] Nec non etiam erupit alia quoque hæresis, quæ dicitur Caïnæorum. Et ipsi quidem magnificant Caïn, quasi ex quâdam potenti virtute conceptum,—procreatum—Hi qui hoc adserunt, etiam Judam proditorem defendunt, admirabilem illum et magnum esse memorantes, propter utilitates quas humano generi contulisse jactatur. Quidam enim ipsorum gratiarum actionem Judæ propter hanc causam reddendam putant. Animadvertens enim, inquiunt, Judas, quod Christus vellet veritatem subvertere, tradidit illum, ne subverti veritas posset. Et alii sic contra disputant, et dicunt: qui potestates hujus mundi nolebant pati Christum, ne humano generi per mortem ipsius salus pararetur, saluti consulens generis humani, tradidit Christum, ut salus quæ impediebatur per virtutes, quæ obsistebant ne pateretur Christus, impediri omnino non posset: et ideo per passionem Christi non posset salus humani generis retardari. Ter. de Pr. c. 47. p. 251. B. C. Simul et Judam traditorem divinum aliquid putant, et scelus ejus beneficium deputant; asserentes eum præcisse quantum esset generi humano Christi passio profutura, et occidendum Judæis propterea tradidisse. Aug. H. 18.

[c] Cum enim Sethianorum antistites Sethum—auditoribus suis vitæ christianæ, et pietatis virtutisque omnis exemplar ad oculos ponerent; vix fieri potuisse, quin per antithesin Caïni aliorumque impietatem, et horrendas quas passi sint pœnas, exposuerint. Quemadmodum vero iidem se suosque 'Sethi filios' appellabant, quod vestigia fidei et pietatis Sethi premerent,———ita quoque eos, quos Judas 'viam Caini,' ingressos ait, eodem jure 'filios Caini' dicere potuerunt——Ita et in reliquis illis exemplis fecerit, atque identidem ingeminârit: qui his illis moribus sunt, illos re ipsâ declarare, et quasi publice profiteri, se non Sethi, sed Sodomæorum, Esaui, Coræ, Bileami, Judæ denique proditoris, filios, fratres affines esse. Unde quotusquisque non perspiciat atque intelligat, quam facile illorum doctrina ab imperitis quibusdam doctoribus, maxime gentilibus, eo accipi potuerint, quo putârint esse peculiarem quandam sectam ejusmodi———qui professi sint, se Caïnitas, Sodomitas, Esavitas esse, et si quæ alia infamia et æternis tenebris damnata nomina in sacris literis legantur. Rhenf. de Sethian. n. 63, 64, 65. p. 192, 193. V. n. 65. p. 192, 193. Vide et n. 63, 64.

SECTION III.

That the denomination Cainites arose from a way of speaking among the Sethians, rendered probable by passages from scripture and other writings.

AFTER the same manner speak Peter and Jude in their epistles, of some wicked christians: "Cursed[a] children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness. And[b] woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core." They are also reminded by the same sacred writers of the[c] judgments on the fallen angels, the old world that was drowned by the flood, and the overthrow of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

This will be much confirmed from what the Sethians are represented by Epiphanius and some[d] others to have said of two men, or two sorts of men, which I shall now take somewhat at large.

'The Sethians,' says[e] Epiphanius, 'agree with the former 'heresy of the Caians in this respect. They say there are 'two men represented by Cain and Abel; the latter was 'slain by Cain. Nevertheless[f] the higher power from 'above, which they call mother, prevailed. For knowing 'that Abel was killed, she procured the birth of Seth, and 'put her power in him; that is, a divine[g] principle, and 'spark from above; whereby he became the chosen seed, 'and was disposed to righteousness and all virtue. Hereby 'the seed of Seth was from the beginning separated from 'the other race. But in process of time, they say, the seed 'of Cain and Abel (or Seth) mingling together, wickedness 'prevailed in the earth. The mother from above looking 'down, and seeing this, she determined to secure a holy 'seed: accordingly she brought on the flood, and destroyed 'all mankind in general; that for the future there might

[a] 2 Pet. ii. 14, 15.
[b] Jude 11.
[c] 2 Pet. ii. 4, 8, and Jude v. 5, 6.
[d] Vide Iren. lib. 1. cap. 30. [al. 34.] n. 8, 9, 10.
[e] H. 39. n. 2, 3. p. 284, 286.
[f] Κεκρατηκεναι δε την ανω δυναμιν, ἡν μητερα φασκουσι, και Θηλειαν p. 284. D.
[g] Και τον Σηϑ Θειαν τινα δυναμιν ειναι φασι. Theod. p. 205. B.

'be in the world a pure, holy, and righteous race of men 'only in the family of Seth. Nevertheless, Ham, a child of 'the evil angels, clandestinely got into the ark. For eight 'souls were saved therein, seven of which were of the good 'race. But Ham being also preserved, who was one of the 'other race, from thence sprang error, ignorance, inconsider-'ration, and by degrees all manner of wickedness; till[h] at 'length the world was become as wicked and disorderly as 'before the flood. But from Seth by a continued succession, 'though not in the ordinary way, but in a wonderful 'manner, descended Jesus the Christ, who dwelled among 'men, sent from the mother above; that is, being born of 'a virgin, and anointed for his office by the Holy Spirit of 'God, whom the Sethians spoke of as the mother of all.' So Epiphanius; and to the like[i] purpose the author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions, whom I transcribe largely below.

SECTION IV.

There never was a sect of christians who called themselves Cainites, or who professed the principles above described.

THIS then having been a common way of speaking among men, especially among the Sethians, I think it may be questioned whether there ever was a sect of christians, or number of men, who called themselves Cainites, and professed the principles above mentioned. But some evil men were represented as children of the evil one, and as resem-

[h] Και ετως ὁ κοσμος εις το αρχαιον της αταξιας αυθις ανεκαμψε, και ενεπλησθη κακων, ὡς εξ αρχης προ τε κατακλυσμε. Απο δε τε Σηθ κατα σπερμα. κ. λ. p. 286. A.

[i] Sed et illo hæresis processit, quæ dicitur Sethoitarum. Hujus perversitatis doctrina hæc est: duos homines ab angelis constitutos, Cain et Abel; propter hos magnas inter angelos contentiones et discordias exstitisse; ob hanc causam, illam Virtutem quæ super omnes virtutes est, quam matrem pronuntiant, dum Abel interfectum dicerent, voluisse concipi et nasci hunc Seth, loco Abelis, ut evacuarentur angeli illi—Permixtiones enim dicunt angelorum et hominum iniquas fuisse; ob quam causam, illam Virtutem, quam (sicut diximus) pronuntiant matrem, ad vindictam etiam cataclysmum inducere, ut et illud permixtionis semen tolleretur; et hoc solum semen, quod esset purum, integrum custodiretur. Sed enim illos qui seminis illos prioris instituissent, occulte et latenter, et ignorante illâ matre Virtute, cum illis octo animabus in arcam misisse etiam Cham, quo semen malitiæ non periret, sed cum cæteris conservatum, et post cataclysmum terris redditum, exemplo cæterorum excresceret, et effunderetur, et totum orbem et impleret et occuparet. De Præs. cap. 47. p. 251. C. D.

bling Cain and other bad men mentioned in the scriptures. Hence some who were willing enough to multiply heresies took occasion, or by mistake were led, to talk of a sect with that denomination.

CHAP. XV.

OF THE OPHIANS, OR OPHITES.

SECTION I.

The Ophians are said by Irenæus and Theodoret to be the same with the Sethians.

WE come next to the Ophians, which are joined with the Sethians by Irenæus and Theodoret in the same chapter, as was observed formerly. And Theodoret says, at the beginning of his chapter, that 'it[a] was the opinion of some that 'the Ophians were the same with the Sethians.' If so, we have already seen the opinions of these people. They believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, and to be the Christ, and other things before spoken of the Sethians. The opinions of each are represented together by Irenæus and Theodoret, as common to both. Consequently the Ophites, according to this view of the matter, were Hebrew believers, or Jewish christians, as well as the Sethians, and were one and the same people, or sect, under different titles and denominations; called Sethians from their frequently speaking of themselves as descendants of Seth, and the children of God; and Ophians from some other particular tenet,[b] or manner of understanding and explaining some texts, and perhaps applying them to the Messiah.

[a] Οἱ δε Σεθιανοι, ως Οφιανες η Οφιτας τινες ονομαζεσιν. H. F. l. 1. c. 14. p. 204. B.

[b] Id quod proximâ dissertatione Ophitarum exemplo ostendemus, qui et ipsi Sethiani fuerunt, uti quidem Theodoretus narrat: vero cum non tantum vaticinia et historias Vet. T. docte atque eleganter exponerent, sed et typos, atque inter alios illum de serpente æneo, Num. xxi. ex mente Christi Joh. iii. 14, 15, et Cabbalistarum dextre interpretarentur, nomen meruerunt. Rhenf. de Sethian. c. ult. p. 193.

SECTION II.

Very different representations given of these people by Epiphanius and others.

HOWEVER it must be acknowledged that these people are represented in a very different light by some authors; let us therefore see what other ancient writers say of them.

'The Ophites,' says[a] Epiphanius in his Summary, 'have 'a veneration for the serpent; they esteem him the same as 'Christ, and keep a real serpent in a chest.'

In his Panarium itself he says, that[b] the Ophites have sprung from the Nicolaitans and Gnostics, and former sects. They are called Ophites from the respect which they show to the serpent. They said the[c] serpent was the occasion of all the knowledge which men had obtained, and therefore[d] they showed him great honour. He again says they[e] have a real serpent in a chest; and speaks of other things that seem not to deserve to be mentioned. He adds, that 'beside[f] 'other texts of scripture, they insisted upon the account of 'Moses erecting a brazen serpent, recorded in Numb. xxi. '8, 9, and also John iii. 14, 15.'

I put in the margin Augustine's[g] article almost entire; and also[h] a large part of the article in the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions; where we are again

[a] Οφιται εισιν, οἱ τον οφιν δοξαζοντες, και τυτον τον Χριστον ἡγεμενοι. Εχοντες δε φυσει το ερπετον εν Χιστη τινι. p. 229. D.

[b] H. 37. n. 2. p. 268. A.

[c] Λεγοντες, ὁτι ουτος αρχη γεγονε γνωσεως τοις ανθρωποις. n. 3. p. 270. B.

[d] Δοξαζεσιν αν αυτον δια την τοιαυτην γνωσιν. n. 5. p. 272. A.

[e] Ibid. A.

[f] Φερεσι δε και αλλας μαρτυρας λεγοντες, ὁτι και Μωϋσης εν τη ερημῳ τον οφιν τον χαλκεν ὑψωσε. κ. λ. n. 8. p. 273. C.

[g] Ophitæ a colubro nominati sunt: hunc autem Christum arbitrantur. Sed habent etiam verum colubrum assuetum eorum panes lambere, atque ita eis velut eucharistiam sanctificare. Quidam dicunt istos Ophitas ex Nicolaïtis sive Gnosticis extitisse, et per eorum fabulosa figmenta ad colubrum colendum fuisse perventum. Aug. H. 17.

[h] Accesserunt his hæretici etiam illi, qui Ophitæ nuncupantur. Nam serpentem magnificant in tantum, ut illum etiam ipsi Christo præferant. Ipse enim, inquiunt, scientiæ nobis boni et mali originem dedit. Hujus animadvertens potentiam et majestatem Möyses, inquiunt, æreum posuit serpentem. Et quicumque ipsum aspexerunt, sanitatem consecuti sunt. Ipse, aiunt præterea, Christus in evangelio suo imitatur serpentis ipsius sacram potestatem, dicendo: 'Et sicut Möyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet 'filium hominis.' Ipsum introducunt ad benedicenda eucharistia sua, &c. &c. De Pr. cap. 47. n. 250. C. D.

assured that they argued from the fore-mentioned places of the book of Numbers and St. John's gospel.

SECTION III.

Origen's account of the Ophians, with some observations thereon.

LET us now see what Origen says of the Ophians in his time. Of him we have hitherto made no use in our inquiries concerning this and the two foregoing heresies; but he has some things about Ophians that may by no means be overlooked.

Upon occasion of some things in Celsus, Origen says that 'they[a] who are called Ophians, are so far from being christians, that they are as ready to calumniate Jesus as Celsus 'himself. Nor would they admit any one into their society 'without his first cursing Jesus.' And presently afterwards he says, that 'they[b] glory in one Euphrates as their master.' In another place he says, that 'so[c] far from owning Jesus 'for God, our Saviour, they do not allow him to be master, or 'the Son of God.' Nevertheless, possibly Origen might be mistaken here. I choose not to lay much stress upon a passage of Origen's Latin Commentaries of St. Matthew, where[d] the Ophians are mentioned with divers christian heretics; for it may have been added to the original by the translator, or by somebody else since. But I shall take notice of several things concerning these persons in his books against Celsus. That heathen writer had objected to the christians the divisions which there were among them. Origen answers, that 'it[e] was perhaps likely Celsus had 'heard of some sects who had not the very names of christians; as of the Ophians and Caians, or some such other 'people, who had entirely forsaken the christian doctrine. 'But,' says he, 'that is no disparagement to the christian 'religion.' Here Ophians are mentioned with Caians, who are generally supposed to have been christians. And it was

[a] ——— και μη προτερον προσιεσθαι τινα επι το συνεδριον εαυτων, εαν μη αρας θηται κατα τ̃ Ιησ̃. Contr. Cels. lib. 6. p. 652. A. Bened.

[b] Ibid. C.

[c] Ibid. p. 654. D.

[d] Et Marciones quidem, et Basilides, et Valentiniani, et Apelleiani, et Ophitæ, multum a propositâ errant viâ. In Matt. Tom. 3. p. 852. D. Bened.

[e] Δοκει δε μοι ὁ Κελσος εγνωκεναι τινας αἱρεσεις μηδε τ̃ ονοματος τ̃ Ιησ̃ κοινωνουσας ἡμιν· ταχα γαρ περιηχητο περι των καλουμενων Οφιανων, και των Καϊανων, και ει τις αλλη τοιαυτη εξ ὁλων αποφοιτησασα τ̃ Ιησ̃ ανεση γνωμη. κ. λ. lib. 3. p. 445. D.

not uncommon with catholic writers to say of heretics that they did not agree with them so much as in name. This passage therefore might rather incline us to think they were christians by profession, or a christian sect. He speaks of them to the like purpose in another place, saying that 'they '[f] are far removed from the true christian doctrine held by 'sound christians.' Again: 'Celsus directs[g] his discourse 'to all christians in general; when what he says can be 'applied to none but such as are altogether estranged from 'the doctrine of Jesus; as the Ophians who reverence him, 'as we said before, and some others.' Which too might be said of a christian sect that was supposed to be very erroneous. Moreover, he speaks of the Ophians as ascribing to the serpent the knowledge which men had; the same which is said of them by others, who reckoned them a christian sect. Farther, Celsus referred to a diagram, which Origen procured; and he says he supposeth it[h] to belong to the Ophians. But in that diagram are expressions which probably belong to christians; for they speak 'of[i] the Father and the Son,' and the 'living Word:' and pray again and again that the 'grace of the Father may be with them;' not to mention any other expressions. They are also afterwards represented by Origen as invoking seven angels, or God under seven names; most of them certainly Hebrew, and, as[k] Origen owns, taken out of the scriptures; several of which also are to be found in Irenæus's chapter of the Sethians and Ophites, as Jaldabaoth, Jao, Sabaoth, Æloæus, Adonæus, Astaphæus, Horæus; which makes me think they were christians, but still very much attached to judaism. And when Origen says that they would not admit any into their society without cursing Jesus, it seems to me that he then took them for unbelieving Jews; whereas they were indeed Jews by birth, or Hebrews, but christians by religion and profession. And in divers of his passages before quoted, he seems to me to speak of them as a christian sect, but very erroneous, and so absurd in their opinions as not to deserve the name of christians. However, I apprehend that Origen had a very imperfect knowledge of the sentiments of these men.

[f] Lib. 6. p. 656. C. D.

[g] Ἐξης δε τοις εξετασθεισιν ὁ Κελσος, ὡς προς παντας χριστιανους αποτεινει λογον, ὁν τινα προς τες παντη αλλοτριας της Ιησε διδασκαλιας ὁμολογεντας ειναι αρα λεγειν ἡρμοζεν. Οφιανοι γαρ (ὡς και εν τοις ανωτερω ελεγομεν) τον Ιησεν εξ ὁλων αρνεμενοι. κ. λ. l. 7. p. 358. Cant. p. 722. C. D. Bened.

[h] Lib. 6. p. 648. C. D. 653. D.

[i] Ενθεν ειλικρινης πεμπομαι, φωτος ηδη μερος υἱε και πατρος. ἡ χαρις συνεςω μοι, ναι, πατερ, συνεςω. p. 654. D. —εργον τελειον υἱω και πατρι· ἡ χαρις συνεςω μοι, ναι, πατερ, συνεςω—λογω ζωντι. p. 653. A. B. Bened.

[k] Ibid. p. 657. A.

As for what is said of them by some, that they thought the serpent to be Christ, it must be a mistake. The truth is, they thought the brazen serpent in the wilderness to be a type or figure of Christ. As for worshipping the serpent, and keeping a living serpent in a chest, and bringing him out to partake of, or consecrate the Eucharist, they are mere calumnies. And their having a living or real serpent in a chest, is mentioned by none but Epiphanius, and Augustine, and Damascenus, his followers. That story is not in Irenæus, nor Philaster, nor Theodoret, nor the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions.

Note by the editor of the former edition.

THESE Ophians can scarce be considered as christian heretics. This appeared to me to be the case when I was completing the history of the Basilidians. I had accordingly mentioned it as my opinion at the end of Book II. chap. ii. sect. 27. p. 386. But, by the advice of a learned friend, I omitted it there, lest it should be deemed premature; because it represented them in a different manner from that in which Dr. Lardner himself afterwards considered them.

If they were a christian sect, of which I am still doubtful, they were certainly very erroneous in their opinions. The Simonians, who are by many regarded as christian heretics, appear to me in the same point of view with the Ophians.

The following quotations from Origen are the grounds of my opinion with respect to both these sects. Dr. Lardner, however, did not consider them in the same light in which they strike me. Perhaps he may be right. With the utmost deference therefore to his superior judgment, I will just give the substance of what I had inserted in the place before referred to, and leave it to the reader to follow which of the two opinions appears to be best founded.

The Simonians, Origen tells[a] us, would never confess Jesus to be the Son of God. Simon was probably an impostor, who wanted to overturn the whole christian doctrine. So also, according to him, was Euphrates, the father[b] of the

[a] Ουδαμως τον Ιησεν ὁμολογεσι νίον Θεε Σιμωνιανοι. Contra Celsum. lib. 5. p. 272. Spencer. Opp. T. i. 625. Benedict.

[b] Και Οφιανοι καλεμενοι τοσετον αποδεεσι τε ειναι χριτιανοι, ὡτε εκ ελαττον Κελσε κατηγορειν αυτες τε Ιησου. Και μη προτερον προσεισθαι τινα επι το συνεδριον εαυτων, εαν μη αρας ζηται κατα τε Ιησε. Contra Cels. lib. 6. p. 294. Spen. Opp. Tom. i. p. 652. A. Bened. See also note [e]. p. 567, of this chapter. Δοκει δε, κ. τ. λ.

Ophites or Ophians; they were so far from being christians that they spoke against Jesus as much as Celsus himself; and would not admit any one into their society till he had pronounced curses against him.

CHAP. XVI.

OF ARTEMON.

SECTION I. *Of his opinions.*

ARTEMON,[x] called also Artemas, says Theodoret, agrees with us in acknowledging the supreme Deity, and owning him to be the Creator of the universe. But he said that our Lord Jesus Christ was a mere man, born of a virgin, and superior in virtue to the prophets. He said that this was the doctrine of the apostles, perverting the sense of the sacred scriptures, and affirming, that since the time of the apostles some had taught the divinity of Christ without reason.

SECTION II.

He founded them on scripture, and paid a regard to its authority.

HERE we see at once what was Artemon's doctrine, that he founded it upon the scriptures, and owned the authority of the apostles.

I formerly[a] gave a particular account of the work of an anonymous author against the followers of Artemon, supposed to have been written about the year 212. Theodoret

[x] Και Αρτεμων δε τις, ὁν τινες Αρτεμαν ονομαζεσιν, τα μεν κατα τον των ὁλων Θεον παραπλησιως ἡμιν εδοξασεν, αυτον ειρηκως ειναι τε παντος ποιητην· τον δε Κυριον Ιησεν Χριστον ανθρωπον ειπε ψιλον, εκ παρθενε γεγενημενον, των δε προφητων αρετη κρειττονα· ταυτα δε και τες αποστολες ελεγε κεκηρυχεναι, παρερμηνευων των Θειων γραφων την διανοιαν, τες δε μετ' εκεινες Θεολογησαι τον Χριστον εκ οντα Θεον. H. F. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 220. B. C.

[a] Vol. ii. p. 401—409.

agrees mightily with him. The design [b] of the first passage transcribed from that work, and found in Eusebius, was to show the novelty of that [c] opinion, that our Saviour was a mere man: whereas they said that 'all the ancients, and even 'the apostles themselves, received and taught the same things 'which they now held; and that the truth of the gospel 'had been preserved till the time of Victor, the thirteenth 'bishop of Rome; but by his successor, Zephyrinus, the 'truth had been corrupted.'

SECTION III.

Several others held the same opinions.

THAT author speaks of several who seem to have been much of the same opinion with Artemas. Their names are [a] Theodotus the tanner, Asclepiades, or Asclepiodotus, and Theodotus the banker: also Hermophilus, and Apollonius, or Apollonides, not to say any thing of Natalis: that author brings some charges against these men, as corrupting the scriptures, which were considered formerly; there is no occasion to repeat what was then said, but I beg leave to refer my readers to it.[b]

Eusebius himself says, that [c] it was Artemon's opinion which Paul of Samosata had endeavoured to revive. The bishops of the council of Antioch [d] speak to the like purpose as does Epiphanius: [e] all which seems to show that Artemon was then an Unitarian of no small note; though Epiphanius has no particular article for him, and he be quite omitted by Philaster and Augustine. Artemas is mentioned by [f] Alexander bishop of Alexandria. He would have it that Arius followed him.

[b] Ibid. p. 404.

[c] *Την γαρ τοι δεδηλωμενην αἱρεσιν, ψιλον ανθρωπον γενεσθαι τον σωτηρα φασκησαν, ϐ προ πολλϐ ὁ νεωτερισθεισαν διευθυνων, κ. λ.* Euseb. l. 5. 28. p. 195. C.

[a] Vol. ii. p. 405, 406. [b] Ibid. p. 407—409.

[c] *Τουτων εν τινος σπουδασματι κατα της Αρτεμωνος αἱρεσεως πεπονημενῳ ἡν ανθις ὁ εκ Σαμοσατων Παυλος καθ' ἡμας ανανεωσασθαι πεπειρατα.*. His. Ecc. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 195. C. [d] See before in this work, vol. ii. p. 675, and Eus. H. E. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 282. B. C.

[e] Ibid. p. 633. and Ep. Hær. 65. p. 608. A.

[f] *Ουκ αγνοουντες ὁτι ἡ εναγχος επαναστασα τῃ εκκλησιαστικῃ ευσεβειᾳ διδασκαλια Εβιωνος εστι και Αρτεμα——τα εκεινων κεκρυμμενα μοσχευματα, Αρειοστε και Αχιλλας, και ἡ των συν αυτοις πονηρευομενων συνοδος.* Apud. Theodorit. His. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 15. B. C.

SECTION IV.

Of the time when he lived.

TILLEMONT thinks that[a] Theodotus, the tanner or currier, preceded Artemon; and perhaps it might be so: but as they must have lived both about the same time, and Theodoret speaks first of Artemon and then of Theodotus, and as the book of the anonymous author before mentioned was entitled, An Argument against the Heresy of Artemon, though he there mentions several others, I have chosen this order without designing to determine which had the precedence in time. However, it must be owned, that that author says Theodotus the tanner was the author of that opinion. And possibly the reason of his entitling his work against the heresy of Artemon was, that he was then living, and had promoted the doctrine of his late predecessors with some remarkable success. Tillemont supposeth that Artemon arose about the year 200.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THEODOTUS.

SECTION I. *Of his time and opinions.*

THEODOTUS of Byzantium, called the tanner, flourished, according to Cave, about the year 192. Basnage speaks of him at the year 187. I have[a] already given a distinct account of the work of an anonymous writer against Artemon, supposed to have been published about the year 212, where this Theodotus is mentioned: he, and Eusebius who transcribes him, suppose him to have held the same opinion with Artemon, who said that[b] Jesus Christ was a

[a] See his article of the Theodotiens, et Melchisédeciens. Mem. E. Tom. 3.
[a] See Vol. ii. p. 402—409.
[b] Ψιλον ανθρωπον γενεσθαι. Eus. H. E. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 195. C.

mere man. And moreover that author[c] asserts him to have been the first who taught that opinion, and says[d] he was excommunicated by Victor.

SECTION II.

Passages from ancient authors concerning him.

EPIPHANIUS'S Summary is to this effect: 'The[a] Theodotians are so called from Theodotus a tanner of Byzantium. He was well acquainted with Greek learning. Having been taken up with several others in the persecutions of that time, when they endured martyrdom, he alone fell. Being often reproached upon that account, he besought himself to say that Christ was only a man, that he might be no longer charged with having denied God.'

What Epiphanius here says of Theodotus's learning, is very suitable to what the fore-mentioned author[b] says of this party of men in general.

I shall by and by have occasion to make long extracts out of the larger article of Epiphanius, which I would willingly put together. I therefore proceed immediately to transcribe some other authors.

Theodoret only says[c] that 'Theodotus the tanner of Byzantium was of the same opinion with Artemas; but nevertheless was the leader of another party. He was excommunicated by Victor bishop of Rome, as corrupting the true doctrine of the church.' He then tells the story concerning Natalis, formerly taken[d] notice of.

I shall transcribe in the margin the article[e] of the author

[c] Τον της αἱρεσεως ταυτης εὑρετην. p. 196. B.

[d] Βικτωρ απεβαλε Θεοδοτον τον της αἱρεσεως. κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

[a] Θεοδοτιανοι, οἱ απο τε Θεοδοτε σκυτεως τε απο Βυζαντιε, οὑτος εν παιδειᾳ Ἑλληνικᾳ γεγονεν ακρος, ἁμα δε αλλοις τισιν εν ἡμεραις τε τοτε γενομενε διωγμε μονος εκπεσων, εκεινων μαρτυρησαντων, δια το ονειδιζεσθαι, επινοησας ψιλον ανθρωπον λεγειν τον Χριστον, ἱνα μη ὑπο εγκλημα γενηται Θεον αρνησαμενος, ωτως εδιδαξεν. Anac. p. 397. No. 8. B. C.

[b] Γεωμετριαν επιτηδευσασιν——— Ευκλειδης γαν παρα τισιν αυτων φιλοπονως γεωμετρειται. Αριστοτελης δε και Θεοφραστος θαυμαζονται. Γαληνος γαρ ισως ὑπο τινων και προσκυνειται. κ. τ. λ. Eus. Ecc. His. lib. 5. cap. 58. p. 197. C.

[c] Και Θεοδοτος δε ὁ Βυζαντιος ὁ σκυτευς, τ'αυτα τουτῳ πεφρονηκως, ἑτερας ἡγησατο φατριας. τουτον δε ὁ τρις μακαριος Βικτωρ, ὁ της Ῥωμαιων επισκοπος, απεκηρυξεν, ὡς παραχαραξαι πειραθεντα της εκκλησιας τα δογματα. H. F. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 220.

[d] Vol. i. p. 405.

[e] Accedit his Theodotus, hæreticus Byzantius, qui posteaquam Christi pro nomine comprehensus negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit. Doc-

of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions. He tells the like story that Epiphanius does of Theodotus's fall in the time of persecution. He says, his opinion was that Christ was a man born of a virgin, and that he exceeded other men in the superiority of his virtue.

Philaster,[f] beside other things, gives the like account of this Theodotus's fall; as does[g] Augustine also. But he does not speak positively of it, only that it was so reported.

This Theodotus is also mentioned by Jerom[h] We find him likewise in the fragment against Noches, ascribed to Hippolytus;[i] but he says nothing very material.

SECTION III.

He is accused of denying Christ in a time of persecution.

IN his larger article Epiphanius says 'he[a] does not know 'whether any of that heresy were then subsisting; but he 'will relate what he has met with in any writings concern- 'ing them.' He then says that 'Theodotus was of Byzan- 'tium, afterwards called Constantinople, a[b] tanner by trade, 'but very learned.' After which he adds: 'in[c] some per- 'secution, he does not know what, he and many others were 'apprehended by the governor of the city. And all the 'rest, when examined, bore a noble testimony to Christ, 'and obtained a heavenly crown; but he denied Christ. 'Not being able to endure the reproaches which were cast 'upon him in his own country, he went to Rome, where 'meeting with some of his acquaintance, who putting him

trinam enim introduxit, quâ Christum hominem tantummodo diceret, Deum autem illum negaret; ex spiritu quidem sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem solitarium atque nudum, nullâ aliâ præ cæteris nisi solâ justitiæ auctoritate. cap. 53. p. 254. D.

[f] Post hos Theodotus quidam, Byzantinus genere, denegator Christi Dei nostri in persecutione extitit Salvatoris, qui cœpit dicere, docens, ita communis homo erat, ut omnes homines, Christus. Hær. 50. p. 14. Tom. 4. La Bigne. Paris, 1624.

[g] Quod dicitur idem Theodotus propterea docuisse, quia in persecutione lapsus isto modo se casûs sui devitare putabat opprobrium si non Deum negâsse, sed hominem videretur. H. 33.

[h] Numquid non possum tibi totam veterum scriptorum seriem commovere:—quia adversus Ebionem, et Theodotum Byzantinum, Valentinum, hæc eadem sentientes, plena sapientiæ volumina conscripserunt? Adv. Helvid. p. 141. M.

[i] Vide Hipp. ex Ed. Fabr. p. 2. p. 7. n. 3.

[a] Και ει μεν ὑπαρχει ἡ αἱρεσις ετι αὐτη αγνοεμενη. Hær. 54. n. 1. p. 463. A.

[b] Σκυτευς την τεχνην, πολυμαθης δε τῳ λογῳ. Ibid.

[c] Ουκ οιδα ειπειν εν ὁποιῳ διωγμῳ. Ibid. 13.

'in mind of his fall, saying, "it was strange that a man of 'so much knowledge should deny the truth:" he made a 'poor apology for himself, saying that he had only denied 'a man. After which he always avowed that doctrine, that 'Jesus was a mere man, born of a man.'

SECTION IV.

Two observations on what Epiphanius says of him.

HERE are two things observable, first, the fall of Theodotus, mentioned by him also before, and by some others: but Epiphanius did not know when it happened, or in what persecution, nor have any others specified it. This miscarriage does not appear to have been mentioned by the anonymous author against Artemon, largely cited by us [x] formerly. If that story had been in his work, Eusebius would certainly have taken notice of it: nor is it mentioned by Theodoret.

Secondly, Epiphanius charges Theodotus with teaching that Jesus was born in the ordinary way, as other men are, which is not said by others, and is contrary to the author of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions, who says his doctrine was, that Jesus was born of a virgin. Moreover, Theodoret says his opinion was the same with that of Artemon, who held that Jesus was born of a virgin.

SECTION V.

The scriptures of the Old and New Testament were received by him.

EPIPHANIUS then proceeds to observe some of the arguments by which Theodotus and his followers endeavoured to support their doctrine: and here he will be of great use to us; he will let us know what texts they chiefly insisted upon, and what scriptures they made use of.

The first text which he mentions, is[a] John viii. 40, "But now ye seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth, which I have heard of God." Theodotus argued likewise,

[x] Vol. ii. p. 402—408.

[a] *Οτι φασιν, ὁ κυριος εφη· νυν δε ζητειτε με αποκτειναι ανθρωπον—ορας φησιν ὁτι ανθρωπος εστιν.* Adv. Hær. 54. n. 1. p. 463. D.

as Epiphanius says,[b] from Matt. xii. 31, 32. He also argued, says our author,[c] from what the law says of Christ in this manner, Deut. xviii. 15, "The Lord will raise up unto you a prophet of your brethren, like unto me." Wherefore, says he, the Christ raised up of God, was not God, but man. For he was to be one of them, and a man, as Moses was; whereby we see that Theodotus received the Old Testament. Again he argued that Christ was a man, from[d] Is. liii. 3, "A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief."

If Epiphanius may be relied upon, he argued from[e] Luke i. 35, which seems to show that Theodotus did not think Christ was born as other men are. He also insisted upon[f] Acts ii. 22, "A man approved among you by signs and wonders;" and on[g] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

Epiphanius in his argument against this doctrine, by way of confutation, quotes and argues[h] from the beginning of St. John's gospel, and from[i] ch. viii. 56, 58; and from[k] Matt. xi. 27, and Luke x. 22, in answer to an argument brought by Theodotus from Jeremiah xvii. 9,[l] and from[m] Acts vii. 56, and from[n] Rom. i. 4; Gal. iv. 4; 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

[b] Ὁ λεγων λογον εις τον υἱον του ανθρωπου αφεθησεται. Ibid. n. 2. p. 464. A. B.

[c] Και παλιν δε ὁ αυτος Θεοδοτος φησι· και νομος περι αυτου εφη· Προφητην εκ των αδελφων ὑμων εγερει κυριος, ὡς εμε. n. 3. p. 464. D.

[d] Ησαΐας περι αυτου εφη, ὁτι ανθρωπος εστιν, ϐτως ειπον, ανθρωπος ειδως φερειν μαλακιαν, και ειδομεν αυτον εν πληγῃ. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. n. 5. p. 466. C.

[e] Ειτα, φησι, και αυτο το ευαγγελιον εφη τῃ Μαριᾳ· Πνευμα κυριϐ επελευσεται επι σε. κ. λ. n. 3. p. 465. A.

[f] Αλλα, φησιν, ειπον οἱ αποστολοι, ανδρα αποδεδειγμενον εις ὑμας σημειοις και τερασιν· και ϐκ ειπον, Θεον αποδεδειγμενον. Ibid. n. 5. p. 467. B.

[g] Παλιν δε προφασιζεται λεγων, ὁτι εφη περι αυτϐ ὁ αποστολος, ὁτι μεσιτης Θεϐ και ανθρωπων Χριστος Ιησους. Ibid. n. 6. p. 467. C.

[h] Ὁτι δε ανωθεν εστιν ελθων ὁ λογος, Ιωαννης σαφηνισας την τϐ αγγελϐ ευαγγελικην φωνην λεγει, Εν αρχῃ ην. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. n. 3. p. 465. C. D.

[i] Επειδαν δε εστιν προ τϐ Δαβιδ και προ τϐ Αβρααμ—φησιν, Αβρααμ γαρ, ὁ πατηρ ὑμων, επεθυμησε ιδειν την ημεραν μου, και ειδε, και εχαρη· ειτα αυτων θαυμαζοντων και λεγοντων, πεντηκοντα ετη ϐπω εχεις, και τον Αβρααμ ἑωρακας, ελεγχων Θεοδοτον και τους απιστους και επαρνησιθεους Ιϐδαιους εφη, αμην, αμην λεγω ὑμιν, ὁτι προ Αβρααμ εγω ειμι. Ibid. n. 5. p. 467. A.

[k] Επειδαν γαρ ϐδεις οιδε τον υἱον, ει μη ὁ πατηρ. κ. τ. λ.—ϐδεις ϐν γνωσεται αυτον, εαν μη αυτῳ αποκαλυψῃ. Ibid. n. 4. p. 466. B.

[l] Παλιν Θεοδοτος λεγων, ὁτι και ὁ Ιερεμιας περι αυτϐ εφη, ὁτι ανθρωπος εστι, και τις γνωσεται αυτον. Ibid. n. 4. p. 466. A.

The argument used by Theodotus is founded on a mistaken translation in the LXX. who read אנוש as if it was a substantive signifying *man*; whereas it is a participle, and signifies *being in an incurable, desperate state.* But if it was a right translation, no argument to his purpose can be drawn from thence.

[m] Ελεγχῃ δε παλιν, ω Θεοδοτε, ὁτι παλιν οἱ αυτϐ αποστολοι εν αυταις ταις Πραξεσιν εφησαν, ὡς ὁ μακαριος Στεφανος φησιν· ιδϐ, ορω τον ϐρανον ανεῳγμενον, και τον υἱον τϐ ανθρωπϐ ἑστωτα εν δεξιᾳ τϐ Θεϐ. Ibid. n. 5. p. 467. B.

[n] Ει δε δι' ϐ τα παντα, και ἡμεις εις αυτον, ϐκ αρα ψιλος ανθρωπος ειη. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. n. 6. p. 467. C. D.

From all which it is manifest, that this Theodotus and his followers received the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, as other christians did.

SECTION VI.

There were several of the same name in the second century.

THERE were in the second century several others of this name.

First, A Valentinian. Cave, in his account of Theodotus the tanner, ascribes to him all the opinions which he has [a] collected out of the oriental doctrine, subjoined to the works of Clement of Alexandria; but that is confounding things as different and opposite as can well be. Theodotus the tanner is reckoned among those who did not allow Jesus to have existed before his nativity of Mary; which is very different from the sentiments represented by Cave from the above-named work: and yet Fabricius [b] seems to have been of the same opinion with Cave. Tillemont perceived that [c] the Theodotus mentioned in these extracts was a Valentinian. Beausobre had no doubt of it; and says he [d] flourished about the year of our Lord 130.

Second, Theodotus, a Montanist, mentioned by Eusebius [e] in his Ecclesiastical History.

Third, Theodotus the banker, mentioned by the anonymous author largely quoted by us long ago; where he is expressly said to [f] be a disciple of Theodotus the tanner.

[a] Hæresis vero Theodotianæ capita (qualia in excerptis ejus hodie reperiuntur) summa fere hæc fuerunt: Christum a patre, ante mundum conditum, creatum fuisse, &c. H. L. P. 1. p. 87. p. 52. Gen. 1720.

[b] Vide Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 107. [c] Mem. Ecc. T. 3. Les Théodotiens, sub init. [d] Hist. de Manich. T. 1. p. 420. et T. 2. p. 163.

[e] L. 5. c. 3. p. 168. A. et 16. p. 181. D.

[f] See before, Vol. ii. p. 405.

SECTION VII.

Theodotus the banker generally supposed to be the author of a sect of the Melchisedechians.

THIS Theodotus is now[a] generally supposed to have been the author of the sect of the Melchisedechians. And Theodoret[b] expressly says as much. But Epiphanius[c] does not appear to have had any knowledge of it. They both seem[d] to have thought those whom they call Melchisedechians a branch of the Theodotians, followers of Theodotus the tanner. Possibly there never was any such set of men. But some catholics, from some comparisons occasionally made by the Theodotians, or others, between Jesus and Melchisedec, imagined a distinct sect, and gave it such a name as they saw fit.

I place at the[e] bottom of the page, the article in the Additions to Tertullian, though somewhat long. Augustine's article[f] of the Melchisedechians is short. He knew nothing of the author of this sect, as Epiphanius had not mentioned him in his Summary. Nor indeed has Epiphanius any where mentioned Theodotus the banker: for, as observed above, he supposed the Melchisedechians to be a branch of the followers of Theodotus the tanner, or separated from them into a new sect, called Melchisedechians. Nor

[a] See Tillem. T. 3. as before.

[b] Ηρξε δε της αἱρεσεως ταυτης αλλος Θεοδοτος, αργυραμοιβος την τεχνην. H. F. L. 2. c. 6. p. 221.

[c] Μελχισεδεκιανες παλιν ἑτεροι ἑαυτες καλεσιν, αποσπασθεντες ταχα απο των Θεοδοτιανων καλεμενων. H. 55. in. p. 468. B.

[d] Τες δε Μελχισεδεκιανες τμημα μεν ειναι τετων φασι, καθ' ἑν δε μονον διαφωνειν, το τον Μελχισεδεκ δυναμιν τινα' και θειαν και μειζην ὑπολαμβανειν, κατ' εικονα δε αυτε και Χριτον γεγενησθαι. Theodo. ibid. et conf. Epiph. note 5.

[e] Alter post hunc Theodotus hæreticus erupit, qui et ipse introduxit alteram sectam, et ipsum hominem Christum tantummodo dicit ex spiritu sancto, ex virgine Mariâ conceptum pariter et natum; sed hunc inferiorem esse quam Melchisedec, eo quod dictum sit de Christo: 'Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedec.' Nam illum Melchisedec præcipuæ gratiæ cœlestem esse virtutem: eo quod agat Christus pro hominibus, deprecator et advocatus ipsorum factus; Melchisedec facere pro cœlestibus angelis et virtutibus. Nam esse illum usque adeo Christo meliorem, ut apator sit, ametor sit, agenealogetus sit, cujus neque initium, neque finis comprehensus sit, aut comprehendi possit. Cap. 53. p. 254, 255, 218, 5.

[f] Melchisedeciani Melchisedec sacerdotem Dei excelsi, non hominem fuisse, sed virtutem Dei esse arbitrantur. H. 34.

does Philaster make any mention of Theodotus the banker; though he has two [g] chapters of opinions concerning Melchisedec, and one of them longer than usual.

Epiphanius says, not very much disagreeing from Theodoret, or the author of the Additions to Tertullian, that [h] the Melchisedechians thought Melchisedec to be a great power [i] in high places, and greater than Christ: because Christ is said to have been made a priest after the order of Melchisedec, Ps. cx. 4. And they endeavoured to support their opinion from what is said by Paul of Melchisedec in the epistle to the Hebrews, vii. 3, "Without father, without mother."

Epiphanius afterwards mentions divers opinions among christians concerning Melchisedec. And perhaps he might as properly have made a distinct heresy of each one of them, as he has done of this.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF HERMOGENES.

SECTION I. *Of his time and country.*

CAVE speaks of Hermogenes at [a] the year 170. Basnage [b] at 168, as does [c] Le Clerc also. Tillemont says he [d] must have appeared before the end of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, who died in the year 180, about which time I likewise choose to place him. Tertullian several times speaks of him [e] as a late heretic, or then living: and joins one Nigidius with him.

Baronius [f] and Du Pin [g] say he was of Africa. On the other

[g] Vide H. 52. p. 106. H. 144. p. 312, 318. [h] H. 55. n. 1.

[i] Ειναι δε αυτον ανω εν ακατονομαστοις τοποις. Ibid. 468. B.

[a] H. L. T. 1. p. 74. [b] A. 168. n. 5.

[c] H. E. p. 722, 723.

[d] Mem. Ec. T. 3. Hermogéne.

[e] Hermogenis autem doctrina tam novella est denique ad hodiernum homo in seculo. Adv. Herm. c. 1. p. 265, 335. C. Cæterum et Nigidius nescio quis, et Hermogenes, et multi alii, qui adhuc ambulant pervertentes vias Domini, ostendant mihi. Præsc. c. 30. p. 242. D. p. 106.

[f] A. D. 170. 11. [g] Bib. T. 1. p. 98.

hand, Valesius[h] and Pagi[i] argue that there is no more reason to think that Hermogenes was of Africa, because Tertullian wrote against him, than that he was of Asia, because Theophilus did the like. Nevertheless Basnage[k] is inclined to think he was of Africa; for Tertullian describes[l] his employment and actions as if he was no stranger to him: and Philaster[m] and Augustine[n] suppose that he taught in Africa. The first of which arguments undoubtedly is of some weight; for Tertullian writes, as if he was well acquainted with his way of living: but whether what Augustine and Philaster say deserves much notice, I cannot tell, because they do not seem to have had an exact knowledge of Hermogenes. I put in the margin a note[o] of Fabricius upon Philaster.

SECTION II.

What authors say of him, and by whom he is omitted.

HERMOGENES is not in Irenæus. Possibly he had not appeared when Irenæus wrote; or at least not long before; for which reason he might be totally ignorant of him. Nor is Hermogenes in Epiphanius. He is also omitted in the Appendix to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions. Nor has Philaster, or Augustine, a distinct article for him. They only speak of him in their chapters concerning Sabellius, before taken notice of. However, they mention one[a] Hermias together with Seleucus; who by some may be thought to be the same as Hermogenes. But Philaster calls them[b] Galatians. And in Augustine these are placed in a late order, after all the heresies mentioned by Epiphanius, and are entirely taken by him from Philaster. In my account of Hermogenes therefore I shall make little or no use of

[h] Annot. ad Eus. L. 4. c. 24. [i] A. 168. n. 5.

[k] Ubi supra. [l] Vide Adv. H. c. 1. p. 335.

[m] Unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani et Praxiani, —et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africâ. H. 54. p. 108.

[n] Et Hermogeniani vocari ab Hermogene potuerunt; qui Praxeas et Hermogenes eadem sentientes in Africâ fuisse dicuntur. H. 41.

[o] Ex Philastrio Hermogenem in Sabellii contubernio referunt Augustinus et auctor Prædestinati. Sed Tertullianus, qui singulari opere errorem Hermogenis de materiæ æternitate confutavit, de Hermogenis patripassianismo, &c. Fabric. [a] Ap. Philast. H. 55. p. 109, 112. Ap. Aug. H. 59.

[b] Quæ est hæc vanitas Galatarum, Seleuci, et Hermiæ, hæreticorum? p. 109.

those articles. Hermogenes is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom in their accounts of the works of Theophilus of Antioch: of which I took notice [c] formerly. But our main intelligence concerning Hermogenes must be received from Tertullian.

SECTION III.

Some account of him, and those who wrote against him.

HOWEVER, as a summary may be of use, I shall here put down that of Theodoret, which is to this purpose. Hermogenes [a] taught, that God made the world out of matter, which was co-eternal with him; for the foolish man thought it not possible for God to make all things out of nothing. He also taught that our Lord's body was deposited in the sun, and that the devil and dæmons would be again resolved into matter. Against him wrote Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, and Origen.

We still have a Treatise of Tertullian against the heresy of Hermogenes. And he refers to another work against him [b] concerning the origin of the soul, not now extant.

SECTION IV.

He was skilled in painting, and was originally a christian.

WE learn from Tertullian that Hermogenes [a] was skilled in painting. Whether he practised it as a trade, or for his diversion only, may not be quite certain from Tertullian's expressions; but that he was a painter by profession is somewhat probable. It seems likewise that Hermogenes was originally a christian. For Tertullian does not say that he

[c] See before, Vol. ii. p. 204.

[a] Ὁ δε—εξ ὑποκειμενης ὁλης και συναγεννητε τον θεον εφη δημιεργησαι τα παντα· αδυνατον γαρ ὑπελαβεν ὁ εμβροντητος και τῳ θεῳ των ὁλων, εκ μη ὀντων δημιεργειν. Οὑτος τε κυριε το σωμα εν τῳ ἡλιῳ ειπεν αποτεθηναι· τον δε διαβολον και τες δαιμονας εις την ὑλην ανατεθησεσθαι. H. F. L. 1. c. 19.

[b] Vide de Animâ, cap. 1. p. 304. B. p. 639.

[a] Præterea pingit illicite. Adv. Herm. c. 1. p. 265. C. p. 335. Hanc primam umbram plane sine lumine pessimus pictor illis argumentationibus coloravit. Ibid. D. Vide et cap. ult. p. 288. D. 356.

brought over his principles from heathenism, but that of[b] a christian he became a philosopher and a stoic. We may, conclude that[c] Hermogenes was not only learned and ingenious, but likewise virtuous. For Tertullian seems not able to charge him with any vice; he only insinuates that he had more favourable sentiments of marriage than some others had. He likewise seems not to like his painting. But wherein the fault lay does not clearly appear.

SECTION V.

Some account of his opinions concerning the eternity of matter.

THEODORET informed us that Hermogenes asserted the eternity of matter: out of which God made the world, and not out of nothing. The chief design of Tertullian's book is to confute that notion, which was the opinion of the stoics, of which therefore Tertullian[a] speaks very frequently; and he calls him and others of that opinion[b] Materialists. Of this[c] he speaks likewise in another work. He also represents at large the reasonings of Hermogenes to show that God made the world out of pre-existent matter. 'For,' says he, 'God[d] must have made the world out of himself, or out

[b] A christianis enim conversus ad philosophos, de ecclesiâ in Academiam et Porticum. Inde sumsit a stoïcis materiam cum Domino ponere. p. 265. D. 335.

[c] Qui loquacitatem facundiam existimat—Præterea pingit illicite—nubit—assidue—totus adulter, et prædicationis et carnis: siquidem et habentium contagio fœtat. C. 1. p. 265. C. D. 335.

[a] —nolens illum ex nihilo universa fecisse—inde sumsit a stoïcis materiam cum Domino ponere, quæ ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata, neque facta, nec initium habens nec finem, ex quâ Dominus omnia postea fecerit. Cap. 1. p. 265. D. 335. Cum enim neget materiam natam aut factam. Cap. 3. p. 267. B. 336. Vide et cap. 4, 5, 6.

[b] Audio enim, apud Hermogenem, cæterosque materiarios hæreticos, terram quidem illam informem et invisibilem et rudem fuisse; hanc vero nostram proinde et formam et conspectum et cultum a Deo consecutum. Cap. 25. p. 278. B. 13. 346.

[c] Hæc erit materia, quæ nos commisit cum Hermogene, cæterisque, qui Deum ex materiâ, non ex nihilo operatum cuncta, præsumunt. Adv. Val. c. 16. p. 297. B. 10. 394.

[d] Præstruens, aut Dominum de semetipso fecisse cuncta, aut de nihilo, aut de aliquo—Igitur non de semetipso fecisse. Proinde ex nihilo non potuisse eum facere, sic contendit. Bonum et Optimum difiniens Dominum, qui bona atque optima tam velit facere quam sit: imo nihil non bonum atque optimum et velle eum et facere. Igitur omnia ab eo bona et optima oportuisse fieri secundum conditionem ipsius. Inveniri autem et mala ab eo facta, utique non

'of nothing, or out of something. That God should make 'the world out of himself is too manifest an absurdity to need 'a long confutation. And that God did not make it out of 'nothing, he argues in this manner. He lays it down for a 'certain truth that God is good, yea, most good and excel- 'lent; he therefore cannot choose nor will evil; and yet 'there is evil in the world: consequently it was necessary, 'and can be owing to nothing but matter. Moreover, he 'was always Lord. But he could not have been always 'Lord as well as God if there had not ever been somewhat 'subject to him. It follows therefore that[e] God made the 'world out of something, even matter.'

I need not enlarge any farther. But I do not see that Hermogenes argued so much from the impossibility of God's making the world out of nothing, as from the unfitness of it. If the world has been made out of nothing, he feared that the evil therein must be ascribed to the will of God, which would have been a reflection on his goodness. But matter, out of which the world was made, being inherently[f] evil, he supposed that he thereby vindicated the Divine Being.

SECTION VI.

He believed one supreme God unchangeably good.

TERTULLIAN says that[a] if matter be eternal there must be two gods. But Hermogenes did not allow that he asserted

ex arbitrio nec ex voluntate—Quod ergo non ex arbitrio suo fecerit, intelligi oportere ex vitio alicujus rei factum, ex materiâ esse sine dubio. Adjicit et aliud: Deum semper Deum etiam Dominum fuisse, nunquam non Deum. Nullo porro modo potuisse illum semper Dominum haberi, sicut et semper Deum, si non fuisset aliquid retro semper, cujus semper Dominus haberetur. Fuisse itaque materiam semper Deo Domino. Ad. Hermo. c. 2, 3. p. 296. A. B. C.

[e] ———cum vult eum de materiâ cuncta fecisse. Cap. 8. p. 269. C. Magis autem, inquit Tertullianus, eum decuit ex voluntate fecisse, quam ex necessitate, id est, ex nihilo potius quam ex materiâ. Cap. 14. p. 272. C.

[f] Et tamen unde nobis persuadet Hermogenes, malam esse materiam? Cap. 11. p. 270. D. 340. Age nunc, malam ac pessimam credamus esse materiam. Cap. 12. p. 271. B. 340.

[a] Ita Hermogenes duos deos infert———Innatus Deus. An non et innata materia? Ambo sine initio sine fine———Vel quâ, inquit, et sic habente materiâ, salva sit Deo et auctoritas et substantia, quâ solus et primus auctor est, et Dominus omnium censeatur—Dicit salvum Deo esse, ut et solus sit et primus, et omnium auctor, et omnium Dominus, et nemini comparandus. Cap. 4, 5, 6. p. 267, 268. 337.

Sicut deum bonum et optimum credimus—porro naturam certam—quam in bono apud Deum incorruptibilem et indemutabilem. Cap. 12. p. 271. B.

one God supreme over all, maker of the world, unchangeably good, with whom no other being could be compared. Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that [b] Tertullian has well enough confuted the opinion of Hermogenes; and he well observes, that [c] the schemes of Hermogenes and others, for accounting for the origin of evil, are not satisfactory.

SECTION VII.

He ascribed to matter an irregular motion, but introduced no Æons.

HERMOGENES ascribed to matter originally [a] an irregular and turbulent motion.

We now perceive the scheme of Hermogenes: he did not introduce any Æons, nor any creator different from the one God the Father; but he said that matter was eternal, and God made the world out of it. To this matter he ascribed all the evil and all the defects which there are in any creatures. Matter had always a confused and irregular, turbulent motion. God brought order, and beauty, and proportion, out of that confused and indigested matter.[b]

[b] Addit et alias rationes non omnino malas, si in meliore luce collocarentur; hoc est, clariore dictione exprimerentur, et commodiore ordine disponerentur. Cleric. H. E. 168. n. 14.

[c] Ergo, inquit, ex nihilo faceret, ut mala quoque arbitrio ejus imputarentur? Magna, bonâ fide, cœcitas hæreticorum pro hujusmodi argumentatione. Cum ideo aut alium Deum bonum et optimum volunt credi, quia mali auctorem existiment creatorem; aut materiam cum Creatore proponunt, ut malum a materiâ, non a Creatore deducant; quando nullus omnino Deus liberetur istâ quæstione, ut non auctor mali videri proinde possit, quisquis ille est, qui malum, etsi non ipse fecit, tamen a quocumque, et unde passus est fieri. Cap. 10. p. 270. B. Ita enim sine causâ laboras, ne malorum auctor constituatur Deus; qui etsi de materiâ fecit, ipsi deputabuntur, qui fecit, proinde quâtenus fecit. Cap. 14. p. 272. B. 341.

[a] Commune autem inter illos facis, quod a semet ipsis moventur, et semper moventur. Quid minus materiæ quam Deo adscribis? Totum consortium Divinitatis hoc erit, libertas et æternitas motûs. Sed Deus composite, materia incondite movetur. Nam, secundum ollæ similitudinem, sic erat, inquis, materiæ motus, antequam disponeretur, concretus, inquietus, inapprehensibilis, præ nimietate certaminis. Cap. 42, 43. p. 287, 354. B. C. Vide et cap. 45. p. 288. C. D. [b] Audio enim, apud Hermogenem, cæterosque materiarios hæreticos, terram quidem illam informem et invisibilem et rudem fuisse; hanc vero nostram proinde et formam et conspectum et cultum a Deo consecutam. Cap. 25. p. 278. B.

Postea infers: at ubi accepit compositionem a Deo, et ornata est, cessavit a naturâ. Cap. 43. p. 287. C. 22. 355.

SECTION VIII.

No distinct account of his opinion concerning the person of Jesus Christ.

WE are not distinctly informed what were the conceptions of Hermogenes concerning the person of Jesus Christ. Theodoret says he thought the body of Jesus was lodged in the sun. The same notion is ascribed to him in the extracts of the Prophets [a] at the end of Clement of Alexandria. Philaster [b] and Augustine [c] ascribe the same opinion to the followers of Seleucus and Hermias, before taken notice of.

SECTION IX.

Some other opinions of his about the origin of the soul, human liberty, the devil, dæmons, and a future judgment.

TERTULLIAN seems to say that, according to Hermogenes, God [a] made the soul out of matter. The reason of this is assigned in one of the passages at the bottom of the page.

Tertullian asserted human liberty. And I think he [b] does not deny it to have been held by Marcion and Hermogenes.

Theodoret, as before quoted, said Hermogenes taught

[a] P. 808. D. Paris. p. 1002. Potter.

[b] Salvatorem autem in carne negant sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed exspoliâsse carnem, et posuisse in solem æstimant: quia dixit propheta: In sole posuit tabernaculum suum. H. 55. p. 111.

[c] Seleuciani sunt vel Hermiani, ab auctoribus Seleuco et Hermiâ—Negant salvatorem in carne sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed eâ se exuisse perhibent, eamque in sole posuisse, accipientes occasionem de Psalmo. H. 59.

[a] De solo censu animæ congressus Hermogeni, quâtenus et istum ex materiæ potius suggestu, quum ex Dei flatu constituisse præsumsit. De Anim. cap. 1. p. 334. B. 639. Unâ jam congressione decisâ adversus Hermogenem, ut præfati sumus; quia animam ex Dei flatu, non ex materiâ vindicamus. Ibid. c. 3. p. 307. A. Cæterum adversus Hermogenem, qui eam ex materiâ, non ex Dei flatu contendit, flatum proprie tuemur. Ille enim adversus ipsius scripturæ fidem flatum in spiritum vertit, ut, dum incredibile est, spiritum Dei in delictum, et mox in judicium devenire, ex materiâ potius anima credatur, quam ex Dei spiritu. Ibid. c. 11. p. 313. C. D. 648.

[b] Inesse autem nobis *αυτεξουσιον* naturaliter, jam et Marcioni ostendimus, et Hermogeni. De Anim. c. 21. p. 324. C. 658.

that the devil and dæmons would be again resolved into matter. In which there is nothing wonderful; since from thence they had arisen. Moreover possibly he conceived the confluence of matter, or some part of it, to be the abyss and place of torment assigned to[c] the devil and his angels at their final condemnation.

Whence we are led to observe, that[d] this person believed a future judgment, and probably all the other great articles of religion. That he believed a future judgment appears from the passage just transcribed, and from another a little while ago.[e]

SECTION X.

He never set up a separate communion.

THUS we have taken notice of all the particular opinions ascribed to Hermogenes by the ancients; but perhaps none of the accounts need to be relied upon, except those in Tertullian. And it seems to me somewhat probable that Hermogenes never formed a party, or set up a separate communion: for Tertullian says nothing of his having separate assemblies. I apprehend therefore that Hermogenes was willing to communicate with catholic christians, if they would admit him: though he indulged himself in speculations that led him into some sentiments a little out of the common road.

SECTION XI.

His testimony to Scripture.

NOTHING remains but that we consider his testimony to the scriptures.

Le Clerc takes notice that[a] Tertullian argues with him as one who received the scriptures. Indeed Tertullian, in

[c] Quod si tunc erit mali finis, cum præses ejus diabolus abierit in ignem, quem præparavit illi Deus et angelis ejus, prius in puteum abyssi relegatus. In Herm. c. 11. p. 271. A. B. 6. 340.

[d] ———et ita nos frustra laboramus de auferendo malo ex nobis ipsis: tum et Deus hoc frustra mandat et præcipit: imo et judicium frustra constituit Deus, injustitiâ utique puniturus. Ib. p. 271. A. 340.

[e] See the third passage in note [a]. [a] Ideoque cum eo agit, quasi cum homine, qui S. scripturam admitteret. H. E. p. 722. n. 13.

arguing with Hermogenes, quotes every part of scripture as received by him; particularly the books of Moses [b] and his account of the creation. Nay, Hermogenes and his friends endeavoured to support the notion of God's making the world out of matter, or chaos, from that account, and he argued that [c] the scriptures had not expressly said that God made the world out of nothing. Tertullian warns [d] him not to assert the world to have been made out of matter, without authority from scripture: and speaks as if Hermogenes must have dreaded such a conduct and the consequences of it.

SECTION XII.

He received both the Old and New Testament.

TERTULLIAN refers to [a] the book of Proverbs. He quotes [b] David in the 102d Psalm, and several of the prophets by name.

That Hermogenes and others [c] respected Christ, the pro-

[b] Sed et ad originale instrumentum Moysis provocabo, unde et diversa pars suspiciones suas ingratis fulcire conatur, ne scilicet non inde instrui videretur, unde oportet. Itaque occasiones sibi sumsit quorundam verborum, ut hæreticis fere mos est simplicia quæque torquere. Nam et ipsum principium, in quo Deus fecit cœlum et terram, aliquid volunt fuisse quasi substantivum et corpulentum, quod in materiam interpretari possit. Cap. 19. p. 275. A. Sed ex sequentibus argumentatur, quia scriptum sit: Terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita. Nam et terræ nomen redigit in materiam. Ibid. cap. 23. p. 277. C. Vult igitur duas proponi terras in istâ scripturâ; unam, quam in principio Deus fecit; aliam, materiam, ex quâ fecit, de quâ dictum sit: 'Terra autem erat invisibilis et rudis.' Cap. 25. p. 278. B.

[c] Ergo, inquis, si tu ideo præjudicas, ex nihilo facta omnia, quia non sit manifeste relatum de materiâ præcedenti factum quid; vide, ne diversa pars ideo contendat, ex materiâ omnia facta, quia proinde non aperte significatum sit, ex nihilo quid factum. Cap. 21. p. 276. C.

[d] Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem, quâ mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrium rectoris invenio sermonem. An autem de aliquâ subjacenti materiâ facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud, adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum. Cap. 22. p. 277. B.

[a] Si necessaria est Deo materia ad opera mundi, ut Hermogenes existimavit, habuit Deus materiam longe digniorem—non apud philosophos æstimandum, sed apud prophetas, Sophiam suam scilicet.—Quum pararet cœlum, inquit, aderam ei, &c. Cap. 18. p. 274. B. C. D.

[b] Sic et David. p. 283. Sic enim et Esaïas. Cap. 29. p. 280. B. et c. 32. p. 282. B. Sic enim et Hieremias commendat. Cap. 45. p. 288. B. Apud Danielem. Cap. 44. p. 287. C. De spiritu æque Amos. Cap. 32. p. 282. B.

[c] Nisi quod solus eam (materiam) Hermogenes cognovit, et hæreticorum

phets, and the apostles, is apparent. Tertullian quotes the Old and New Testament to him, particularly [d] St. Matthew's and St. John's gospels,[e] and [f] Paul's epistles.

Upon the whole, I think it plain that Hermogenes received and respected the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament as other christians of his time did.

SECTION XIII.

No account of any writings of his.

THERE is no account of any writings of Hermogenes, though it may be reckoned probable that he was an author. Possibly it might be inferred from many things in [a] Tertullian, and from the tenour of his arguments. Cave, however, at his conclusion of this article, triumphs in [k] the loss of his works, if there were any; which I am sorry to see: for it appears to me below a man of letters. The notions and reasonings of Hermogenes could have done no harm to any men of these times who are capable of examining. And we might have made some good use of his works, as we have done of the fragments of Heracleon and others.

partriarchæ philosophi. Prophetis enim et apostolis usque adhuc latuit, puto et Christo. Cap. 8. p. 269. D. Plane a philosophis recedis: sed tamen et a prophetis. Cap. 44. p. 287. C. At enim prophetæ et apostoli non ita tradunt mundum factum. Cap. 45. p. 288. A.

[d] Cum præses ejus diabolus abierit in ignem, quem præparavit illi Deus et angelis ejus. Cap. 11. p. 271. B. Vide et c. 12. p. 271. C.

[e] Denique evangelium, ut supplementum instrumenti veteris, adhibebo, in quo vel eo magis debuerat ostendi Deus ex aliquâ materiâ universa fecisse, quod illis etiam per quem omnia fecerit, revelatur. In principio erat sermo. Et sermo erat apud Deum———omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Cap. 20. p. 276. A. B. Vide et cap. 18. p. 275. A.

[f] Hæc autem sunt invisibilia ejus, quæ secundum apostolum ab institutione mundi de factis ejus conspiciuntur, &c. Cap. 45. p. 288. C. Vide et C. 11. p. 271. B. et c. 4. p. 267. C. et passim.

[a] Et quidem epinöemata illius retorquebo adversus illum. Cap. 3. p. 267. B. Nam et Hermogenes expugnat quorundam argumentationes, dicentium, mala necessaria fuisse ad inluminationem bonorum. Cap. 15. p. 273. B. Dehinc subjicis—supra certamen motus adscribis, hic tarditatem—Supra dicis—Horum immemor, postea infers. Cap. 43. p. 287. B.

[b] Verum scripta ista in Deum blasphema piorum zelus et propria impietas æternis tenebris merito damnavit. H. L. p. 74.

CHAP. XIX.

OF THE MONTANISTS.

SECTION I.

Ancient writers who speak of them.

I HAVE already several times had occasion to speak of the Montanists in my accounts of ancient authors, who wrote against them: as[a] Miltiades,[b] Serapion,[c] Claudius Apollinaris,[d] Apollonius,[e] Caius,[f] Asterius Urbanus. To whom may be added[g] the letters of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. And it is well known that Tertullian embraced their prophecy; which therefore obliged me to take some notice of them in his[h] history.

SECTION II.

Of the time when they first sprang up.

THE rise of Montanism is generally placed by learned moderns about[a] the year 171, agreeably to Eusebius in his[b] Chronicle, who there placeth it at the eleventh of Marcus Antoninus, as he does also in his Ecclesiastical History; for, speaking of the Letters of the Martyrs at Lyons, who are supposed to have suffered in the year 177, or, at the soonest, in the year 167, he says that[c] the followers of Montanus did then but begin to be known in the world. He expresseth himself again to[d] the like purpose in his account of the

[a] See before, vol. ii. p. 202. [b] P. 264. [c] P. 314, 315.
[d] P. 392. [e] P. 396, 397. [f] P. 410—413.
[g] P. 161, 162. [h] P. 272, 273.

[a] Vide Basnag. an. 171. n. 2. Cav. H. L. T. 1. p. 74. Massuet. Diss. Iren. p. 79. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Montanistes, Art. 1. et note 1.

[b] Pseudo-prophetia, quæ Kata-Phrygas nominatur, accepit exordium, auctore Montano, et Priscillâ et Maximillâ, insanis vatibus. Chr. p. 170.

[c] *Των δ' αμφι τον Μοντανον—περι την Φρυγιαν αρτι τοτε πρωτον—παρα πολλοις εκφερομενων.* L. 5. c. 3. p. 168. A. [d] *Τοτε γεμην ὡσπερ εκφυειν αρχομενης ετι τε Μοντανε—αρχας της παρεκτροπης ποιεμενε.* L. 4. c. 26.

books of Apollinaris against them, who flourished about the year of Christ 176.

Nevertheless[e] Pearson and[f] Beausobre are of opinion that Montanism appeared in the year 156, or 157, soon after the middle of the second century: and Barratier[g] in the year 126. But it seems to me that Eusebius could not be much mistaken, who was in general very well acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, and had before him the works of many ancient writers in this controversy. However, if any should be disposed to place the rise of this affair ten or fifteen years sooner, the difference would not be very great.

Epiphanius, who is not always exact in his chronology, says that[h] Montanus set up his pretensions in the nineteenth of Antoninus the Pious, or about the year of Christ 156. His reasons for that computation are assigned by Petavius in his animadversions upon him: and Tillemont should be[i] consulted.

SECTION III.

From whence they derived their name, and the extent and continuance of their opinions.

THEY are called[a] Montanists from Montanus; Phrygians and Cata-Phrygians from the country where they sprang up; Pepuzians from a village in Phrygia, which was respected by them as another Jerusalem.

Irenæus has not any where expressly mentioned the Montanists; but he is supposed to refer to them, or intend them, in[b] two places of his work against heresies. They are twice mentioned plainly by[c] Clement of Alexandria. They were for a time countenanced[d] by a bishop of Rome.

[e] Opp. Post. p. 253. 155.
[f] Hist. de Manich. T. 1. p. 350.
[g] Disquisit. Chron. p. 150.
[h] H. 48. n. 1.
[i] Les Montanistes, note 1.

[a] Vide Theod. H. Fab. L. 3. cap. 2. B. C.

[b] L. 3. cap. 11. p. 192. L. 4. c. 33. [al. 53.] n. 6. p. 271. Mass.

[c] Αλλα και οἱ Φρυγες· ηδη γαρ και οὑτοι τες τῃ νεᾳ προφητειᾳ με προσεχοντας ψυχικες καλεσιν. Str. 4. p. 511. A. Vide et Str. 7. p. 765. C.

[d] Nam idem tunc episcopum Romanum, agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani, Priscillæ et Maximillæ, et ex eâ agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando, et præcessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo coëgit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas, et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare. Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 1. p. 634. C.

But learned men are not agreed whether it was Victor or some other.

This people subsisted a good while; for the Cata-Phrygians are expressly mentioned in Constantine's Edicts[e] against heretics. Epiphanius says they[f] were then in Cappadocia, Galatia, and Phrygia; and numerous in Cilicia and at Constantinople. Augustine,[g] and[h] Sozomen, and Theodoret[i] speak of them as in being in their times. A Montanist endeavoured to pervert Marcella,[k] to whom Jerom writes.

SECTION IV.

Where Montanus was born, and of certain reproaches cast on him and his followers.

IT is generally supposed that Montanus was born at Ardaba, in Mysia: which was either a part of Phrygia, or lay contiguous to it. It is likewise said that[a] he was but a new convert to christianity, when he had the vanity to set up for a prophet. These two particulars are taken from an author in Eusebius, whom we reckon to be Asterius Urbanus; nevertheless he does not speak positively; he only mentions them as things commonly said and reported. Theodoret too says that[b] Montanus was of Ardaba.

I am unwilling to take notice of some things said of Montanus. St. Jerom reproaches him with[c] being an eunuch: the reason of which is assigned by the Benedictines in a note[d] upon the place. Cyril of Jerusalem says that[e] Montanus was a man covered all over with filthiness and impurity, not fit to be mentioned. And Isidore of Pelusium affirms that[f] he was guilty of adultery. But I humbly

[e] See before, Vol. iv. p. 36, 47. [f] H. 48. n. 14. p. 416.

[g] Et etiam nunc in eisdem partibus populos habent. Aug. de Hær. cap. 26.

[h] L. 7. c. 18. p. 733. [i] H. Fab. L. 3. c. 2.

[k] Testimonia de Joannis evangelio congregata tibi quidam Montani sectator ingessit. Adv. Marc. Ep. 27. T. 4. p. 64.

[a] Κωμη τις ειναι λεγεται εν τῃ κατα Φρυγιαν Μυσιᾳ, καλεμενῃ Αρδαβαν τενομα. Ενθα φασι τινα των νεοπιϛων πρωτως Μοντανον εν επιθυμιᾳ ψυχης αμετρῳ φιλοπρωτειας. κ. λ. Ap. Eus. L. 5. c. 16. p. 180. A.

[b] H. F. Lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 227. [c] Abscissum et semivirum habuisse Montanum. Ad. Marcell. Ep. 27. [al. 54.] T. 4. p. 65.

[d] Abscissum vocat et semivirum, quia Montanus erat ex Phrygiâ ubi Cybeles sacerdotes castari solebant.

[e] Ὁ αθλιωτατος, και πασης ακαθαρσιας και ασελγειας πεπληρωμενος. κ. λ. Cat. 16. n. 8. p. 247. B. [f] —μοιχᾳ δε φανερως ἑαλωκοτος. Is. L. 1. ep. 243.

conceive that these testimonies are too late. Neither Eusebius nor the authors quoted by him, some of which were contemporaries with Montanus, and others who lived not long after him, lay any such thing to his charge.

We formerly took notice of a report, that [g] Montanus and Maximilla laid violent hands on themselves. But the author who mentions that story did not give credit to it. We are therefore under no obligation to pay any regard to it. The manners of the sect will be considered by and by.

SECTION V.

Of his companions and assistants, and their prophecies.

EUSEBIUS speaks of [a] Alcibiades and Theodotus as joined with Montanus from the beginning. But the persons most frequently mentioned as his assistants and prophetesses are two women, named Prisca or Priscilla, and Maximilla. They are said to [b] have been married women, and to have forsaken their husbands. Possibly they did not mind household affairs so much as they should have done: and when once they thought themselves inspired, and that God had qualified them for extensive service to his church, they might reckon themselves to be reasonably excused from low and private concerns: still, however, without violating the regard expected from them by their husbands. By Jerom they are said to have been [c] rich and honourable women, and by their wealth to have greatly promoted the interest of the sect: but whether he may be relied upon I cannot certainly say. Cave calls them [d] two profligate women. But surely such language might have been spared. Scarce any of the ancients have expressed themselves so harshly in speaking of those deluded women. And if they had, they need not be followed unless they appear to speak with reason.

Though Priscilla and Maximilla were the most remarkable

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 413.

[a] L. 5. cap. 3. p. 168. A.

[b] *Δεικνυμεν εν αυτας πρωτας τας προφητιδας ταυτας, αφ' ε τε πνευματος επληρωθησαν, τες ανδρας καταλιπεσας.* Apollon. ap. Eus. L. 5. c. 18. p. 184. D.

[c] Montanus, immundi spiritûs predicator, multas ecclesias per Priscam et Maximillam, nobiles et opulentas feminas, primum autem corrupit, deinde hæresi polluit. Ad. Ctesiph. T. 4. p. 477.

[d] Adscitisque sibi duabas profligatissimis mulierculis, Priscillâ et Maximillâ, &c. Cav. H. L. in Montan. An. 172.

supports of Montanus, there were other women supposed by them to have the gift of prophecy. Tertullian[e] speaks of a sister's converse with God and angels in strong terms.

Some of the prophecies of these persons were published in writing. Epiphanius quotes a book called[f] the Prophecy of Montanus; and several times[g] cites his words: as also[h] words of Maximilla. And Theodoret[i] speaks of the prophecies of Priscilla and Maximilla. And it may be argued from Tertullian that oftentimes[k] their visions, which they had in time of public worship, were taken down in writing after the assembly was over, by some of the principal of the congregation.

It is observable (which is related by several ancient writers)[l] that these people boasted not of any prophecies among them after Montanus and his two women. Nay, Maximilla declared[m] there would be none after her. For certain Montanus and the two fore-mentioned prophetesses were the pillars of the sect.

SECTION VI.

Of his pretensions and manner of prophesying.

MONTANUS'S pretensions are differently represented by ancient catholic writers. Some say he was called by[a] himself and his followers the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit. Epi-

[e] Est hodie soror apud nos, revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesiâ inter dominica solemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur: conversatur cum angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino, et videt et audit sacramenta, et quorundam corda dignoscit, et medicinas desiderantibus submittit, &c. De Animâ, cap. 9. p. 311. A. 265.

[f] Λεγει γαρ εν τῃ ἑαυτȣ λεγομενῃ προφητειᾳ. H. 48. n. 10. p. 411. C.

[g] Ibid. n. 4. p. 405. D. n. 11. p. 412, 413. [h] Ibid. n. 2. p. 403. D. n. 12. p. 413. [i] Hær. Fab. L. 3. c. 2.

[k] Post transacta solemnia, dimissâ plebe, quo usu solet nobis renuntiare quæ viderit: (nam et diligentissime digeruntur, ut etiam probentur:) inter cætera, inquit, ostensa est mihi anima corporaliter, &c. De Anim. cap. 9. p. 311. B. 265. [l] Πως ȣκετι μετα Μοντανον και Πρισκιλλαν και Μαξιμιλλαν εχȣσι προφητας; Epiph. H. 48. n. 2. p. 403. B.

[m] Epiph. Ibid. D. Vide et p. 404. A.

[a] Τον μεν παρακλητον Μοντανον, τας δ' εξ αυτȣ γυναικας, Πρισκιλλαν και Μαξιμιλλαν, ὡς αν τȣ Μοντανȣ προφητιδας γεγοννιας αυχουντες. Euseb. L. 5. c. 14. p. 178. C.

Ετολμησεν ειπειν ἑαυτον ειναι το ἁγιον πνευμα. Cyr. Cat. 16. No. 8. p. 247.

Ουτος, οις ηθεις ερωτι φιλαρχιας, παρακλητον ἑαυτον προσηγορευσε. Theod. H. F. L. 3. c. 2. B.

phanius in one place chargeth him with saying, 'I [b] am not 'an angel, nor an ambassador, but the Lord God the Father.' Augustine, who in the first part of his article says, 'The [c] 'Cataphrygians respected Montanus as the Paraclete, and 'Priscilla and Maximilla as prophetesses,' afterwards adds, 'they [d] supposed the Lord's promise concerning the Holy 'Spirit to have been rather fulfilled in them than in the 'apostles.' And to the like purpose [e] Philaster. St. Jerom sometimes says they [f] believed the Holy Spirit to have been in Montanus. The truth seems to be that they supposed God to have made some additional revelations by Montanus, for the perfection of believers; for they did not deny that the Holy Ghost had descended upon the apostles on the famous day of Pentecost: but they supposed that some things were left to be revealed, when and to whom God pleased. But then they could not think this inspiration of Montanus equal to that of the apostles, as it did not relate to the great articles of faith, but chiefly to matters of external order and discipline.[g]

Tertullian heartily embraced this new prophecy. But then he says: 'We [h] preach no other God nor other Christ: 'nor have we any other rule of faith; though we are more for 'fasting and less for marrying than other people.' In another place, [i] and in another work, he speaks to the like purpose. And he says again, 'It [k] was impossible that any new

[b] Παλιν φησι Μοντανος, ὁτι ετε αγγελος, ετε πρεσβυς, αλλα εγω Κυριος ὁ Θεος Πατηρ ηλθον. Ibid. n. 11. p. 413. B.

[c] Montanus tanquam Paracletus, et duæ prophetissæ ipsius Prisca et Maximilla. H. 26. in.

[d] Adventum spiritûs sancti a Domino promissum, in se potius quam in apostolis fuisse asserunt.

[e] Addunt etiam, plenitudinem sancti spiritûs non per apostolos Christo dante fuisse concessam, sed per illos suos pseudo-prophetas æstimant impartitam. Phil. H. 49. Cataphry. p. 102, 103. 13.

[f] Sicut aliæ hæreses Paracletum in Montanum venisse contendunt, et Manichæum ipsum dicunt esse Paracletum. Adv. Vigil. T. 4. p. 285. in.

—ad extremum per spiritum sanctum in Montanum, Priscam et Maximillam insanas feminas, descendisse, et plenitudinem, quam non habuerit Paulus,—habuisse Montanum. Ad Marcell. Ibid. p. 65.

[g] See below, note [i].

[h] Hi Paracleto controversiam faciunt. Propter hoc novæ prophetiæ recusantur; non quod alium Deum prædicant Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla; nec quod Jesum Christum solvant; nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant; sed quod plane doceant, sæpius jejunare quam nubere. De Jejun. cap. 1. p. 701. C.

[i] Paracletus autem multa habens edocere, quæ in illum distulit Dominus, secundum præfinitionem, ipsum primo Christum contestabitur, qualem credimus, cum toto ordine Creatoris; et ipsum glorificabit, et de ipso commemorabit. Et sic de principali regulâ agnitus, illa multa, quæ sunt disciplinarum, revelabit. De Monog. cap. 2. p. 673, 674.

[k] An capiat, Paracletum aliquid tale docuisse, quod aut novum deputari

'revelation should contradict the doctrine of Christ,' I put some other passages of his in the [l] margin, showing his respect for this manifestation, and his persuasion that spiritual gifts were, in an uncommon degree, bestowed upon Montanus and his friends; and yet asserting that the [m] state of things among them had its foundation in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

The manner of delivering their pretended prophecies was disagreeable. They seem to have been for a time deprived of the exercise of reason; [n] which induced several catholic writers, in their arguments with them, to show that neither the prophets of the Old or New Testament prophesied in ecstasy. The thing is taken notice of by [o] Athanasius and by [p] Jerom several times. Epiphanius has a long argument upon this [q] point. Tertullian, who went into all the peculiar sentiments of this new party, calls prophecy [r] a spiritual violence.

SECTION VII.

Of the opinions of the Montanists.

AS for the resurrection of the body and other great articles of the christian religion, all writers of heresies bear testimony to their [a] belief of them. And, as Tertullian ob-

possit adversus catholicam traditionem, aut onerosum adversus sarcinam Domini? Ibid. cap. 2. p. 673. D.

[l] Penes nos autem, quos spiritales merito dicit faci agnitio spiritalium charismatum———Sed Psychicis non recipientibus spiritum, ea quæ sunt spiritûs non placent. De Monog. cap. 1. 673. B. Vide eund. cap. 14. p. 686.

[m] Nostrorum bonorum status jam mergitur. Christianæ pudicitiæ ratio concutitur. Quæ omnia de cœlo trahit, et disciplinam per instrumentum prædicationis, et censuram per judicia ex utroque Testamento. De Pud. cap. 1. p. 715. C.

[n] *Πνευματοφορηθηναι τε και αφνιδιως εν κατοχῃ τινι και παρεκστασει γενομενον, ενθουσιαν.* Ap. Eus. L. 5. cap. 16. p. 180. A. B. Vide et cap. 17. p. 183. B. C.

[o] N. 3. contr. Ar. n. 47. p. 596. C.

[p] Neque vero, ut Montanus cum insanis feminis somniat, prophetæ in extasi sunt locuti, ut nescirent quid loquerentur; et, quum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent. Prol. in Is. T. 3. p. 3. Non enim loquitur, ut Montanus et Prisca Maximillaque delirant: sed quod prophetat, liber est visionis intelligentis universa quæ loquitur. Prol. in Naum, p. 1559. Vide eund. in Is. cap. 1. p. 7. ini. et c. 28. p. 236. in.

[q] H. 48. n. 3—8.

[r] Hoc postea obvenit, quum in illum (Adamum) Deus dementiam immisit, spiritalem vim, quâ constat prophetia. De Anim. cap. 21. p. 324. A.

[a] Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum confitentur: carnis resurrectionem expectant: quæ et catholica ecclesia prædicat. Philast. cap. 49. p. 101. Vide Epiph. H. 48. p. 402.

serves, they [b] are not weakened, but established, confirmed, and illustrated by these overflowings of the Spirit.

They are however charged by some with not holding the right doctrine concerning the Trinity. Epiphanius says that [c] concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, they agree with the catholic church. Theodoret's account is, that [d] Montanus made no innovation in the doctrine of the Trinity, or the creation of the world: but afterwards [e] some of his followers denied the hypostases, and agreed with Sabellius and Noetus. The author of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions says there [f] were two parties among them, who had different sentiments about the Trinity. It must be reckoned probable that some of them were in the Sabellian or Unitarian scheme. For it is affirmed by many writers of antiquity; by [g] Jerom and [h] Isidore of Pelusium, as well as the others just mentioned.

SECTION VIII.

Of the peculiarities in their manners, discipline, and doctrine.

WE now proceed to observe their peculiarities. But after all, I suppose they esteemed themselves good catholic christians. For though Tertullian scornfully calls the

[b] De quibus luculenter et Paracletus per prophetidem Priscam. De Res. Carn. cap. 11. p. 386. B. Idcirco jam omnes retro ambiguitates, et quas volunt parabolas, apertâ atque perspicuâ totius sacramenti prædicatione discussit, per novam prophetiam de Paracleto inundantem; cujus si hauseris fontes, nullam poteris sitire doctrinam———Resurrectionem quoque carnis usquequaque potando, refrigeraberis. Ibid. cap. ult. p. 430. A.

[c] Περι δε πατρος, και νιϑ, και ἁγιϑ πνευματος ὁμοιως φρονϑσι τῃ ἁγιᾳ καθολικῃ εκκλησιᾳ. H. 48. n. 1. p. 402. D.

[d] Τον δε περι της ϑειας τριαδος ϗκ ελυμηνατο λογον· και τα περι της κοσμϑ δημιϑργιας ὁμοιως ἡμιν εδογματισεν. T. 4. L. 3. cap. 2. p. 227. B.

[e] Τινες δε αυτων τας τρεις ὑποϛασεις της ϑεοτητος Σαβελλιῳ· παραπλησιως ηρνησαντο, τον αυτον ειναι λεγοντες και πατερα και νιον και αγιον πνευμα, παραπλησιως τῳ Ασιανῳ Νοητῳ. Ibid. p. 227. C.

[f] Accesserunt alii hæretici, qui dicuntur secundum Phrygas. Sed horum non una doctrina est. Sunt enim, qui κατα Proclum dicuntur. Sunt qui secundum Æschinem pronuntiantur———Privatam autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt κατα Æschinem hanc habent, quâ adjiciunt etiam hoc, ut dicant Christum ipsum esse Filium et Patrem. De Pr. Hær. cap. 52. p. 254. C.

[g] Primum, in fidei regulâ discrepamus. Nos Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum in suâ unâquâque personâ ponimus, licet substantiâ copulemus: Illi, Sabellii dogma sectantes, Trinitatem in unius personæ augustias cogunt. Adv. Marcell. T. 4. p. 64.

[h] Vide Isid. L. 1. Ep. 67.

catholics sometimes animal and the like, he does not reckon them heretics,[a] but distinguishes them from such people.

In general we may say they made a profession of much strictness;[b] and therefore are not seldom mentioned together with the Novatians, and called Puritans.

One thing in which they innovated was condemning second marriages in all.[c] Whoever married a second time, though his first wife was dead, was excommunicated by them. All ancient writers agree in this account of them. And it appears in Tertullian's writings[d] to be a part of discipline which they constantly inculcated.

They had likewise many rules about fasting and abstinence.

Apollonius, in Eusebius,[e] blames Montanus for imposing laws of fasting. Theodoret says that[f] Montanus appointed new fasts, beside those which were customary in the church. A passage of Tertullian,[g] placed in the margin, will confirm this account.

The catholics said that such things ought not to be *imposed* upon men. If any thought fit to mortify themselves, they were at liberty so to do. But things, not commanded

[a] Hæretici nuptias auferunt. Psychici ingerunt. Illi nec semel, isti non semel nubunt. De Monog. cap. 1. p. 673.

[b] Montanus et qui Novati schisma sequuntur, nomen sibi munditiæ præsumsere, putantes secunda matrimonia ab ecclesiæ communione prohibenda. Hieron. ad Tit. T. 4. P. 1. p. 414. F. Rigidi autem sunt, non quo et ipsi pejora non peccent, &c. Ad Marcell. T. 4. p. 65. sub in. Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt, non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt sibi Filium Dei. Id. adv. Jovin. L. 2. T. 4. p. 195. M. Facessat itaque Novatus, errantibus manus non porrigens. Montanus cum insanis feminis prosternatur, jacentes in barathrum præcipitans, ne leventur. Ad. Pamm. Ep. 38. [al. 61.] p. 307. in. Vide et ad Ocean. Ep. 84. p. 659. infr. M.

[c] Nos secundas nuptias non tam appetimus, quam concedimus, Paulo jubente, ut viduæ adolescentulæ nubant. Illi in tantum putant scelerata conjugia iterata, ut quicumque hoc fecerit, adulter habeatur. Hieron. Ibid. p. 64. Εκβαλλεσι γαρ τον δευτερῳ γαμῳ συναφθεντα, και αναγκαζεσι——μη δευτερῳ γαμῳ συναπτεσθαι. Epiph. Ib. n. 9. p. 410. D. Secundas nuptias pro fornicationibus habent. Et ideo dicunt eas permisisse apostolum Paulum, quia ex parte sciebat. Aug. H. 26. Vide Theodot. H. F. L. 3. cap. 2. vol. 4. p. 227. B.

[d] Sed et si nubendi jam modus ponitur, quem quidem apud nos spiritalis ratio, Paracleto auctore, defendit, unum in fide matrimonium præscribens. Adv. Marc. L. 1. cap. 30. p. 452. B. Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum. De Monog. c. 1. p. 673. B. Vide eund. passim.

[e] Ὁ νηστειας νομοθετησας. Lib. 5. c. 18. p. 184. C.

[f] Και νηστειας καινας παρα το της εκκλησιας επεισηγαγεν εθος. Ib. p. 227. B.

[g] Arguunt nos, quod jejunia propria custodiamus, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producamus, quod etiam xerophagias observemus, siccantes cibum ab omni carne, et omni jurulentiâ, et vividioribus quibusque pomis, ne quid vinositatis vel edamus vel potemus, lavacri quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido victui. De jejun. c. 1. p. 701. B. C.

by Christ and his apostles, were not to be enjoined as necessary; so some argued, as appears from [h] Tertullian.

Jerom says they [i] kept three Lents in the year. Perhaps this was the practice of some of the sect in later times; for, as it is not mentioned by Tertullian, it may be reckoned not to have been enjoined by Montanus. In another place Jerom shows how the Montanists, and some others [k] likewise, argued from our Lord's words in Matt. ix. 15.

They did not allow the church the power to forgive great sins after baptism; or that [l] they who so fell should ever after be admitted again to full communion,[m] though they repented. Nay, Tertullian seems to say that [n] there is no salvation or forgiveness for such persons; and that Christ [o] does not intercede for them.

They were also against flight in persecution,[p] and against giving money to redeem themselves from ill usage of persecutors, or to procure any mitigation of affliction from them. They moreover met together openly, and in great

[h] Certe in evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus; et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum christianorum, abolitis legalibus et propheticis vetustatibus—Itaque de cætero differenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et apostolos observâsse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum, &c. De Jejun. cap. 2. p. 702. B.

[i] Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem apostolorum, toto nobis orbe congruo, jejunamus. Illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint salvatores. Ad. Marcell. T. 4. p. 65.

[k] Nonnulli putant idcirco post dies quadraginta passionis, jejunia debere committi: licet statim dies Pentecostes et spiritus sanctus adveniens indicent nobis festivitatem. Et ex hujus occasione testimonii Montanus, Prisca, et Maximilla, etiam post Pentecosten, faciunt quadragesimam; quod, ablato sponso, filii sponsi debeant jejunare, &c. In Matt. cap. 9. tom. 4. p. 31. M.

[l] Illi ad omne pene delictum ecclesiæ obserant fores. Hieron. ad Mar. p. 65.

[m] Hoc qui ab apostolis didicit, et cum apostolis docuit, nunquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab apostolis nôrat. De Pudic. cap. 20. p. 741. D.

[n] Audio etiam edictum esse propositum quidem peremtorium: Pontifex scilicet Maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentiâ functis dimitto. Absit, absit a sponsâ Christi tale prœconium. De Pud. c. 1. p. 715. C. D.

[o] In negotiis, in officiis, in quæstu, in victu, in visu, in auditu, quanta tentamur; ut si nulla sit venia istorum, nemini salus competat. Horum ergo erit venia per exoratorem Patris Christum. Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut graviora et exitiosa, quæ veniam non capiant, homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et mœchia et fornicatio, et si qua alia violatio templi Dei. Horum ultro exorator non erit Christus. Hæc non admittet omnino, qui natus ex Deo fuerit; non futurus Dei filius, si admiserit. De Pud. cap. 19. p. 741. A.

[p] Et ideo Paracletus, necessarius deductor omnium veritatum, exhortator omnium tolerantiarum; quem qui receperunt, neque fugere prosecutionem, neque redimere noverunt. De Fugâ in Pers. cap. 14. p. 700. C.

numbers,[q] in a way that was reckoned indiscreet by many other christians. Tertullian wrote a book upon this subject which may be consulted; which leads us to observe that these[r] people had their separate assemblies, in which every part of christian worship was performed. However, according to Jerom,[s] the order of their hierarchy was somewhat different from that of most others.

When Asterius Urbanus wrote, about 232, they[t] boasted of their having had many martyrs; which must be understood not for Montanism but for christianity.

They were Millenarians, as appears from [u] Tertullian.

SECTION IX.

Of their mysteries, and calumnies cast upon them on this account.

AFTER all these things that have been already mentioned, we must not omit the accounts of their mysteries: for, by several writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, we are informed that it was reported of them that they[a] took a child of about a year old, and pricked him all over with needles; the extracted blood they mixed with flour of wheat, and of this they made their [b] sacramental bread. If the child survived he was looked upon as a high priest; if he died, he

[q] Dicitur enim, quoniam incondite convenimus et complures concurrimus in ecclesiam, quærimur a nationibus, et timemus, ne turbentur nationes. Ibid. cap. 3. p. 691. D.

[r] Est hodie soror apud nos, revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesiâ inter dominica solennia per ectasin in spiritu patitur—Jam vero, prout scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adloquutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur. Forte nescio, quid de animâ disserueramus, cum ea soror in spiritu esset. De Anim. cap. 9. p. 311. A. B.

[s] Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent: apud eos episcopus tertius est. Habent enim, primos, de Pepusâ Phrygiæ patriarchas; secundos, quos apellent Cenonas. Atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum, locum episcopi devolvuntur. Ad. Marc. p. 65.

[t] Λεγοντες πολλας εχειν μαρτυρας. Ap. Eus. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 182. D.

[u] Nam et confitemur in terrâ nobis regnum repromissum; sed ante cœlum, sed alio statu; utpote post resurrectionem in mille annos, in civitate divini operis Hierusalem cœlo delatâ———Hanc et Ezechiel novit, et apostolus Joannes vidit, et, qui apud fidem nostram est, novæ prophetiæ sermo testatur. Adv. Marc. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 499. B. C.

[a] See Mr. Robert Turner, of the Calumnies cast upon the Primitive Christians, p. 52, 53.

[b] Augustin. Tom. 6. Hær. 26. p. 5. cap. 3. ad quod V. D. Vene. 1570. See the passage in the next page, note [g].

was reputed a martyr. I place at the bottom of the page passages of many authors relating to this matter; of[c] St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Isidore of Pelusium,[d] Epiphanius,[e] Philaster,[f] Augustine,[g] Theodoret,[h] &c. Jerom.[i]

Upon the passages of these authors it is easy to make some remarks. Augustine and some others seem to have supposed this to have been a common part of their mysteries, or eucharist. But Epiphanius and Philaster speak as if it belonged only to an annual festival about Easter. Cyril imputes lewdness as well as cruelty to their mysteries; and supposeth that they not only killed, but likewise eat infants; unless this last may be understood of their blood only, mixed with flour. Isidore of Pelusium chargeth them with magic, killing of infants, lewdness, and idolatry. He and Cyril of Jerusalem are the only writers who speak positively. Epiphanius, Philaster, and Augustine, express themselves doubtfully, and represent the matter as only report. Theodoret says there are stories about their mysteries, but they themselves do not allow the truth of them; they say they are false and nothing but calumnies. Jerom is not inclined to believe the common story, and is willing, he says, to omit the mention of it.

Undoubtedly it was a mere calumny and fiction. If there had been any such things practised by them, it would not have been omitted by Eusebius and all his authors; nor would Tertullian ever have had any concern with them. The commonness and the certain falsehood of this story

[c] *Αυταρκες γαρ τουτο δια δυσσημων ειπειν, των παρεσων γυναικων σεμνοτητος ἑνεκα—Και αθλιωτατα παιδια γυναικων μικρα σφαττων, και κατακοπτων εις αθεμιτον βρωσιν, προφασει των καλουμενων παρ' αυτοις μυστηριων.* Cat. 16. n. 8. p. 247.

[d] *Μαγγανειαις γαρ και παιδοκτονιαις, μοιχειαις τε, και ειδωλολατρειαις συντιθεται. κ. λ.* Ibid. lib. 1. Ep. 242.

[e] *Δεινον τε και αθεμιτον εργον φασι γενεσθαι. Παιδα γαρ κομιδη νηπιον κατα ἑορτην τινα δι' ὁλης της σωματος κατακεντωντες ραφισι χαλκαις, το αἱμα αυτης προσποριζονται ἑαυτοις, εις επιτηδευσιν δηθεν θυσιαις.* H. 48. n. 14. p. 416. C. Vide et n. 15. p. 417. C.

[f] Ubi et mysterium Cynicorum, (Senicorum) et infantis exsecranda celebratur impietas. Dicunt enim eos de infantis sanguine in Pascha miscere in suum sacrificium. H. 49. p. 103, 104.

[g] Sacramenta perhibentur habere funesta. Nam de infantis anniculi sanguine, quem de toto ejus corpore minutis punctionum vulneribus extorquent, quasi eucharistiam suam conficere perhibentur, miscentes eum farinæ, panemque inde facientes. Qui puer si mortuus fuerit, habetur apud eos pro martyre; si autem vixerit, pro magno sacerdote. H. 26. Vid. et H. 27.

[h] *Περι δε των μυστηριων τινες μεν θρυλλουσι τινα· εκεινοι δε ουκ συνομολογουσιν, αλλα συκοφαντιαν την κατηγοριαν καλουσι.* Tom. 4. p. 227. C.

[i] Prætermitto scelerata mysteria, quæ dicuntur de lactente puero, et de victuro martyre confarrata. Malo, inquam, non credere. Sit falsum omne quod sanguinis est. Adv. Marc. p. 65.

should teach us not to be ready in receiving accusations against any who are called heretics.

SECTION X.

Of their testimony to the scriptures.

IT still remains that we observe their testimony to the scriptures.

Philaster expressly says, 'They[a] receive the law and the 'prophets.' Epiphanius, in his larger work, that 'they[b] 'receive all the scriptures, both the Old and the New Tes-'tament.' In his arguments with them he appeals to the scriptures, as[c] of uncontested authority with them. His Summary is to this purpose: 'they[d] receive the Old and 'New Testament; but after the ancient prophets they bring 'in others, boasting of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla.' Theodoret says that 'Montanus[e] had two women prophet-'esses, and called their writings prophecies.' Afterwards he says that 'the[f] prophecies of those two women were in 'greater esteem with the Montanists, than the divine gos-'pel: which surely must be an aggravation.' Caius however, as we may remember, early complained of their[g] composing new writings or scriptures, and placing them in too high authority. Athanasius[h] speaks of their respect for Montanus and Maximilla as extravagant.

Nevertheless, there can be no good reason to doubt that they received all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament which other christians did, and with like respect. Tertullian, divers of whose remaining works were written after he was a Montanist, bears witness to it. Our collec-

[a] Isti prophetas et legem accipiunt. H. 49.

[b] Δεχονται και αυτοι πασαν γραφην, παλαιαν και νεαν διαθηκην. H. 48. n. 2. p. 402. C.

[c] Συγκρινοντες γαρ τα παρ' αυτων ειρημενα, και κατα την παλαιαν διαθηκην και καινην εν αληθειᾳ——δοκιμασωμεν. Ibid. n. 3. p. 404. D.

[d] Οἱτινες παλαιαν και νεαν διαθηκην δεχονται· ἑτερους δε προφητας παρεισφερουσι μετα τους προφητας, Μοντανον τινα αυχουντες και Πρισκιλλαν και Μαξιμιλλαν. p. 396.

[e] Και τα τουτων συγγραμματα προφητικας προσηγορευσε. p. 217. B.

[f] Αἱ δε της Πρισκιλλης και Μαξιμιλλης προφητειαι ὑπερ το Θειον ευαγγελιον τετιμηνται παρ' αυτοις. Ibid. C.

[g] See Vol. ii. p. 397.

[h] Και ὡσπερ εκεινοι Μαξιμιλλαν και Μοντανον, οὑτως οὑτοι, αντι του Χριστου, Κωνσταντιον δεσποτην επιγραφονται. De Synod. n. 4. p. 719.

tions from him made formerly,[i] and some passages of his transcribed in this article, are sufficient to satisfy every inquisitive person. From the same writer it appears that they received particularly the Acts of the Apostles and the Revelation. Passages of later authors show that the sect had not altered their mind, but continued to receive[k] the book of the Acts, St. John's[l] gospel and[m] Revelation.

CHAP. XX.

OF PRAXEAS.

SECTION I. *Of the time in which he lived.*

BASNAGE speaks of Praxeas[a] at the year 194; Baronius under the year[b] 196; as doth Spondanus[c] in his Abridgment. Tillemont says he[d] appeared not till after the two Theodotuses, the most ancient of which is he of Byzantium, who first published his heresy under Victor, or a little before; and the other Theodotus was his disciple. So that Praxeas may have appeared also under Victor; and he must be placed under him or his successor Zephyrinus, for he had appeared before Tertullian became a Montanist, which at the latest happened in the year of Christ 207.

SECTION II.

What ancient writers speak of him, and by whom he is omitted.

THERE is no notice taken of Praxeas by Irenæus or Clement of Alexandria; he is not in Cyril of Jerusalem, nor in

[i] Article Tertullian, V. ii. p. 272, &c. and the article Marcion in this vol. sec. xxx. p. 483. to the end.

[k] Quod si voluerint respondere, et Philippi deinceps quatuor filias prophetâsse, et prophetam Agabum reperiri. Hier. ad Marc. Tom. 4. p. 64.

[l] Testimonia de Joannis evangelio congregata tibi quidam Montani sectator ingessit. Id. ibid. [m] Vide Epiph. H. 48. n. 10. p. 411.

[a] Annales Pol. Ecc. An. 194. p. 206. [b] Ad An. 196.

[c] Ad An. 196. n. 7. p. 169. [d] Mem. Ec. Tom. 3. Praxeas, in.

Epiphanius, or Theodoret; nor has Eusebius mentioned him. Philaster and Augustine have no distinct articles for Praxeas, but speak of him in their chapters of Sabellius. He is mentioned several times among other heretics by [a] Optatus of Milevi. He is likewise spoken of by [b] Jerom and [c] Pacianus. Tertullian calls him a late heretic.[d] He certainly appeared not till after the Montanists. Agreeable to this the author [e] of the Additions to Tertullian's Prescriptions places him last of all after the Montanists, and after the two Theodotuses. But it is Tertullian himself who will afford us the best assistance for tracing out the history and opinions of Praxeas; he having written a treatise against him which is still in being.

SECTION III.

Of his country.

PHILASTER [a] and [b] Augustine say that Praxeas lived in Africa; and that he was some while there appears from Tertullian; though he says Praxeas came from Asia to Rome. Beausobre therefore concludes that he was a presbyter of Asia.[c] However I do not think that these expressions can determine that he was of that country. The little notice that is taken of him by Greek writers, and the frequent mention of him in Latin authors, may lead us to think he was a Latin, rather than a Greek or Asiatic.

[a] Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus, et cæteri. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 8. D. Du Pin. p. 37. Albaspinæi. Paris, 1631. Apud Praxeam patripassianum qui ex toto filium negat, et patrem passum esse contendit. Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 80. Du Pin, p. 83. Albaspinæi. Vide etiam ib. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 74. vel 79.

[b] Cum Ario adulteria committo. Feci et antea cum Praxeâ, cum Ebione, cum Cerintho, Novato. Adv. Lucif. Tom. 4. p. 305. M.

[c] Theodotus quoque et Praxeas vestros aliquando docuere. Pac. Ep. 1. ap. Bib. 88. T. 4. p. 305. G.

[d] Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxean hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 2. p. 635. B. p. 494. 46. Fran. 1597.

[e] De Præs. ad Hær. cap. 51. ad finem p. 218. 12.

[a] Unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani et Praxeani a Praxeâ, et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africâ. cap. 54. p. 108.

[b] Nam et Praxeanos eos a Praxeâ quidam vocant; et Hermogeniani vocari ab Hermogene potuerunt; qui Praxeas et Hermogenes, eadem sentientes, in Africâ fuisse dicuntur. H. 41.

[c] His. Manich. T. 1. p. 533.

The series of Tertullian's narration leads us to think that[d] Praxeas having been in Asia, where he saw the pretended prophecies of Montanus and his women, when he came to Rome, he informed the bishop of Rome concerning them; and gave him such an account of them as satisfied him they had no real inspiration, though before he had been inclined to countenance them. Some time after this Praxeas came over into Africa, perhaps to Carthage, where Tertullian was acquainted with him.

SECTION IV.

He suffered in the cause of Christ.

PRAXEAS had suffered imprisonment, if not other afflictions, during the rage of some persecution for the sake of the christian religion. After which, upon his coming to Rome, he openly professed his opinions concerning Christ, which were not approved of by all: this he did particularly in Africa, where he made many converts.

SECTION V.

Once confuted and signed a recantation, but afterwards professed again his former principles.

A CERTAIN person had a dispute with him there upon that head, and had such advantage over him that he owned himself confuted; and signed a recantation, which was in

[d] Nam iste primus ex Asiâ hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romæ, homo et alias inquietus, insuper de jactatione martyrii inflatus, ob solum et simplex et breve carceris tædium——Nam idem tunc episcopum Romanum, agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ——et ex eâ agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando——coëgit literas pacis revocare jam emissas——Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit, et hæresim intulit——Fruticaverant avenæ Praxeanæ, hic quoque superseminatæ, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ: traductæ dehinc per quem Deus voluit, etiam evulsæ videbantur. Denique caverat pristinum doctor de emendatione suâ. Et manet chirographum apud Pyschicos, apud quos tunc res gesta est. Exinde silentium. Et nos quidem postea agnitio Paracleti atque defensio disjunxit a Psychicis. Avenæ vero illæ utique tunc semen excusserant. Ita aliquamdiu per hypocrisin subdolâ vivacitate latitavit, et nunc denuo erupit. Adv. Pr. c. 1. p. 634. C. D. p. 494. 20.

being among the catholics when Tertullian wrote against him. The disputant who had that advantage was very probably Tertullian himself, though from a principle of modesty, he does not say so expressly. As that recantation was lodged with the catholics, it is fairly concluded that Tertullian was at that time among them. Indeed he expressly says he was, and that it was his afterwards taking upon himself to defend the Montanists' principles, which was the cause of the separation. What induced Praxeas to sign such a recantation is not certain, whether it was real conviction, or some other consideration. But as he afterwards maintained again the same doctrine, it gave occasion for people to say it was not sincere.

SECTION VI.

A believer in baptism, and the general articles of the christian faith.

I NEED not particularly show that Praxeas and his followers practised[a] baptism, and believed the general articles of religion, as other christians did. I shall only observe what is said of those opinions of his, which were disliked by some, and then speak of his testimony to the scriptures.

And I immediately place at the bottom of the page the [b] concluding article of the Additions to Tertullian's book of Prescriptions.

SECTION VII.

A strenuous assertor of the divine unity.

HE asserted the unity of God, and[a] denied a real Trinity; as Tertullian says at the beginning of his treatise against

[a] Et quia dixisti, et aquam esse mendacem, etiam hoc disce, ubi eam (f. veram) poteris invenire: Apud Praxeam, patripassianum, qui ex toto Filium negat, et Patrem passum esse contendit? Optat. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 80.

[b] Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit: hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum. Præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum profanâ et sacrilegâ temeritate proponit, cap. 53. p. 255. 218. 22.

[a] Vane diabolus æmulatus est veritatem—Unicum Dominum vindicat

him. Again, he[b] held the Jewish doctrine, denying the distinct personality of the Son and Spirit. He contended[c] that by the Word was to be understood the wisdom, the will, the power, the voice or command of God; not a distinct personal substance, which would be introducing two gods.

Praxeas moreover said that 'the[d] man Jesus was the Son of God, and born of the virgin, and that the[e] Father dwelt in him; or that there was a union of the Deity, or Divine nature with the man Jesus.' Which occasioned Tertullian and[f] others to say of him, as also of the Sabellians, that they were Patripassians; and believed the Father to have been born, crucified, and died. That this is said without good ground has been shown formerly.[g] They held Jesus to be a man, and said that God was with him in a superior and more intimate manner than with any other man or prophet whatever; but it was not a personal union.

Omnipotentem mundi conditorem, ut et de unico hæresim faciat. Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex eâ natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum. Contr. Pr. cap. 1. p. 634. A. 498. 8. Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. Ibid. D. p. 494. 28.

[b] Cæterum, judaïcæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium ei adnumerare nobis, et post Filium Spiritus. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus evangelii,—si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritum tres crediti, unum Deum sistunt? Ibid. cap. 31. p. 663. D. p. 512. 41. Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.—Aut numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt? Ibid. cap. 12. p. 643. A. p. 500. 3.

[c] Non vis enim eum substantivum habere in re per substantiæ proprietatem, ut res et persona quâdam videri possit, et ita capiat secundus a Deo constitutus duos efficere, Patrem et Filium, Deum et Sermonem. Quid est enim, dices, sermo, nisi vox, et sonus oris? cap. 7. p. 638. C. D. p. 497. 13.

[d] Ecce, inquiunt, ab angelo prædicatum est (Luc. 1. 35.) propterea, quod nascetur sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei: Caro itaque nata est, Caro itaque erit Filius Dei. Ad. Prax. c. 27. p. 659. D. 510. 23.

[e] Ut æque in unâ personâ utrumque distinguant, Patrem et Filium, dicentes Filium carnem esse, id est hominem, id est Jesum; Patrem autem Spiritum, id est Deum, id est Christum.* Ibid. p. 659. A. 510. 15.

[f] Itaque post tempus Pater natus, et Pater passus est. Ipse Deus, Dominus omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur. Ib. cap. 2. p. 634. D. p. 494. 37.

[g] Vol. ii. p. 595, 597.

* These two quotations confirm the account formerly given from Beausobre (see Vol. ii. p. 596.) of the distinction in the Noëtian or Sabellian Theology between the Word and the Son of God. The Word was the wisdom of God dwelling in the man Jesus, who was conceived in the womb of the virgin by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore called the Son of God.

SECTION VIII.

He would not allow that the Father suffered.

WITH regard to Praxeas and his followers, we know from Tertullian himself that he did not say the Father suffered; they only allowed [a] compassion with the Son suffering. I place below a passage of Tertullian on this head [b] at length, and likewise a passage out of the Oriental doctrine,[c] where a like opinion is ascribed to Theodotus.

They were the more fully persuaded of the truth of this opinion [d] of theirs, because they thought it the surest way of maintaining the belief of one only God. For, as Tertullian [e] informs us, the doctrine of unity of one God the Father, Praxeas was persuaded must be right: 'and many others 'were of the same opinion, fearing the evil or danger of Po-'lytheism.' They believed that [f] that person who was born of Mary suffered death, and was buried as the gospels relate; for no man ever allowed that proper Deity suffered. The catholics, who supposed the Son to be incarnate, did not allow the Divine nature in Jesus to suffer, as Tertullian him-

[a] Times dicere passibilem, quem dicis compassibilem. cap. 29. p. 662. B. 512. 12.

[b] Ergo nec compassus est Pater Filio: sic enim directam blasphemiam in Patrem veriti, diminui eam hoc modo sperant, concedentes jam Patrem et Filium duos esse: Filius si quidem patitur, Pater vero compatitur. Stulti et in hoc. Quid enim est compati quam cum alio pati? Porro si impassibilis Pater, utique et incompassibilis; aut si compassibilis, utique passibilis. Ad. Prax. c. 29. p. 662. A. 512. 8.

[c] Ειτα εκλαθομενοι της δοξης τυ Θευ, παθειν αυτον λεγυσιν αθεως. Ὁ γαρ συνεπαθησεν ὁ πατηρ ἑτερος ων τῃ φυσει, φησιν ὁ Θεοδοτος——ἡ γαρ συμπαθεια παθος τινος, δια παθος ἑτερυ, κ. τ. λ. Clem. Alex. p. 794. D.

[d] Maxime hæc, quæ se existimat meram veritatem possidere, dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum dicat. Ad. Prax. c. 2. p. 635, 6. p. 495. 1. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari; se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt:———*μοναρχιαν* inquiunt tenemus. Ibid. 495. 14.

[e] Simplices enim quippe, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, (quæ major semper credentium pars est,) quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis seculi ad unicum verum Deum transfert———expavescunt ad œconomiam. Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis divisionem præsumunt unitatis. Ibid. c. 3. p. 635. D. 495. 10. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari; se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt. Ibid. c. 3. p. 635. D. p. 495. 14.

[f] Fortasse non credenda de Patre, licet scripta, quem isti in vulvam Mariæ deducunt, et in Pilati tribunal imponunt, et in monumento Joseph concludunt. Ibid. c. 16. p. 649. A. p. 503. 45.

self assures us.[g] He in the same place also informs us that the Praxeans said the like, that the Father, or the Divine nature in Jesus, did not suffer.

SECTION IX.

He received the Old Testament and the New, both gospels and epistles.

TERTULLIAN argues against them from every part of scripture, as supposing they allowed[a] the authority of it, and were obliged to acquiesce in the true sense and interpretation of it.

Having quoted the Psalms and Isaiah, he says, 'it[b] is 'needless to produce more passages, though many others 'might be added.' Having argued a great deal from the Old Testament[c] he proceeds to the New, and alleges both gospels and epistles, quoting particularly St. John's gospel, and St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy, he has a long argument, or string of quotations, from St. John's[d] gospel, in eight or nine chapters, and as many folio pages; and in this work of Tertullian[e] the beginning of that gospel is quoted over and over: and not only St. John and St. Paul,

[g] Quamquam cum duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Jesu, divina et humana, constet autem immortalem esse divinam, sicut mortalem quæ humana sit, apparet, quâtenus eum mortuum dicat (1 Cor. xv. 3.) id est, quâ carnem est hominem et filium hominis, non quâ spiritum, et sermonem et Dei Filium. Dicendo denique, Christus mortuus est, id est, unctus; id quod unctum est, mortuum dicit, id est carnem. Ergo, inquis, et nos eâdem ratione Patrem mortuum dicentes quâ vos Filium, non blasphemamus in Dominum Deum; non enim ex divinâ sed ex humanâ substantiâ, mortuum dicimus. cap. 29. p. 661. D. 662. A. p. 511. 49. 512.

[a] Probare autem tam aperte debebis ex scripturis, quam nos probamus illum sibi filium fecisse, &c. Ibid. c. 11. p. 499. 10.

[b] Hæc pauca de multis. Nec enim affectamus universas scripturas evolvere. cap. 11. p. 642. D. p. 499. 46.

[c] Si hunc articulum quæstionibus scripturæ veteris non expediam, de Novo Testamento sumam confirmationem nostræ interpretationis—Ecce enim et in evangeliis et in apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo—Exclamat quodammodo Joannes: (cap. i. 18.) Deum nemo vidit unquam. Utique nec retro—confirmat et apostolus de Deo: (1 Tim. vi. 16.) Quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videre potest. cap. 15. p. 646. D. p. 502. 22.

[d] A. cap. 21. ad. cap. 27. p. 651. D. 659. p. 505. 512.

[e] Et in primis, ipsa statim præfatio Joannis evangelizatoris demonstrat, quod retro fuerit, qui caro fieri habebat. In principio erat sermo, et sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat sermo, &c. cap. 21. p. 651. C. p. 50. 30.

but Matthew and Luke[f] are likewise expressly mentioned by name.

The followers of Praxeas, as well as Praxeas himself, were very fond of St. John's writings; Tertullian therefore quotes his[g] first epistle, and his gospel again and again. Having gone over his gospel from the beginning to the end, he proceeds to the other gospels,[h] and argues from the accounts of our Saviour's nativity in Matthew and Luke. Whence it appears that they drew an argument from Luke i. 35. They said, 'the Holy Ghost, or the Spirit of God, is God himself, and "the power of the highest," the highest himself.'

SECTION X.

He founded his arguments upon a great variety of passages both in the Old and New Testament.

NOT only Tertullian endeavoured to confute the followers of Praxeas by scripture, but they themselves argued from it; and he has happily let us know some of the texts on which they insisted.

'They were much moved,' he[a] says, 'by any passages of

[f] Aut numquid mendacium evangeliis exprobavit, dicens, viderit Matthæus et Lucas? cap. 1. p. 634. B. p. 494. 16.

[g] Denique inspiciamus, quem apostoli viderint. Quod videmus, inquit Joannes, (1 Ep. c. 1.) quod audivimus,———et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, de sermone vitæ. cap. 15. p. 647. B. p. 502. 36. Joannes autem (1 Ep. ii. 22.) etiam mendacem notat eum qui negaverit Jesum esse Christum: contra (1 Ep. v. 1.) de Deo natum omnem, qui crediderit Jesum esse Christum. cap. 28. p. 661. A. p. 511. 23.

[h] Videmus Joannis evangelium decucurrisse——Cæterum, ut alia evangelia non interponam, quæ de nativitate dominicâ fidem confirmant, sufficit eum, qui nasci habebat ex virgine, ab ipso annuntiari angelo, filium Dei determinatum: Spiritus Dei superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit te. Propterea, quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei. Volent quidem et hic argumentari: sed veritas prævalebit. Nempe, inquiunt, Filius (f. Spiritus) Dei Deus est, et virtus Altissimi Altissimus est. Nec pudet eos injicere. Quod si esset, scriptum fuisset. Quem enim verebatur, ut non aperte pronuntiaret, Deus superveniet, et Altissimus obumbrabit te. cap. 26. p. 658. A. p. 506. 27.

[a] Sed hanc societatem nominum paternorum in Filio ne facile perspiciant, perturbat illos scriptura, si quando unicum Deum statuit. cap. 18. p. 649. D. p. 504. 16. Igitur unus Deus Pater, et alius absque eo non est. Inspice sequentia hujusmodi———Et invenies, fere ad idolorum factitatores atque cultores eorum pertinere, ut multitudinem falsorum deorum unio divinitatis expellat. cap. 18. 649. D. 650. A. Itaque præter semet ipsum non esse alium Deum, hoc propter idololatriam tam nationum quam Israëlis. Ibid. Quin et hoc

'the Old or New Testament which speak of there being one 'God only, particularly where it is said, (Isaiah xlv. 5,) "I 'am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God be- 'sides me." And chap. xliv. 24, "I am the Lord that 'maketh all things; that stretches forth the heavens *alone;* 'that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself."'

In the New Testament[b] they grounded much upon the answer which our Lord made to Philip, John xiv. 9, 10. They likewise insisted on[c] John x. 30. Having considered many passages in St. John's gospel, he concludes: 'where- 'fore[d] the texts which you think to be for you, are all against 'you.'

Praxeas received the Acts of the Apostles, and argued from that[e] book in favour of this opinion. And Tertullian endeavours to confute him by it in a great variety of instances, some of which are given below, and more might be added.

Tertullian also argues against him from St. Paul's epistles, particularly from the epistles[f] to the Romans and Galatians, and the[g] first to the Corinthians. He also endea-

dictum ejus in argumentis singularitatis arripient: Extendi, inquit, cœlum solus. (Is. 44. 24.) cap. 19. p. 650. B. p. 504. 39.

[b] Sed argumentationibus eorum adhuc retundendis opera præbenda est, si quid de scripturis ad sententiam suam excerpent—Nam sicut in veteribus nihil aliud tenent quam, Ego Deus, et alius præter me non est; ita in evangelio responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur: Ego et Pater unum sumus: et, qui me viderit, vidit et Patrem: et Ego in Patre, et Pater in me. His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti volunt cedere. cap. 20. p. 651. B. p. 505. 20.

[c] 'Ego et Pater unum sumus.' Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti, imo cœci qui non videant: primo ego et Pater, duorum esse significationem: dehinc in novissimo sumus, non ex unius esse personâ—tum quod unum sumus, non unus sumus. cap. 22. p. 507. 18. [d] Igitur quæcumque ex his putaveris ad demonstrationem ejusdem Patris et Filii proficere tibi posse, adversus definitivam evangelii sententiam niteris. cap. 25. p. 657. D. p. 509. 23.

[e] Sed non ita docent Acta Apostolorum in aliâ exclamatione ecclesiæ ad Deum: Convenerunt enim universi, adversus sanctum Filium tuum Jesum: (Act. iv. 27.) Sic et Petrus: (Act. ii. 36.) Firmissime itaque cognoscat omnis domus Israel, quod et Dominum et Christum, id est unctum, fecerit eum Deus hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis. cap. 28. p. 660. D. 661. A. p. 511. 18. 22. Altissimus, quâ dextra Dei exaltatus, sicut Petrus in Actis concionatus. cap. 17. p. 649. C. p. 504. 9. Hunc vidit Stephanus, cum lapidaretur, adhuc stantem ad dexteram Dei. cap. 30. p. 663. A. p. 512. 35.

[f] Sic et Paulus ubique Deum Patrem ponit, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Cum ad Romanos scribit—Cum ad Galatas—Et habes tota instrumenta ejus, quæ in hunc modum pronuntiant. cap. 28. p. 661. A. p. 511. 26.

[g] Nam et apostolus non sine onere pronuntians Christum mortuum, adjecit, secundum scripturas. (1 Cor. xv. 3.) cap. 29. p. 511. 47. Siquidem apostolus scribit de ultimo fine, cum tradiderit regnum Deo et patri, (1 Cor. xv. 24.) &c. cap. 4. p. 495. 5. Vide etiam cap. 1, 4, 10, 14, 15, 16, &c. &c.

vours to confute him from [h] the epistle to the Ephesians, and from [i] the first of Timothy, and also from the epistle [k] to the Philippians.

We have seen before that the first epistle of St. John was much regarded by Praxeas, and that Tertullian frequently quotes it against him.

He also [l] received St. John's Revelation, and argued from it, particularly from chap. i. 8, "I am Alpha and Omega, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."

CHAP. XXI.

OF JULIUS CASSIANUS.

SECTION I.

Of his time.

JULIUS CASSIANUS, or Cassian, is supposed by [a] Cave to have flourished about the year 174; by [b] Tillemont about the year 200: perhaps he might be as well placed between both those dates, at about the year 190. There is little notice taken of him by any ancient writer beside Clement of Alexandria. I shall quote all the passages in which Clement mentions him, in the order in which they lie, and make a few short remarks.

[h] Et cum apostolus scribit, uti Deus Domini nostri Jesu Christi det vobis spiritum sapientiæ et agnitionis. (Ep. i. 17.) cap. 28. p. 511. 42.

[i] De Patre autem ad Timotheum, 'quem nemo vidit hominum nec videre 'potest:' exaggerans amplius, 'qui solus habet immortalitatem,' &c. (1 Tim. vi. 16.) cap. 15. p. 502. 51.

[k] Hic certe est, qui, in effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam existimavit esse se qualem Deo. (Phil. ii. 5, 6. cap. 7. p. 497. 24.

[l] Interim hic mihi promotum sit responsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi Joannis proferunt. Ego Dominus, qui est, et qui fuit, et venit, Omnipotens. cap. 17. p. 649. C. p. 504. 12.

[a] H. L. p. 1. p. 78.

[b] Mem. Ec. T. 2. Les Gnostiques, p. 51. et Les Valentiniens, p. 265.

SECTION II.

In his writings he argued from the Old as well as the New Testament.

CLEMENT asserts that the Hebrew philosophy is the most ancient. 'This,' says he, 'has been well shown by Tatian 'in his book against the Gentiles or Greeks. It is also 'shown by Cassian[a] in the first book of his Commentaries.' It is not unlikely therefore that in that work Cassian defended the truth of the christian religion. And we may conclude likewise, that he respected the Jewish people, and Moses their lawgiver.

In another place Clement is arguing against the Encratites, who condemned marriage. He takes some notice of their reasonings, and then adds: 'By[b] such arguments Cas- 'sian, a principal defender of Docetism, endeavours to sup- 'port their doctrine; for thus he writes in his book of Con- 'tinence.' In which passage Cassian quotes and argues from Isa. lvi. 3, and Matt. xix. 12. Here Clement observes that Cassian agrees with Tatian. In this book too Cassian argued[c] from our Lord's answer to a question of Salome, supposed to be taken from the gospel according to the Ægyptians, of which we took notice[d] formerly.

In this same book likewise Cassian said that 'the[e] coats of skin which God made for Adam and Eve to cover them were bodies,' Gen. iii. 28. And it seems somewhat probable that here Cassian argued also from Eph. iv. 22—24, which therefore Clement explains in a different[f] manner from him. Upon these two last passages Beausobre has some curious observations, which[g] may be seen in his history of Manichæism.

[a] Ειρηται δε και Κασσιανῳ εν τῳ πρωτῳ των εξηγητικων. Str. lib. 1. p. 320. B.

[b] Τοιστοις επιχειρει και ὁ της δοκησεως εξαρχων Ιωλιος Κασσιανος. Εν γεν τῳ περι εγκρατειας, η περι ευνεχιας, κατα λεξιν φησιν——Ει γαρ ην παρα θεω, εις ὁν σπευδομεν. ἡ τοιαυτη διασκευη, εκ αν εμακαρισεν τους ευνεχους, κ. λ. Str. 3. p. 465. B. C. D.

[c] Δια τουτο τοι ὁ Κασσιανος φησι, πυνθανομενης της Σαλωμης, ποτε γνωσθησεται τα περι ὡν ηρετο, εφη ὁ κυριος, 'Οταν το της αισχυνης ενδυμα πατησητε, κ. λ. Ibid. C. D.

[d] See Vol. ii. p. 236, 251.

[e] Χιτωνας δε δερματινας ἡγειται Κασσιανος τα σωματα. Ibid. p. 466. D.

[f] 'Οταν ουν ὁ αποστολος ειπῃ, ενδυσασθη τον καινον ανθρωπον τον κατα Θεον κτιζομενον, ἡμιν λεγει, τοις πεπλασμενοις ὑπο της του παντοκρατορος βουλησεως ὡς πεπλασμεθα· παλαιον δε ου προς γενεσιν και αναγενεσιν φησιν, αλλα προς τον βιον τον τε εν παρακοῃ, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. C.

[g] T. 2. p. 135, 136.

Clement once more mentions[h] Cassian with others, and not without a good deal of indignation, on account of his Docetism, and aversion to the appointment of marriage.

I should add, that Theodoret,[i] in the article of Secundus, whom he calls successor of Valentinus, mentions several others, leaders of parties, somewhat different from the original Valentinian scheme, and among them Cossian, perhaps meaning our Cassian.

SECTION III.

Of his opinions, country, and philosophical speculations.

BY all which we perceive that Julius Cassian, who seems to have been contemporary with Clement, was a christian, a Docete, and an Encratite. And it appears highly probable that he received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament as other christians generally did. If he quoted the gospel according to the Ægyptians, it is not certain that he showed the same respect to it which he had for the other gospels. However, from that reference, and the particular notice taken of him by Clement of Alexandria, whilst other writers, so far as we know, have omitted to mention him, it may be argued that he was of the same country. He was learned, and may have been virtuous; for he is spoken of with great respect by Clement[a] after his confutation of him in the passage before[b] quoted; but he was mistaken in several respects, being misled, as it seems, by his philosophical speculations.

[h] *Οι μοι των κακων. Βλασφημεσι το βελημα τε Θεε, και το μυστηριον της κτισεως, την γενεσιν διαβαλλοντες, δια ταυτα ὴ δοκησις Κασσιανῳ.* Ibid. p. 469. C. D.

[i] *Και αλλοι δε μυριοι εντευθεν ανεφυησαν αἱρεσεως αρχηγοι, Κοσσιανος, Θεοδοτος, κ. τ. λ.* H. F. lib. 1. p. 201. A.

[a] *Ἡγειται δε ὁ γενναιος οὐτος Πλατωνικωτερον, θειαν εσαν την ψυχην ανωθεν επιθυμιᾳ θηλυνθεισαν δευρο ἡκειν εις γενεσιν και φθοραν.* Str. lib. 3. p. 466. A.

[b] Page 612, note [a].

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE ELCESAITES, OR OSSENS.

SECTION I.

The time uncertain when they arose.

WE have already spoken of this sect,[a] the time of the rise of which is uncertain. Epiphanius[b] places Elxai, from whom they derived their name, under the emperor Trajan. Eusebius places the appearance of it much later; for having mentioned some persons in Arabia against whom Origen disputed, he adds: 'At[c] that time also sprang up another 'perverse opinion, called the heresy of the Elcesaites, but 'it became extinct almost as soon as it appeared.'

SECTION II.

They were mentioned and written against by Origen.

ORIGEN makes mention of it in a discourse to the people upon the eighty-second psalm, in these words: 'There is 'very lately come among us a person highly conceited of 'himself, supposing he should be able to defend an atheis-'tical and wicked opinion, newly[a] arisen up to infest (our) 'churches, called the heresy of the Elcesaites. I will lay 'before you the evils contained in that opinion, that you 'may not be carried away with it. It[b] rejects some things 'in every part of scripture: again, it makes use of passages 'out of every part of scripture, both of the ancient and the 'evangelical scripture. It rejects the apostle entirely; and 'it teaches that to deny the faith is an indifferent thing. He 'who has understood the truth according to him, may, in a

[a] Vol. ii. p. 478. vol. iii. p. 194.
[b] Ad Hær. 19. n. 1. p. 40. A.
[c] H. E. lib. 6. cap. 38.
[a] —νεωστι επανιστ αμενης ταις εκκλησιαις. Ibid. p. 233. D.
[b] Αθετει τινα απο πασης γραφης· κεχρηται ρητοις παλιν απο πασης παλαιας τε και ευαγγελικης· τον αποστολον αθετει. κ. λ. p. 234. A.

'case of necessity, deny it with his mouth, though not with 'the heart. They have a book which they say fell down 'from heaven; and they who hear that and believe, as they 'affirm, shall obtain remission of sins, but a different remis- 'sion from that which Christ bestows.'

SECTION III.

Other ancient authors who speak of this sect, and of their opinions.

IT cannot be improper to observe here what farther notice any other ancient writers have taken of a sect which seems to lie in a good deal of obscurity.

The Helcesaites, or Elcesaites, are just mentioned by Methodius. But he[a] so dislikes them, that he says they had better not be so much as mentioned.

I do not observe these people in Philaster.

Epiphanius often speaks of them. In[b] his Recapitulation he says: 'The Sampsæans, or Elcesæans, to this very time dwell in Arabia, in a country lying above the Dead Sea. 'They are followers of one Elxai, a false prophet. Of his 'family[c] there have been in our days two women named 'Marthus and Marthina, which have been worshipped by 'that sect as goddesses. They entirely agree with the 'Ebionites.' In the same work, in the article of the Ebionites, he had before said, that 'the[d] Ebionites very much 'agree with the before-mentioned Cerinthians and Nazarenes, 'with[e] whom also the heresy of the Sampsæans and Elce- 'sæans consents in part.'

In the larger work of Epiphanius these people are spoken of under three articles; first in that of the Ossens, then that of the Ebionites, and finally in that, which may be reckoned most properly the article peculiarly allotted to them, which last is to this purpose: that 'the[f] Sampsæans, called also 'Elcesæans, live in Peræa, (or beyond Jordan,) beyond the 'Salt, otherwise called the Dead Sea, in the country of the 'Moabites, near the brook Arnon, and farther up in Iturea

[a] Μαρκιωνος γαρ και Ουαλεντινε, και των περι τον Ελκεσαιον, και τες αλλες καλον μηδε μνημονευσαι. Method. Conv. p. 113. D. Ap. Combef. Auct. Nov.

[b] Anac. p. 397. cap. 7. vol. 1. edit. Paris. 1622.

[c] ᾧ ετι δευρο εκ τᾶ γενες ὑπηρχε Μαρθες και Μαρθινη—Παραπλησιως τοις Εβιωναιοις παντα εχοντες. Ibid.

[d] Ibid. p. 53. cap. 10. C.

[e] Οἱς συνηφθη κατα τι ἡ Σαμπσαιων τε και Ελκεσαιων αἱρεσις. Ibid.

[f] Adv. H. 53. p. 461, 462.

'and Nabatis. They glory in Elxai as their master.' He here again speaks of the two fore-mentioned women, Marthus and Marthina, and enlarges in the account of the great respect showed to them. 'One of whom he had heard to 'be dead, the other, Marthina, might be still living, unless 'she too had died lately.' In the article of the Ossens, he had before spoken of these women; there he says that 'Marthus[g] had died a little while ago, but that Marthina 'was still living.' He says, 'they[h] make use of the same 'book that is used by the Ossens, Ebionites, and Nazarenes, 'as he had before mentioned several times. These Samp-'sæans,' he says, 'are neither christians, nor Jews, nor 'heathens, but so compounded of each one as to be a no-'thing at all. They[i] are said to have another little book 'ascribed to the brother of Elxai. They profess[k] to believe 'one God, whom they worship with certain washings or 'purifications. They adhere to the Jews in all things. 'Some of them abstain from animal food. They are not un-'willing to lay down their life for one of the family of 'Elxai. They[l] neither receive the prophets nor the apos-'tles, and are all over in error. Water is esteemed by them 'as if it were God and the fountain of life. They confess 'Christ in words, but they think him a creature, and that 'he has often appeared; and that he first formed the body 'of Adam, and that he puts it on, or clothes himself with it, 'whenever he pleaseth; him they call Christ; and the Holy 'Spirit[m] they say is his sister, making him a woman. And 'many other ridiculous opinions they have among them.'

SECTION IV.

Of the Ossens, who were the same with the Elcesaites, called also Sampsæans; their time and opinions.

AS the sect of the Ossens were closely connected with the Elcesaites, and regarded Elxai with veneration, it will be proper to speak of them in this place. They are reckoned by Epiphanius to be a Jewish sect: but it will appear that

[g] H. 19. Num. 2. p. 41. B.

[h] Κεχρηνται δε τη βιβλῳ ταυτῃ και Οσσαιοι. κ. λ. p. 461. B.

[i] Φασι δε και αλλο εχειν. κ. λ. Ibid.

[k] Θεον δε ἑνα λεγεσι, κ. λ. Ibid. C.

[l] Και ουτε προφητας δεχονται οἱ τοιουτοι, ουτε αποστολους. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. D.

[m] Καλεισθαι δε αυτον Χριστον, και ειναι το ἁγιον Πνευμα αδελφην αυτου θηλυκῳ σχηματι. Ibid. No. 1. p. 462. A.

they were christians, and the same with the Sampsæans or Elcesaites. 'The[a] Ossens,' says Epiphanius, 'agree with 'the forementioned (viz. the Nazarenes). They are Jews, 'as well as the foregoing: they are said to have had their 'original in the country of Nabatis, and Iturea, and Moab, 'and Areil, which lie beyond the valley of Salt. To these 'joined himself Elxai in the time of the emperor Trajan, 'after the coming of our Saviour. He was a false prophet. 'He[b] composed a book after the manner of a prophecy, as 'if it had been a work containing divine wisdom. They 'likewise say he had a brother named Jexe, or Jexeus. He 'was an impostor of the Jewish nation, and pretended to 'have a zeal for Jewish rites, but yet lived not himself ac- 'cording to the law. He taught men to swear by salt wa- 'ter, the earth, bread, and heaven, and the air, and the wind. 'Sometimes he speaks of seven other witnesses; namely, 'heaven, water, and spirits, and holy angels of prayer, and 'oil, and salt, and the earth. He is an enemy to virginity, 'condemns continency, and compels men to marry.'

'He[c] has some fancies which he recommends as a revela- 'tion. He teaches men to be hypocrites, and says "it is no 'sin to worship idols in the time of persecution, provided it 'be done with the mouth only, and not with the heart."' Epiphanius afterwards adds: 'He[d] therefore long ago joined 'himself to the fore-mentioned heresy of the Ossens, of whom 'there are still remains in that same country of Nabatis and 'Peræa, and in the country of the Moabites, which are now 'called Sampsæans. He[e] forbids to pray toward the east, 'but says that every where we ought to pray looking to- 'wards Jerusalem. And yet,' as Epiphanius writes, 'he con- 'demns sacrifices, and denies they were ever appointed of 'God. He respected water, but not fire, and spake of the 'Holy[f] Spirit as female.'

Epiphanius further relates of Elxai,[g] that 'he had great

[a] Ad. Hær. 19. No. 1. p. 39, 40. A.

[b] Συνηφθη δε τουτοις μετεπειτα ὁ καλουμενος Ηλξαι εν χρονοις Τραιανου βασιλευος μετα την του Σωτηρος παρουσιαν, ὁς εγενετο ψευδοπροφητης· συνεγραψατο δε αυτος βιβλιον δηθεν κατα προφητειαν, η ὡς κατα ενθεον σοφιαν. Ibid. p. 40. A. B.

[c] Φαντασιωδη δε τινα ὡς δηθεν αποκαλυψεως παρεισφερει. Ibid. p. 40. C.

[d] Οὐτος μεν ουν ανω συνηπται τη προειρημενη αἱρεσει της των Οσσηνων καλουμενης, ἡς ετι λειψανα και δευρο ὑπαρχει εν τη αυτη Ναβατιδι γη, τη και Περαια προς τη Μωαβιτιδι, ὑπερ γενος νυνι Σαμψαιων καλειται. Ibid. No. 2. p. 40. D.

[e] Κωλυει δε εις ανατολας ευξασθαι, φασκων μη δειν προσεχειν ουτως, επι τα Ἱεροσολυμα δε εχειν το προσωπον εκ παντων μερων. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. No. 3. p. 42. A. B.

[f] Ειναι δε και το ἁγιον πνευμα και αυτο θηλειαν. Ibid. No. 4. p. 42. C.

[g] Και κεχρηνται αυτῳ τεσσαρες αἱρεσεις· επειδη θελγονται τη αυτου πλανη. Ibid. No. 5. p. 43. D.

'respect paid him by the followers of four sects, who in 'some measure borrowed from him, viz. the Ebionites, two 'sorts of Nazarenes, [h] and the Ossens.' He further says of him, that on [i] his joining himself to the Ebionites, 'they al- 'tered their opinion in some measure concerning Christ, be- 'lieving him to be Adam, or at least that he was the former 'of Adam's [k] body, and assumed it whenever he pleased.' From Elxai also these Ebionites are said by [l] Epiphanius 'to have learnt their silly notions concerning the great 'height, and breadth, and thickness of the bodies of Christ 'and of the Holy Spirit; and to have imbibed their doc- 'trines [m] principally from those countries where Elxai and 'his followers flourished.'

The foregoing passages contain all which Epiphanius says of Elxai, under the Ossen and Ebionitish heresies.

In that part where Epiphanius speaks of him under the article Ossens, there occurs a vile reflection. He says [n] that 'Elxai calls Christ a great king;' but he adds, 'he does 'not know whether he means our Lord Jesus Christ or an- 'other;' and the reason he gives for his ignorance seems to be because Elxai forbade men to worship towards the east, and enjoined them every where to worship towards Jerusalem. A sufficient foundation truly on which to rest such a malicious insinuation, which amounts at last only to this, that the object of superstitious regard, towards which this holy father, and his heretical opponent, were to turn their faces

[h] The latter Nazarenes, which is one of the four sects mentioned by Epiphanius, are perhaps the same with the Sampseans, or Elcesaites. Le Clerc was of this opinion, for he says, Vult idem (Epiphanius) Elxæo magistro usas quatuor hæreses, Ossenos, Ebionæos, Nazaræos posteriores et Sampsæos. His. Eccles. p. 535. No. 3. He thinks indeed that Epiphanius trifles egregiously in making two sorts of Nazarenes. Ibid. p. 538. No. 9. and p. 539. 12.

[i] Ταχα δε οιμαι απο τε συναφθηναι αυτοις Ηλξαιον τον ψευδοπροφητην—ὡς εκεινος φαντασιαν τινα περι Χριτε διηγειται και περι πνευματος ἁγιε. Τινες γαρ εξ αυτων και Αδαμ τον Χριτον ειναι λεγεσιν—ερχεσθαι δε ενταυθα ὁτε βελεται ὡς και εν τῳ Αδαμ ηλθε. Ad. Hær. 36. No. 3. p. 127. A.

[k] Και πρωτον μεν πεπλασθαι αυτον το σωμα τε Αδαμ, και παλιν ενδυεσθαι ὁτε βελεται. Adv. Hær. 53. No. 1. p. 461. D.

[l] Τε δε Ηλξαι την φαντασιαν ὡτε νομιζειν μεν τον Χριτον ειναι τι ανδροεικελον εκτυπωμα αορατον ανθρωποις μιλιων εννενηκοντα ἐξ το μηκος, δηθεν σχοινων εικοσιτεσσαρων, το δε πλατος σχοινων ἑξ μιλιων εικοσιτεσσαρων, το παχος δε κατα μετρησιν αλλην τινα, κ. τ. λ. Adv. Hær. 30. No. 17. p. 141. D.

[m] Τας δε ῥιζας των ακανθωδων παραφυαδων εχεσιν απο της Ναβατεας και Πανεαδος το πλειτον, Μωαβιτιδος δε, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. No. 18. p. 142. A.

[n] Αλλα και παλιν δηθεν μεν Χριτον ονοματι ὁμολογει, λεγων ὁτι Χριτος ὁ μεγας βασιλευς· ου μην πανυ γε κατειληφα,—ει περι τε Κυριε ἡμων Ιησε Χριτε ὑφηγησατο· ετε γαρ τετο ὁριζει, Χριτον δε ἁπλως λεγει· ὡς, ἐξ ὡν κατειληφαμεν, τινα ἑτερον σημαινων η προσδοκων· κωλυει γαρ εις ανατολην ευξασθαι, κ. τ. λ. Adv. Hær. 19. No. 3. p. 41. D. 42. A.

in time of divine worship, might happen to be in opposite points of the compass.

Austin is only remarkable for the time in which he places this sect, being the [o] thirty-second in his catalogue of ninety heresies; whereas in Epiphanius it is the fifty-third, though he reckons no more than eighty in the whole. What Austin [p] says of them is copied from Epiphanius's Recapitulation. He also mentions them under the article Ebionites, [q] referring again to Epiphanius.

Theodoret [r] speaks of them in the following manner: 'The Elcesæans, who are so called from one Elcesai, who 'set up this heresy, having borrowed divers fictions from 'several other heresies, thus formed their peculiar error:

'In their opinions concerning the principle of all things 'they agree with us, for they say there is one unbegotten 'Being, and him they call the master of all things. But they 'do not teach one Christ, but one above, and another below; 'and him they represent to have dwelled in many formerly, 'and at last to have descended. Sometimes they acknowledge that Jesus is from God; at other times they say he 'is a spirit. Sometimes they say he had a virgin for his 'mother; but in other of their writings they do not own so 'much as this. They believe him to transmigrate into other 'bodies, and every time to appear differently.

'They use songs and invocations of dæmons, and washings in the consecration of the elements. They profess to 'follow astrology and magic, and the mathematical error, 'and call themselves prognosticators. They have rejected 'the apostle altogether, and have composed a certain book, 'which they say fell down from heaven. He who attends 'to this book will receive a remission of his sins, but a re-

[o] See the Index of Heresies in the Preface to his Treatise on Heresies, Vol. 6. p. 4. col. 1. Ed. Ven. 1570.

[p] Elceseos et Sampseos hic tanquam ordine suo commemorat Epiphanius, quos dicit a quodam pseudoprophetâ esse deceptos, qui vocabatur Elci, ex cujus genere duas mulieres tanquam deas ab eis perhibet adoratas. Cætera Hebionæis tenere similia. De Hæres. vol. 6. cap. 32. p. 6. col. 1. Ed. Ven. 1570.

[q] Huic hæresi Epiphanius Sampseos et Elceseos ita copulat, ut sub eodem numero, tanquam una sit hæresis, ponat; aliquid tamen interesse significans. Ibid. cap. 10. p. 5. col. 1.

[r] Οἱ δε Ελκεσαιοι εκ τινος Ελκεσαι, της αἱρεσεως αρξαντος, την προσηγοριαν λαβοντες, εκ διαφορων αἱρεσεων μυθους ερανισαμενοι, την οικειαν συντεθεικασι πλανην—και τουτον δε παλιν μετενσωματουσθαι, και εις αλλα ιενται σωματα λεγει, και καθ' ἑκαστον καιρον διαφορως δεικνυσθαι επῳδαις δε και δαιμονων επικλησεσι και αυτοι κεχρηνται, και βαπτισμασιν επι τῃ των στοιχειων ὁμολοχιᾳ· αστρολογιαν δε και μαγικην και μαθηματικην ησπαζοντο πλανην, και προγνωστικους ἑαυτους προσηγορευον, κ. τ. λ. Hær. Fab. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 221, 2. Vol. 4. Paris. Cramoisy, 1642.

'mission different from that which Christ bestowed. Against 'this heresy Origen has written well. But Alcibiades, of 'Apamea in Syria, has commended it.'

Thus far Theodoret, on which it may be observed that Epiphanius does not mention any thing of their teaching two Christs, one above and another below; unless a passage concerning Elxai before referred to,[s] and introduced by him under the article Ebionites, may be thought to convey some such meaning. He had been representing Ebion as holding the opinion that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, by ordinary generation; and his followers as differing in their sentiments concerning Christ, yet all of them entertaining some absurd and perplexed notions about him. He proceeds: 'But[t] from the time that Elxai the false pro-'phet joined himself to them, who was followed by those 'that are called Sampsæans, Ossens, and Elcesaites, they 'have adopted certain fancies from him concerning Christ 'and the Holy Spirit. For some of them say that Christ 'was Adam, meaning he that was first formed by God, and 'animated with his breath. But others among them say 'that he is from above, that he was created before all things, 'and is a spirit: that he is superior to angels, that he is 'Lord of all, and is called Christ, and has obtained an in-'heritance there for ever: but that he comes here when he 'pleases, as he came in Adam, and as he appeared to the 'patriarchs, being clothed with a body: and that he who 'came to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, was the same 'who appeared in these last days; and that he assumed the 'very body of Adam, and that he was seen by men, and was 'crucified, and was raised from the dead, and ascended into 'heaven. Again, when they please, they contradict all this, 'and say that that Spirit which was the Christ, came into, 'and clothed itself with, him who is called Jesus. Thus 'there is much obscurity among them as to this point, since 'they sometimes deliver one thing, and sometimes another, 'as their opinion about this matter.'

This passage also illustrates what Theodoret mentions as part of their belief, viz. that Christ transmigrates into other bodies, and every time appears differently. Perhaps this might be only the consequence of their opinion as Unitarians, that God, or the divine power, appeared differently in the different manifestations of himself.

[s] Vide page 618, note [i].

[t] *Ταχα δε οιμαι απο τϐ συναφθηναι αυτοις Ηλξαιον τον ψευδοπροφητην τον παρα τοις Αμψηνοις* (lege *Σαμψηνοις*) *και Οσσηνοις και Ελκεσσαιοις καλϐμενοις, ὡς εκεινος φαντασιαν τινα περι Χριϛϐ διηγειται, κ. τ. λ.* Adv. Hær. 30. Nσ. 3. p. 127. A. B.

SECTION V.

Of the name of the founder of this sect, and of several authors who mention him.

THEODORET calls this person Elcesai, whereas in the Synopsis of Epiphanius[a] he is called Elxa, and in his larger work Elxai, or Elxaios. He owns this heresy was composed out of the opinion of several others, and speaks of it as past, using the preter tense; from whence one may conclude that the heresy was not then in being, but had become extinct long before, agreeable to what is said by Eusebius. Epiphanius does not charge them with magic, though Theodoret does. But in alleviation of this accusation, it is to be observed, that the ancient fathers, as has been frequently mentioned, were very apt to charge those with this crime who had any thing in their doctrines or rites which they did not well understand. Had this charge been true, it cannot be supposed that Epiphanius, who is not backward in attributing this to the heretics he mentions, and who lived much nearer their times than Theodoret, would have omitted it.

Damascenus mentions[b] these under the article Ebionites; and again[c] under the article Sampsæi, and Elcesæi, saying they were called so from Elxa, which is the reading in Epiphanius's Synopsis, as observed before. He has also Marthus and Marthina, which is also the reading in Epiphanius's Synopsis; whereas the latter in every place in his larger work is Marthana. Which confirms what Cave says, that 'only[d] the latter part of this work of Damascenus's 'De Hæresibus, beginning from the Nestorians, is really 'his own, the other being a transcript of the Synopsis of 'Epiphanius.'[e]

Nicetas Chroniates[f] speaks also of these heretics; but he

[a] Adv. Hær. Synop. p. 397. B. Ed. Petav.

[b] De Hæresibus, cap. 30. De Ebionæis.

[c] Ibid. c. 53. De Sampsæis et Elcesæis.

[d] Pars posterior (Libri De Hæresibus) a Nestorianis incipiens, quæ sola Damasceno debetur. Pars enim prior nihil aliud nisi Epiphanii Anacephalæosis. Cave, His. Liter. p. 411. Edit. Genevæ, 1729.

[e] The Treatise de Prædestinatione, (l. 1. c. 32.) agrees with Epiphanius's Recapitulation; it calls their leader Helchi, and a false prophet, and them Helcesæans. He concludes, hos Papias presbyter Achaiæ obtonuit; the meaning of which seems to be that he spoke or wrote against them with vehemence.

[f] Thes. Ortho. Fid. lib. 1. cap. 33.

plainly confounds Ossens with Essens; as Fleury also does in his Ecclesiastical History.[g] Nicetas agrees with other authors in the main; but is not to be relied on unless other authors confirm what he says.

There is still one author more referred to in Ittigius,[h] viz. Nicephorus Callisti, who mentions them in his Ecclesiastical History.[i]

SECTION VI.

Of the time when he flourished according to modern authors.

BARONIUS speaks of these, Anno 249, No. vii. Pagi speaks of them, Anno 247, No. xii.

Basnage places them under the year 104, No. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. viii.

Spondanus in his Epitome of Baronius places them under the year 105.

Tillemont speaks of them[a] under their proper article of the heresy of the Elcesaites. And in his table of matters there are references to some other places, besides the article itself which belongs to these people. Thus he says[b] that 'the Ebionites, in joining themselves to them, altogether 'corrupted them in their manners.' Again, 'Elxai,[c] the 'author of the Elcesaites, made his appearance under 'Trajan.'

Fleury, in the place before referred to,[d] speaks of Elxai as joining himself to the Ossens under the reign of the emperor Trajan. He there gives a pretty large and full account of his peculiar tenets, from what Epiphanius says under the articles Ebionites and Ossens. But he speaks of the Elcesaitæ under the year 247, about the latter end of Philip's reign,[e] where he says, 'It was rather an old error 'new revived, than a new one, for it has a near affinity to 'that of Elxai in the reign of Trajan.'

The time and duration of this heresy is much and justly enough disputed. According to Eusebius it died away

[g] Vol. i. B. 3. No. 2. p. 165.
[h] De Hæret. sect. 239.
[i] His. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 24.
[a] Tom. 2. P. 2. p. 85.
[b] Elcesaïtes. Les Ebionites, en se joignant à eux, se corrompent tout à fait pour les mœurs. Tom. 2. P. 1. p. 197, 198.
[c] Elxai, auteur des Elcesaïtes, paroît sous Trajan. Ibid. p. 198.
[d] Vol. 1. B. 3. No. 2. p. 165.
[e] Vol. i. B. 6. No. 21. p. 363, 364. See also Tillemont's Chronology added at the end of Vol. i. anno 247.

soon after it sprang up, and its beginning was not long before Origen preached his homilies against the followers of this sect. For Origen's words, as before quoted from Eusebius,[f] are, that 'it was newly sprang up[g] against the 'churches.' Now this could not be long before the year 244,[h] because it was not till that year that he permitted his Homilies to be taken down in writing. But Epiphanius on the other hand[i] expressly says, that they were called Elcesaians from one Elxaios or Elxai;[k] and he assures us that Elxai flourished[l] and joined himself to the Ossens, under the time of the emperor Trajan, which must be some time about or before the year 120, for in that year Trajan died.

The following supposition may possibly reconcile this difference. Those who were holders of such tenets were not distinguished by the name of Elcesaites, or Elcesaians, till a little before the time when Origen preached against them, but went under the name Ossens or Ebionites; with the followers of both which sects Elxai had some connection, or at least they adopted some of his peculiar notions. Ittigius[m] seems to have reckoned them a heresy of the third rather than of the second century; for it is his last in the second, and he speaks of it slightly.

Basnage[n] is plainly of the same opinion: but he says he would not however depart from the Chronology of Epiphanius, because it is followed by very learned men; although he should rather be inclined to place this sect in the third century. In this place Basnage well argues that the Ossens of Epiphanius were christians.

Tillemont had the same opinion of them, for he says, 'The[o] heretics which we call Elcesaites, were also called 'Ossenians, Sampseans, and Amsenians.'

[f] His. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 38. p. 233. [g] Νεωστι επανιταμενης ταις εκκλησιαις. [h] Ibid. cap. 36. p. 232. Credibility, Vol. ii. p. 504.

[i] Adv. Hær. 53. No. 1. p. 461. B. Edit. Petav.

[k] Either reading is indifferent, it being in the same page Ηλξαι and Ηλξαιος. The followers of him are indeed called by Eusebius and Origen Ελκεσαϊτων; but Theodoret calls them Ελκεσαιων, as Epiphanius also does; and from what he says, it is evident he considered the Ελκεσαϊτων of Origen and Eusebius, as the same sect with the Ελκεσαιων of Epiphanius. Though he called their founder Ελκεσαι, and not Ηλξαι or Ηλξαιος. This small difference in the reading can afford no room for a supposition that the founders or the people were different, since the same person is called by Epiphanius, Ηλξα, Ηλξαι, and Ηλξαιος.

[l] Ibid. 1. No. 1. A. p. 40.

[m] De Hær. p. 238, 239.

[n] Anno 104. No. 7.

[o] Les hérétiques que nous appelons Elcésaïtes, ont encore été nommés Osséniens, Sampséens, et Ampséniens. Tom. 2. P. 2. p. 85. The last of these

Basnage[p] thinks they were called Sampseni or Sampseans, from Sampsa a city of Arabia. Though Le Clerc,[q] grounding upon what Epiphanius says, that 'the[r] Sampseans are interpreted to mean people that have some relation to the sun,' derives their name from a Hebrew word which signifies the sun. Scaliger had done the same before him, but very absurdly, as Basnage[s] well shows, who observes, that 'Epiphanius never accused them of worshipping 'the sun.' On the contrary, a passage in him plainly shows that the opinion and practice of Elxai their founder was directly opposite; for he thus introduces him instructing his disciples: 'My[t] children, do not draw near to the appearance of fire, because this same thing is a deceit, and 'will cause you to wander; for when you think it near, at 'the same time it is far off. Wherefore go not after its 'appearance, but follow rather the sound of water.' Agreeable to this he declared[u] water to be good, but fire of an opposite nature.

Mosheim[v] places Elxai in the second century, and considers him as the author of the sect of the Elcesaites. He says he was a Jew, meaning I suppose of Jewish extraction, and, with Epiphanius, seems to doubt whether he and his followers are to be ranked among christians.

SECTION VII.

Of the duration of this sect.

AS to the continuance of them, according to Epiphanius,[a] some of the Sampseans were still in being at the time he wrote, in Nabathis and Peræa, who regarded as divine per-

names seems to have no other foundation than a different reading in Epiphanius, where it is Αμψηνοις in the text, and Σαμψηνοις in the margin.

[p] Anno 104. No. 6. [q] Idque genus hominum Sampsæos vulgo dictos a voce Hebraïcâ שמש *Sol*, quasi Solares. Eccles. His. Anno 103. p. 535. n. 2.

[r] Σαμψαιοι γαρ ἑρμηνευονται Ηλιακοι. Ad. Hær. 53. No. 2. B. p. 462.

[s] Ad. Ann. 104. N. 5. p. 12.

[t] Τεκνα, πορευεσθε μη προς το ειδος τϑ πυρος, ὁτι πλανασθε, πλανη γαρ εστιν το τοιϑτον, ὁρᾳς γαρ, φησι, αυτο εγγυτατω, και εστιν απο πορρωθεν, μη πορευεσθε δε προς το ειδος αυτϑ, πορευεσθε δε μαλλον επι την φωνην τϑ ὑδατος. Ep. Hær. 19. No. 3. p. 42. B.

[u] Το τε πυρ, ὡσει Θεϑ αλλοτριον, το τε ὑδωρ ειναι δεξιον. Ibid.

[v] Eccles. His. P. 2. sec. 2. cap. 5. sec. 5. p. 98, 99.

[a] Adv. Hær. 19. No. 2. D p. 40. Ibid. 53. No. 1. p. 461.

sons two of the family of Elxai, viz. Marthus and Marthana, the latter of whom was living when he wrote, or at least had died but a little while before. This may be thought to contradict what has been quoted from Eusebius; but perhaps his words are not to be taken in their utmost extent, but may only be intended to inform us that, in consequence of the opposition it met with from Origen, this sect never spread much, and was chiefly confined to those places in the neighbourhood of Palestine where it took its rise at first; and that the followers of it were but few in number, and for the most part in great obscurity.

It seems indeed, from one of the passages last referred to, that their number was small; for he says 'it[b] was some of 'the remains of the Ossens, who were still in being, and were 'called Sampseans.'

SECTION VIII.

What parts of scripture they received.

IT appears, by the passage quoted from Eusebius in [a] the beginning of this article, that they received the Old Testament, as well as the gospels in the New; though they rejected particular passages in several parts of these as they did the apostle altogether. Epiphanius says[b] they made use of the same book with the Ebionites and Nazarenes, as he had before frequently mentioned: referring undoubtedly to a copy of the gospels, in some measure differing from that in common use which these christians had, and that they paid a regard to another book, the author of which they said was the brother of Elxai. He adds, that 'they[c] 'received neither the writings of the[d] prophets nor apos-

[b] Ἡς ετι λειψανα και δευρο ὑπαρχει—ὁπερ γενος νυνι Σεμψεων (Σαμψεων) καλειται. Ibid. p. 40.

[a] Page 614, note [b]. [b] Vide page 616, notes [h] and [i].

[c] Ibid. note [l].

[d] There seems at first sight to be some little difference between the accounts given by Eusebius and Epiphanius, with respect to the parts of the Old Testament rejected by these heretics. But it should be observed that the expression in Eusebius is general, and in Epiphanius particular, which Theodoret confirms. The words κεχρηται ῥητοις παλιν απο πασης παλαιας, may therefore very well be understood consistently with their rejecting the prophets. For Eusebius himself explains the next word in a manner similar to this. Ευαγγελικης is used in him by way of distinction for the New Testament, as παλαιας is for the Old; and though he had said that they quoted passages from every part of the New Testament, απο πασης γραφης ευαγγελι-

tles.' Theodoret confirms their [e] rejecting the apostle, and paying great attention to a certain book, which they say fell down from heaven. Upon the whole then it appears that the Ossens as well as the Elcesaites were christians, and regarded many parts of the Old Testament, and the gospels at least in the New, as sacred books; though it is probable their christianity was mixed with a number of superstitious rites and absurd doctrines.

SECTION IX.

Explanation of a Prayer of Elxai.

I SHALL only further mention a prayer which Epiphanius says Elxai ordered his followers to use: [a] the words of which he has given us, with an interpretation in some part of it unintelligible. The meaning of this, after it had been in vain attempted by Petavius[b] and Scaliger, the very learned Croius has well explained, and has given a sense of it very different from that of Epiphanius. The reader will no doubt be pleased to find the whole of this in the note, [c].

κης, yet he immediately adds αθετει τον αποστολον. This is the same with ητε αποστολες δεχονται of Epiphanius. And for this reason the former part of Eusebius may be understood in a perfect agreement with the ητε προφητας δεχονται of the same author.

[e] Τον δε αποστολον παντελως ηρνηθησαν, και βιβλον δε τινα συντεθεικασιν, ην εκ των ηρανων εφασαν πεπτωκεναι· ταυτης τον ακηκοοτα αφεσιν ἁμαρτιων λαμβανειν, παρ' ην ὁ Χριστος εδωρησατο. Hær. Fab. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 222.

[a] Φασκει γαρ λεγειν, Αβαρ, Ανιδ, Μωιβ, Νωχιλε, Δαασιμ, Ανη, Δαασιμ, Νωχιλε, Μωιβ, Ανιδ, Αβαρ, Σελαμ.· ἁ τινα ἑρμηνευομενα εχει την σαφηνειαν ταυτην. παρελθετω ταπεινωσις εκ πατερων μϐ, της κατακρισεως αυτων, και καταπατηματος αυτων, και πονϐ αυτων καταπατηματι εν κατακρισει δια των πατερων μϐ απο ταπεινωσεως παρελθϐσης εν αποστολῃ τελειωσεως. κ. τ. λ. Ad. Hær. lib. 1. H. 19. No. 4. p. 42. D. 43. A.

[b] Non est facile ex Hebraïcis hisce verbis eam sententiam elicere, quam subjecit Epiphanius. Petavii in Locum.

[c] Tentavit et Scaliger sensum expiscari loci difficillimi. 'Ego,' inquit 'hic esse nullam ευχην colligere possum. Sed statim ut oculos in ea conjeci, tres γνωμας agnovi,' quas vir summus sententias exhibet Elenchi capite xxvii. Sed temeritate propius abest negare eam orationem esse, quam orationem affirmat esse Epiphanius. (μηδεις ζητησῃ την ἑρμηνειαν, αλλ' ἡ μονον εν τῃ ευχῃ ταδε λεγετω. Ibid.) Neque hic falli potuit Epiphanius, ut pro Ossenorum precatione haberet, quod pura puta sententia est. Vigebat adhuc sancti Patris ævo secta Osseniaca, a quâ scire facillime potuit, num inter orandum precationem adhibuerit ejusmodi. Quod si precatio est, totâ Scaliger erravit viâ, cum nil orationis sit in eâ sententiâ. 'Qui conculcat paupertatem, conculcat fraudem,' &c. Nostro quidem judicio verborum sensum optime assecutus est doctissimus ille Johannes Croius, cujus explicationi suffragium libentissime nostrum

CHAP. XXIII.

OF THE ALOGIANS.

SECTION I.

The account of them by Epiphanius and Philaster, as rejecting John's Gospel and the Revelation.

'THE Alogians, so called by us,' says [a] Epiphanius in his Summary, 'who rejected God, the Logos, coming from 'the Father, do not receive either the gospel according to 'John, or his Revelation.'

To the like purpose [b] Augustine.

In his larger work Epiphanius speaks of this heresy as arising after [c] the Cataphrygians, Quartodecimans, and others; and says that [d] he gave them the name of Alogians. 'They [e] reject,' says he, 'the writings of John, they receive 'neither his gospel nor his Revelation. If they had rejected 'his Revelation only, some apology might have been made 'for them: but, by rejecting his writings, in general, they 'show themselves to be like those whom holy John speaks 'of in his catholic epistles, and calls antichrists. They 'say they are not written by John, and ascribe them to 'Cerinthus; pretending they are not worthy to be received 'by the church.' Afterwards he says, 'They argue after 'this manner, that [f] they may not seem without reason to

damus. עבר עני מאבותי נהרי רשים אותי רשים נהרי מאבותי עבי יעבר ואשלם׃ Transivit afflictio a patribus meis: tribulationes conterunt me: conterunt tribulationes a patribus meis. Afflictio transeat, et pace fruar. Apud Basnagii Annales, anno 104. p. 12, 13.

[a] P. 396, 397.

[b] Alogi propterea sic vocantur, tanquam sine verbo, (λογος enim Græce verbum dicitur,) quia Deum verbum recipere noluerunt, Joannis evangelium respuentes, cujus nec Apocalypsin accipiunt, has videlicet scripturas negantes esse ipsius. H. 30.

[c] H. 51. n. 1.

[d] Ibid. n. 3.

[e] *Αἱρεσιν ——— αποβαλλεσαν Ιωαννε τας βιβλες ——— ωτε το τε Ιωαννε ευαγγελιον δεχονται, ωτε την αυτη Αποκαλυψιν. Και ει μεν εδεχοντο το ευαγγελιον, την δε Αποκαλυψιν απεβαλλοντο, ελεγομεν αν ——— ὁποτε δε ᾳ δεχονται φυσει τα βιβλια τα απο τε ἁγιε Ιωαννε κεκηρυγμενα ——— Λεγωσι γαρ μη ειναι αυτα Ιωαννε, αλλα Κηρινθε· και ωκ αξια αυτα φασιν ειναι εν εκκλησιᾳ.* Ibid. n. 3. p. 423, 424.

[f] *Ἱνα δοξωσι παρεκβαλλειν τα τε ἁγιε αποστολε βιβλια, φημι δε Ιωαννε το τε ευαγγελιον, και την Αποκαλυψιν, ταχα δε και τας επιστολας· συναδωσι γαρ και αυται τῳ ευαγγελιῳ και τῃ Αποκαλυψει.* N. 34. p. 456. B. C.

'reject the gospel and the Revelation of John, and perhaps 'his epistles likewise; for they are of a piece, and agree 'together.' Once more: 'They [g] say that John's gospel 'ought not to be placed in the New Testament, because it 'is not of a piece with the other parts.'

Thus writes Epiphanius; so that one knows not well what he would have us think of these men; whether that they rejected all the writings commonly ascribed to St. John or only his gospel and the Revelation. Mill however roundly says [h] that 'they rejected all St. John's writings.' Damascenus, agreeably to Epiphanius's Summary, says, 'They [i] rejected the gospel of John and his Revelation.'

Before we proceed any farther, it should be observed that Philaster, too, has a [k] heresy that rejected John's gospel and Revelation, and ascribed both to Cerinthus: he does not call them by any name.

SECTION II.

There never was any such heresy.

HAVING alleged all these passages, it is time to deliver my own opinion, which is, that this is a fictitious heresy, and that there never were any christians who rejected St. John's gospel and first epistle, and yet received the other gospels, and the other books of the New Testament. There is not any notice taken of them in Irenæus, Eusebius, or any other ancient writer before Philaster and Epiphanius; nor has Theodoret thought fit to borrow any thing here from Epiphanius; he has no account of this heresy.

[g] Λεγεσι δε το κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον, επειδαν μη τα αυτα εφη—αδιαθετον ειναι, και μη δεχεσθαι αυτες αυτο. N. 18. p. 441. C.

[h] Æquales horum Alogi evangelium, cæteraque D. Joannis scripta repudiârunt, teste Epiphanio. Prol. n. 363. vel. p. 40. Ox.

[i] Οι το ευαγγελιον το κατα Ιωαννην αθετεντες, και την Αποκαλυψιν αυτε. Ap. Cotel. Momem. Tom. 1. p. 194.

[k] Post hos sunt hæretici, qui evangelium secundum Joannem et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt—ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim itidem, non beati Joannis evangelistæ et apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici. H. 60. p. 120.

SECTION III.

Some account of Epiphanius's article of the Alogians.

EPIPHANIUS'S article of Alogians is long, and has in it divers good remarks relating to the evangelists, and for reconciling their several histories: at the same time it has in it some confusion; for in one[a] place he mentions Porphyry and Celsus, as if he intended to consider their objections against the evangelical history. Nevertheless the article seems to concern christians, 'who,' as he says, 'did not re-'ceive the Logos; and who rejected John's gospel and the 'Revelation, and would not have them to be in the New 'Testament, or canonical.' Heathens rejected all the books of the New Testament, and some christians, we well know, 'rejected some of them: but it does not appear that there were any christians who received the other books of the New Testament, but rejected St. John's gospel, or all his writings in general. I think that the authority of Philaster and Epiphanius cannot be sufficient to satisfy us concerning the existence of a heresy omitted by all ancient writers before them. Serious christians might propose difficulties relating to any books of the New Testament, with a view of discovering and being established in the truth; and some of the difficulties mentioned by Epiphanius might proceed from such persons. But that there was a sect or number of christians who rejected John's gospel and the Revelation, and ascribed both to Cerinthus, (whilst they received the other books of the New Testament,) I do not believe, for the reason before mentioned: that is, because we have not sufficient assurance of it from antiquity. However, if there really were some such persons, their opinion would be of little moment, considering the general testimony of the ancients in favour of St. John's gospel and his first epistle: and that all objections against St. John's gospel may be easily answered.

[a] Hær. 51. n. 8. p. 429. D.

SECTION IV.

This heresy was probably invented upon the occasion of the controversy with the Millenarians.

I IMAGINE, then, that this heresy was invented upon occasion of the controversy of Caius and Dionysius, and others, with the Millenarians in the third century; some of whom disputed or denied the genuineness of the book of the Revelation, and ascribed it to Cerinthus. Hence some said that those enemies of the Millennium might as well reject also St. John's gospel; and others said that they actually did so, though they did not. It is observable that in Philaster's catalogue this heresy follows next after the Millenarians, or Chilionetites, as he calls them. And the order in Epiphanius leads us to the same time.

SECTION V.

A groundless opinion among the Moderns concerning the Unitarians of the second century.

THERE has been a notion among learned moderns that the Unitarians of the second century, who appeared soon after the apostles, rejected St. John's gospel. Fabricius, in a note upon the fore-cited chapter of Philaster, speaks to the same[a] purpose. But how groundless that supposition is, must clearly appear from our accounts of Theodotus, Praxeas, and others of that principle.

[a] Alogos hoc nomine arguit Epiphanius et Damascenus, quos vide H. 51. Evangelium Johannis rejecerunt Ebionæi, Cerinthiani, Cerdoniani, et Theodotus Byzantinus, atque Marcion. Ap. Philast. p. 120.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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